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Retranslating *Community* for an Italian Gen Z audience

A subtitling proposal for the first season of the sitcom

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to offer a retranslation proposal for the first season of the American sitcom *Community* targeted to a Gen Z audience, using the existing Italian subtitles available on the *Netflix* streaming platform as a reference. The reason that led me to choose this TV series was the abundance of intertextual references and translation problems in its script. This show was originally produced between 2009 and 2014 and it was added to the Italian *Netflix* catalogue only in April 2020, making it available to a new audience. Therefore, I decided to research how the subtitles could be adapted to better suit the younger users of this platform.

The retranslation focuses primarily on the catchphrases and special features of the protagonists' ways of speaking, on the titles and the references to other films and TV series, on culture-specific elements, on mentions of pop culture personalities or events and, when necessary, on the removal of racist and sexist speech, which cannot be tolerated by the younger generations. Subsequently, the translation choices were divided into categories based on their characteristics and they were justified through an analysis of the original references, the solutions adopted in the retranslation and how they can be better enjoyed by the new target audience.

INTRODUCTION

The booming market of streaming services available nowadays has opened the doors for international AV content to reach every corner of the globe. As it has done since the beginning of cinema, audiovisual translation keeps growing and helping these new products be exposed to new audiences belonging to different cultures. Consumption of films, documentaries and series is at an all-time high and it has only been fuelled by the Covid-19 pandemic that hit the world in 2020, forcing everyone to spend more time at home and finding comfort and a cure for boredom in the content offered by streaming platforms. Many users had the chance to re-watch their favourite shows and to discover new gems, especially through social media word-of-mouth. One of the series that greatly benefitted from being added to the international *Netflix* catalogue during the first month of lockdown was *Community*, an American sitcom created by Dan Harmon, characterised by its use of meta-humour and pop culture references.

Considering its new audience and as a fan of the show, I started to wonder whether some of the translation choices made in the original Italian subtitling would still be considered acceptable or whether they would have an alienating effect on younger generations instead. Its language and its references constitute the major translation problems we find when facing the original dialogue. Apart from the occasions in which derogatory language is used as a distinctive trait of a certain character (e.g. the racist and sexist jokes made by Pierce), I identified some instances within the first translation in which it was used as a habit, without it being justified. Although I did not find any heavy racial slurs that needed to be removed, it was interesting to reflect on how, thanks to feminism and LGBTQ+ rights movements raising awareness about it, some expressions used to describe women or gay people are now widely considered to be unacceptable. A representative example from one of the episodes is the word “bitch”, which was initially translated as “puttanella”: the use of slut-shaming language is now discouraged as it is perceived as much more offensive by younger generations compared to even just ten years ago. Therefore, in this case a more suitable translation would use a different curse word that does not have these connotations.

Another category of translation problems that has been analysed in this research is the rendering of culture-specific elements and pop culture references. The main reason that leads to considering formulating a retranslation proposal is the unfamiliarity the younger audience would have with these personalities and events, even though the show only aired thirteen years ago. Mentioning the name of an American politician who was nominated in the 2000 presidential elections would probably mean nothing to someone born in Italy just three years earlier, making the target text lose its original intended effect. Similarly, although nowadays young people are more familiar with global (and especially American) culture thanks to globalisation and social media, asking if another character would like a glass of ice cream “float”, would confuse an audience that does not get to experience this beverage on a daily basis because it is not traditionally consumed in its country.

Other changes that were made to the original subtitles were intended to increase cohesion and continuity within the series and to unify the way some fixed expressions were translated, guaranteeing a certain level of consistency throughout the episodes. One example is the rendition of the catchphrases uttered by two of the characters, Abed and Shirley, which need a standardised translation solution in order to function and to become distinctive traits of those characters. In other instances, the new audience allowed the resubtitling to feature a heavier use of English loanwords, justified by Italian Gen Z’s increased knowledge of the foreign language.

In order to properly address all the topics related to this field of translation, in Chapter 1 I gave an overview of audiovisual translation and its modes, focusing primarily on subtitling, as it is the subject of this research. After discussing its technical characteristics, I presented the various translation strategies that I would then utilise in my retranslation, and I finished by taking a look at recent studies on subtitling.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the introduction of the series and to understanding why and how retranslations are made, especially when considering changing the target audience. For this reason, the last section describes the characteristics of the new target, Gen Z, underlining how their perception of the world dictates what type of changes would be made to the first translation.

The retranslation is accompanied by a commentary of the translation solutions explaining the specific reasons for the changes and the translation strategies used to

achieve them. The translation problems have been divided into seven main categories based on their nature and then again based on their specific characteristics.

Lastly, I drew the conclusions on this research, foregrounding the most interesting cases of retranslation and reflecting on how the original subtitles have benefitted from these changes.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

1. Audiovisual translation

In today's digital era and globalised society, we have instantaneous access to information (especially in the form of audiovisual products) from anywhere in the world. This revolution has changed the way we communicate (Díaz-Cintas 2012), but translation, as it has always done, continues to allow people to interact by overcoming linguistic barriers.

Among the different types of language transfer, audiovisual translation (AVT) has gained popularity and has become a part of everyone's day-to-day life. As Chaume (2013:105) describes it, AVT "is a mode of translation characterised by the transfer of audiovisual texts either interlingually or intralingually" that falls under the category of intersemiotic translation. With "audiovisual texts" we refer to polysemiotic texts that convey their information simultaneously through two or more parallel channels of discourse. According to Gottlieb (Pedersen 2011:10), audiovisual texts transmit information through four semiotic channels: verbal audio (the dialogue), non-verbal audio (music and sound effects), verbal visual (displays and captions) and non-verbal visual (composition and montage).

The very nature of these texts is what makes audiovisual translation so challenging, since its process does not involve the transfer of a single code, as traditional translation and interpretation do, but a concurrence of the linguistic, paralinguistic, and iconographic codes (Perego 2005, Díaz-Cintas 2010, Chiaro 2012). The audiovisual translators' challenge is to create "dialogues that emulate a prefabricated spontaneous mode of discourse [...], that are constructed through written and spoken language, but also through other non-verbal codes of meaning" (Chaume 2013:105). At the same time, however, they also must be faithful to the original communicative intent and comply with the technical spatial and temporal limitations imposed by the means through which AVT is consumed, which vary depending on the mode. In any case, the translator should build the translation on the image itself and make sure that it is credible and authentic (Perego 2005:40).

Despite the complexity of this type of language transfer process, AVT had been one of the lesser researched areas of traductology for years and it was not considered to be on par with traditional written translation because of all the technical aspects it entails, such as synchronisation. Nevertheless, recently audiovisual translation has become one of the branches of Translation Studies where more methodological research is being carried out, also thanks to new mode trends and technologies (Perego 2005, Orero et al. 2018, Guillot 2019, O’Sullivan and Cornu 2019). The terminology with which this type of translation should be identified has been extensively discussed in the past (Orero 2004:vii, Chiaro 2009). However, nowadays the linguistic community considers AVT an umbrella term that includes all the various modes in which audiovisual content can be translated (Díaz-Cintas 2010). The terms “screen translation” and “multimedia translation” have also begun to be used in the field of Translation Studies to represent the reality of the audiovisual texts better as new technology was introduced (Pérez-González 2014).

Ever since the invention of cinema, one of the main goals was to distribute films to a wider audience through subtitling and dubbing, and audiovisual translation is now one of the most familiar types of translation. Not to mention the impact technological advance has had on the way we consume audiovisual content nowadays: streaming platforms such as *Netflix*, *Amazon Prime Video* and *Disney Plus* granted us access to every TV show, series, film, documentary, and video directly on our mobile devices and from anywhere in the world (Chiaro 2009, Bolaños-García-Escribano et al. 2021).

To this day, the world is divided into subtitling countries and dubbing countries, even though on a smaller scale the distinction is now changing according to the personal preference of the individual viewer, also thanks to technological advancements that allow each person to choose their preferred method of viewing content, especially online. Europe, in particular, used to be divided into these two blocks based on the characteristics of each country, namely the funds available for AVT and the volume of the audience for each main language (Perego 2005, Chiaro 2009). That is to say, in a country where the target audience for a foreign film is small and where the speakers of the target language are bilingual, it would not make sense to invest in a more costly mode of translation, which makes subtitling the most sensible choice. Furthermore, as well as on the economic component, the chosen AVT mode depends on the communities’ different historical and cultural roots and on the audience’s viewing habits and interests (Pérez-González 2009,

Pedersen 2011). During the First World War, dubbing was imposed in some countries as a form of protectionism and censorship, mainly against the supremacy of the American film industry (Perego 2005, Pérez-González 2009).

Italy has come to be known as a country with a flourishing dubbing scene and our voice actors are some of the best in their field (Perego 2005, O’Sullivan and Cornu 2019). However, that does not mean that the audience’s preference has not changed in recent years. This is especially true for what concerns younger generations, who have a higher level of proficiency in foreign languages, especially English, and who have grown up in a globalised and digitalised world, where access to other cultures’ languages and media is literally at their fingertips (Chaume 2013, Guillot 2019). More and more cinemas, even in traditional dubbing countries, are offering screenings of subtitled films in the original language (Perego 2005, Chiaro 2009, Pedersen 2011), which shows a new trend for the consumption of AV products, although dubbing still remains the standard AVT mode. Indeed, as Chaume (2013:115) states, “[n]ow well educated younger people are also expressing a preference for subtitled original versions over dubbed ones, citing aesthetic and artistic reasons [...], whether in film, DVD, Internet, and new environments [...]”. One of the reasons why subtitles have a more positive reputation in some instances is because “dubbing is often condemned for spoiling the original soundtrack and denying audiences the opportunity of hearing the voices of the original actors” and because it was initially connected to the illiteracy rate of the target audience (Chiaro 2009:147).

1.1. Modes of audiovisual translation

As mentioned, AVT comprises different types of transfer of audiovisual texts, be it within the same language (intralingual translation) or between two languages (interlingual translation). In the previous section, we saw that every country chooses which one to adopt based on its population, namely between the two main modes, dubbing and subtitling. Chaume (2013:107) states that there are two main modes of audiovisual translation based on whether a new soundtrack in the target language is added or the translation is inserted on the screen in text form. These macro-modes are “revoicing” – which entails adding a new soundtrack in the target language and synchronising it with the original images – and “captioning” – where the translation or transcription can be read on the screen as the film plays.

These, however, are not the only modes available, and various scholars have proposed their version of AVT modes classification (Gambier 2003, Perego 2005). In this instance, however, for the sake of brevity, we will take into consideration and illustrate the main modes of AVT according to their macro-mode, drawing on the classifications offered by Pérez-González (2014), Chaume (2013) and Perego (2005).

1.1.1. Revoicing

Under the category of revoicing, we find various types of oral language transfer. Among these, the one that stands out the most both because of its popularity and distinct modality is dubbing. The lip-synchronisation aspect is fundamental in this case, although it is also used in the other forms of revoicing in some capacity (Pérez-González 2009:16).

Dubbing

Dubbing is the most popular form of audiovisual translation in Italy, but it is also one of the most complex, costly, and time-consuming, given the various steps it entails and the level of teamwork it requires. The original dialogue is first translated into the target language: here, the “dubbing-translator” (Chiaro 2009, 2012), in addition to having to solve the traditional translation problems, must adapt the translation to the pace of delivery and to the movements of the actors’ lips to give the impression that the original actors are speaking directly in the target language. This step requires creativity and talent in scriptwriting in order to find the most suitable solutions that can make the translation sound as natural as possible. Although complicated, this process has some advantages since it allows for some additional strategies that cannot be used in subtitling. Dubbing requires less reduction compared to subtitling and it allows a more drastic manipulation of the original dialogues, letting the translator bypass otherwise challenging translation problems. The new script is then re-recorded over the original voice track of the film, series, or video through the process of lip-synchronisation by professionally trained voice actors directed by a dubbing director. Finally, the voice track in the target language is mixed with the rest of the sound effects and the musical score (Perego 2005:25-26, Pérez-González 2009, Chiaro 2012, Chaume 2013:107). This field has greatly benefitted from technological advances, which have aided both the translation and recording processes –

allowing voice actors to record their parts even when they are not in the dubbing booth and sound engineers to mix the tracks with more advanced software. Nowadays, programs can modify the actors' facial and lip movements to fit the translated script, accelerating the translator's work (Chiaro 2009, 2012).

One unfortunate consequence of the dubbing process is that the language used can be more sterile and artificial compared to natural discourse. This issue evolved into the phenomenon of “dubbese”, a particular language variety derived from the prefabricated orality in the translated voice track (Perego 2005:26, Pérez-González 2009).

Voice-overs

Voice-over, or “half-dubbing” (Gambier 2003), is the preferred method for broadcasting translated interviews, documentaries, and other audiovisual texts that do not require lip-synchronisation. Additionally, it is also used to translate feature films in some Eastern European and Asian countries that have a small audiovisual market because it is a cheap and quick alternative to dubbing (Pérez-González 2009, Chaume 2013, Pérez-González 2014). The term “half-dubbing” refers to the fact that, in voiced-over products, the translated script is still read aloud by voice actors. However, there is no need to undergo the process of lip-synchronisation since the norm dictates that some “sound bites” from the original soundtrack should be kept in the revoiced version, making the final product feel more realistic and credible. A few seconds after the person in the original version starts speaking, the sound engineers lower the volume of the source dialogue and the voice actor starts reading the translation; the opposite happens at the end of the utterance (Pérez-González 2009, Chiaro 2012, Chaume 2013, Pérez-González 2014).

Narration

As described by Pérez-González, narration is “a live or pre-recorded form of oral transfer” (Pérez-González 2014:20) that aims “to provide a summarized but faithful and carefully scripted rendition of the original speech, and its delivery is carefully timed to avoid any clash with the visual syntax of the programme” (Pérez-González 2009:16). It differs from voice-over on a linguistic level, since in narration the text undergoes more reduction and

adaptation, and it is more formal and syntactically complex. The translated text is then read by a speaker at the same time as the original dialogue, therefore there is no need to adapt the text to the actors' lip movement, which gives less realism to the translation (Perego 2005:30).

Simultaneous interpretation of film

This type of AVT mode is used less because of its complexity and it is performed typically only due to time or funding constraints (Pérez-González 2014). Simultaneous interpretation used to be popular in Thailand up until recent years because initially dubbing was too expensive and subtitling was not an option due to high illiteracy rates (Chaume 2013). As the name suggests, while a film is being shown – usually in the context of film festivals – an interpreter translates the original dialogue from a separate booth in the same location of the screening, dubbing all the on-screen actors (Chaume 2013). This translation method requires both the right equipment and a more strenuous effort on the part of the interpreter, who will likely not have access to the script and who will need to keep up with speakers since they cannot adjust their speed of delivery in order to be adequately interpreted. There can also be instances where the interpreters are provided with the original script or the subtitles and perform a sight translation (Chaume 2013).

Free commentary

The free commentary mode blurs the line between translation proper and adaptation (Perego 2005:31). As Pérez-González (2014:20) describes it, free commentary is “performed on the spot by presenters or commentators broadcasting a high-profile event” and in comedy or sports programmes, where the source text is modified to fit the new audience, the target culture (adding further information or removing whole passages) and the reading speed. Unlike the other modes of AVT, the translator has much more freedom in the linguistic and stylistic choices, and they can choose which information to keep without having to stick to a faithful reproduction of the original dialogue. However, they must also thoroughly prepare ahead of time and research the topic at hand. During the delivery, “commentators are free to create and give opinions, to recount what they see in their own words, and to add further details and information” (Chaume 2013:110).

Fandubs

Fandubs are one of the more recent modes of AVT. Their origin is closely related to technological advances, and they are mainly produced and enjoyed by fans belonging to various sub-cultures (Pérez-González 2014). Chaume (2013:111) describes them as “home-made dubbings of television series, cartoons (particularly the anime genre) and trailers for films that have not yet been released in the target language country”. After downloading the original version from the Internet, these videos are created with the simple editing programs that come with every laptop and the dubbed track is added after removing the source one.

Audiodescription

Pérez-González (2009:16) defines audiodescription as “a spoken account of those visual aspects of a film which play a role in conveying its plot, rather than a translation of linguistic content”. It is primarily an intralingual translation and aimed at a blind and visually impaired audience to enhance the accessibility of an audiovisual product, usually “audio introduction (for films, but also for exhibitions, other programmes, etc.), audio commentaries for exhibitions, and audiosubtitling, namely the reading of subtitles from subtitled foreign films” (Chaume 2013). It achieves its goal by inserting additional comments and descriptions of sets and characters’ costumes and actions in the original soundtrack in the pauses between dialogues. The main complexity of this AVT mode is that it needs to deal with the heterogeneity of the audience, that could have different levels of blindness and would therefore need different amounts of detail in the audiodescription (Perego 2005).

1.1.2. Captioning

Subtitling

While the mode of subtitling will be dealt with in more detail in the next section, here I will give a short definition of the term, as well as its basic characteristics. As Díaz-Cintas

(2010:344) describes it, subtitling “consists in rendering in writing the translation into a [target language] of the original dialogue exchanges uttered by the different speakers, as well as of all other verbal information that is transmitted visually (letters, banners, inserts) or aurally (lyrics, voices off)”. Similarly to the other AVT modes we have already seen, subtitles can be either interlingual or intralingual, the latter having now become synonymous to SDH, a form of captioning we will see in the next paragraph. Furthermore, bilingual subtitles are also available in countries with two official languages, such as in Finland and Belgium (Pedersen 2011:7), with each line dedicated to a specific language.

The translation is shown on screen, usually on the lower part, in a one or two-line format and it works as a supplement to the original programme. By doing so, the target audience will be able to enjoy the original visuals and audio as it was conceived in the source language, while also benefitting from a condensed translation of the dialogue. This peculiarity makes subtitling a form of “overt translation” (Perego 2005, Pérez-González 2009), which exposes the translators to some level of criticism by “viewers who have some knowledge of the source language but are unaware of how the subtitler’s work is conditioned by media-related constraints [...]” (Pérez-González 2009:16). In fact, this AVT mode is governed by strict guidelines that dictate the maximum number of lines, characters per line and seconds per subtitle in order to increase readability.

Despite this effort, subtitling is still often criticised because “the immediacy and the involvement of the result suffer if compared to an adapted and dubbed script, and this is most evident in those scenes of fast-paced or overlapped lines” (Fois 2012:5).

On the positive side, however, this type of translation is still one of the most popular and appreciated for its many qualities, both in terms of saving time and money and in terms of the fruition of the content. Subtitling manages to keep the aesthetic and artistic integrity of the source text, both in the visuals and in the representation of the oral language, while allowing target viewers to understand it and maybe even to use it as a tool to perfect their knowledge of a foreign language (Gottlieb 1994, Pérez-González 2009, Chiaro 2009, Fois 2012).

Surtitling

As described by Chaume (2013:112), surtitling (both interlingual and intralingual) is “a specific form of subtitling for theatrical and operatic productions”. It is usually projected above the stage or on small screens mounted on the back of the seats and its purpose is to provide the audience with a transcription or a translation of the dialogues uttered by the characters to follow the plot better.

Respeaking

Respeaking, also known as live subtitling, is an AVT mode that blends simultaneous interpreting and interlingual subtitling. It is usually employed during live programmes such as last-minute interviews or news and it is considered very challenging (Perego 2005:24). The interpreter delivers a summarised translation, which is then either transcribed manually in subtitle form by a second person or captured by a speech recognition software that automatically creates subtitles based on the input of the interpreter’s voice (Chaume 2013). In recent years, as Díaz-Cintas (2012:284) points out, “developments in voice and speech recognition have made possible the appearance and booming of respeaking as a professional practice to subtitle live programmes such as the news or sports [...]”. Big companies such as Google have also started to integrate auto-captioning in broadcasting platforms like *Youtube*, which generates subtitles thanks to speech-to-text technology (Chiaro 2009).

Subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing

Much like audiodescription, the purpose of subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH) is to make the audiovisual product accessible to people with hearing difficulties (Chaume 2013). Recent studies (Pérez-González 2009, Chiaro 2012, Kruger 2019, Remael and Neves 2021) have also shown that SDH can be of great help to language learners and to those who have trouble focusing their attention. It is a form of intralingual subtitling that takes into consideration other relevant sounds present in the original soundtrack other than the actors’ voices and signals them in the subtitles on the screen. In order to help the viewers differentiate between who is speaking, each character’s utterance is assigned a different colour, and sound effects and music are signalled with different symbols or positions on the screen. Unlike conventional subtitling, SDH subtitles can be up to four

lines long to include as much information as possible and they must remain visible for a few more seconds than usual to be more easily read since the target audience might have a slower reading speed (Chaume 2013).

Fansubbing

Fansubbing is another recent addition to the known AVT modes. The premise is the same as the previously described fandubbing but, as the name suggests, instead of being dubbed, the source video is subtitled by fans using free programs such as *Subtiter Workshop*, *Aegisub* or even online subtitling platforms such as *Amara*. The final translation is not usually on par with the subtitling a professionally trained translator would provide since the main guidelines used for the creation of subtitles are often not followed. As Chaume (2013) points out, fansubs can have different colours and fonts, as well as unconventional positions on the screen and an exceeding number of characters per line.

2. Subtitling

This section will delve deeper into the audiovisual mode of subtitling by analysing the parameters that define it, its classifications, the subtitle-making process, and its technical characteristics.

As previously mentioned, subtitles can be defined as “condensed written translations of original dialogue which appear as lines of text, usually positioned towards the foot of the screen. Subtitles appear and disappear to coincide in time with the corresponding portion of the original dialogue and are almost always added to the screen image at a later date as a post-production activity” (Luyken et al. 1991:31 in Liu 2014:1103). Ever since the invention of cinema, the purpose of subtitling has been to make audiovisual products accessible for foreign audiences in a timely and cost-effective manner. Since then, this mode has developed secondary communicative functions, such as increasing accessibility to hearing impaired viewers and aiding students in the language learning process. More recently, subtitling has branched out to new fields, such as videogame and application localisation, which require both intra- and interlingual subtitles as well as dubbing (Chiaro 2009, Chaume 2013).

Henrik Gottlieb, one of the most renowned scholars in the field of AVT, defines subtitling according to five distinctive characteristics (or parameters) that differentiate this mode from the others (Perego 2005:47). First of all, subtitling is a *written* form of translation, which, as we saw in the previous section, puts it in the AVT category of captioning rather than in revoicing. Given its nature, it is also *additive* as the translated text is “added” to the source text, which maintains both the original soundtrack and visuals. The way the translated material is presented to the viewer, instead, is *immediate*, consumed in real-time and following the pace of the original dialogue. This characteristic also implies that the content is not under the control of the audience since, in an ideal situation, there would not be the need for stopping the film or series to better understand or re-read the subtitles. The fourth parameter is *synchronicity*, which refers to the fact that the original image and the subtitles are simultaneously present on the screen. Lastly, subtitling is considered a *polymedial* type of translation because it involves at least two parallel communication channels to convey the original message, the visual one (consisting of the written translation and the image) and the aural one (the original soundtrack and dialogue). In this regard, the translator has to pay close attention to the integration between the different channels and achieve a semiotic balance between verbal and non-verbal language that will allow the viewer to enjoy a realistic interpretation of the original content (Perego 2005:50).

Another fundamental concept that can help us better understand the difference between other forms of AVT and subtitling (especially the interlingual kind) is Gottlieb’s categorisation of verbal transmission (Gottlieb 1994, Perego 2005). According to the scholar, “[t]ranslation and interpreting, the two traditional counterparts in interlingual communication, are *horizontal, one-dimensional* types of verbal transmission” (Gottlieb 1994:104, emphasis in the original): in fact, they transfer the meaning of the source text by changing the language and not the channel, keeping speech as speech in interpretation and writing as writing in translation, as can be seen in Figure 1. The same can be said for dubbing, as the original spoken dialogue is reproduced in the target language in oral form.

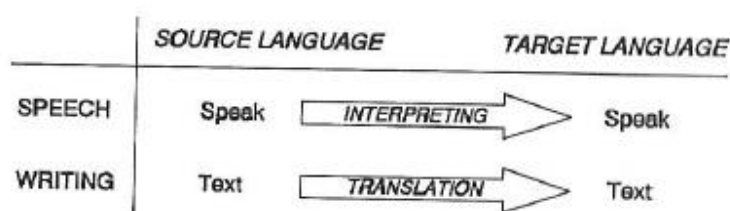


Figure 1 - Horizontal verbal transmission (Gottlieb 1994:104)

When it comes to subtitling, however, verbal transmission can be either *vertical* or *diagonal*. As represented in Figure 2, intralingual subtitling changes the channel but not the language, making it a vertical type of translation, whereas in interlingual subtitling both the channel and the language change, giving a diagonal, or oblique, translation.

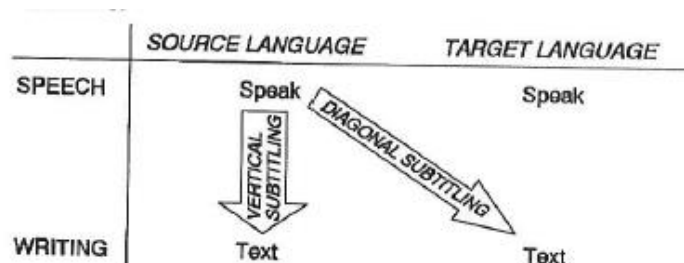


Figure 2 - Vertical and diagonal verbal transmission (Gottlieb 1994:104)

It is important to point out that, as technology advances and the need for more and faster audiovisual translations grows due to the digitalisation, globalisation, and the popularity of streaming platforms, in some instances even interlingual subtitling can revert to being a horizontal translation. As Cordeiro-Campos and de Assis-Azevedo (2020) report, the increasingly tighter deadlines given to subtitlers have led to translations being done directly from already segmented and transcribed intralingual subtitles, called “master templates” (Pedersen 2011). This trend effectively transforms audiovisual translation into purely written translation, only in the context of short segments of text, without taking into account the audiovisual content.

Subtitles can be further classified according to different aspects and, over the years, various scholars have proposed their own classifications (see Ivarsson 1992 and Bartoll 2004 in Liu 2014). Following Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007) and Liu (2014), we will see three of the more traditional parameters of classification for subtitles. The first one is the linguistic criteria (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007:14-19, Liu 2014:1104-1106), according to which, as we have already seen, subtitles can be differentiated depending on the relationships between source and target language:

- *Interlingual* subtitles, where the source language is different from the target language, and which can be classified as oblique translation, as previously explained. They can be consumed both by hearers and by deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers, the latter falling under the category of interlingual SDH.
- *Intralingual* subtitles, where the source and target languages are the same and which can be defined as vertical translation. This typology is mainly used in SDH;

however, its use is not limited to hearing impaired audiences. In fact, it can be used by language learners, for karaoke or to facilitate the comprehension of accents and dialects that can be difficult to understand even for an audience that shares the same language. Lastly, intralingual subtitles can help people receive information in public areas.

A third category mentioned by Díaz-Cintas (2010:347) is that of *bilingual* subtitles: they entail the translation into two target languages, which are then projected on the screen occupying each one a line of the subtitle.

As Pérez-González (2009:15) reports, “[h]istorically, the terms ‘interlingual’ and ‘intralingual subtitles’ correlated with open and closed subtitles, respectively”, which leads us to the second classification parameter, the technical one (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007:21-22, Liu 2014:1106). As mentioned, subtitles can be described as:

- *Open* subtitles, which are embedded on the screen and cannot be removed by the viewer, as is the case for cinema screenings. Their name derives from the fact that they are “visually present throughout the screening and universally accessible to all viewers (except for the visually impaired)” (Pérez-González 2009:15). Because of the way subtitles were initially added to film celluloid by using acid, they are also known as burnt-on subtitles. Nowadays, however, the main methods are laser, used for celluloid, and electronic, through which the subtitles are projected on the screen separately (Díaz-Cintas 2012).
- *Closed* subtitles, which are encoded in the transmission signal and can be added or removed as the viewer pleases, as is the case for teletext technology, DVDs or, more recently, streaming platforms such as *Netflix* or on *Youtube*. The name “closed” comes from the fact that “they are accessible only to viewers whose television sets are equipped with the relevant decoder and who choose to display them on the screen while watching the programme” (Pérez-González 2009:15). Traditionally, this type was mainly used for intralingual subtitles, as it was primarily employed by hearing impaired and different speech communities to be able to access different versions of the same programme; lately, however, closed subtitles are utilized for both intra- and interlingual translation (Pérez-González 2009).

The last parameter we will see in this section is connected to the time available for the preparation of the subtitles themselves (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007:19):

- *Pre-prepared* (or offline) subtitles are done after the audiovisual content has been shot and edited and before it is released, allowing translators to have enough time to work on the subtitles. It is the most common type of subtitling, and we can differentiate, according to their lexical density, between subtitling in complete sentences or in a reduced form, which only gives the gist of the dialogues in news, interviews, and documentaries.
- *Live* (or real-time) subtitles are done on the spot, as the programme is being broadcast. It is a relatively new form of subtitle delivery, and it falls under the AVT mode of respeaking, where the translator either dictates a condensed translation – or the transcription – to a second person (usually a velotypist or stenographer) or to a speech recognition software. The two main types are therefore human-made and machine-translated live subtitles, and the delivery varies between roll-up and scroll subtitling (Díaz-Cintas 2012).

Let us now look at how the subtitling process takes place and what its main stages are, to better understand the various strategies that are needed in this field of translation (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007, Pedersen 2011).

After the client commissions the job and the subtitling company makes sure that the film copy is not damaged and that the dialogue list is complete, the audiovisual material is digitalised and converted into 25 or 30-frame rate and so the spotting process begins, although this step can also be done after the translation. It is also known as time-coding or cueing and “[i]t consists of determining the precise moments when a subtitle should appear on the screen – known as the in-time – and when it should leave the screen – known as the out-time – according to a set of space and time limitations [...]” (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007:30). The use of the electronic time code is fundamental to quality spotting since the indication of the exact frames allows for more precise placement of the subtitles and a better match with the original voice track (Pedersen 2011). The film may already be delivered with a spotting list of the dialogue; however, this is not always the case. This process can be carried out by technicians or by the translators themselves, who nowadays use various types of software to cue as they translate to shorten the preparation time (Pedersen 2011). In case the translators were only tasked with providing a complete

translation of the dialogues – such as when subtitling for a TV station or when surtitling –, an adaptor would then have to adjust the full text to the physical limitations of this AVT mode, that is reducing and condensing the subtitles (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007).

The following step is to translate the original script. The translators will not always be provided with both the film and the written dialogue, and sometimes they will have to work without having access to the image (in which case it will be more of a horizontal translation) or just from the original soundtrack without a transcription. This could happen for several reasons, usually to prevent illegal copies of the film from being made or simply because the distribution company wants to start the translation process in time for festivals even though the film is still in production (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). If the translators receive a script, it is usually a post-production transcript that records the changes made to the original script; these versions, however, do not always coincide with the final audiovisual product, making them unreliable (Pedersen 2011).

Before starting a project, if time allows for it, the translator should watch the source material in its entirety and note down issues that could later prove to be problematic. Other than to the actors' dialogues, due attention should be given to “other acoustic and visual elements that should also be translated: songs, inserts, newspaper headlines, or voices coming from a radio or a television set, for instance” (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007:32). To achieve a quality translation Torregrosa and, later, Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007:31) suggest five areas on which the subtitler should focus the first time they view the source material:

- Expressions whose meaning can be interpreted differently depending on the context.
- Unmarked gender and number of nouns, pronouns and adjectives that can be disambiguated by looking at the image or later in the script.
- Degree of formality between characters.
- Deictic units such as demonstrative adjectives and pronouns that could be disambiguated later on and that may not need to be translated, helping make the subtitle shorter.
- Exclamations with not fixed meaning, whose translation depends on the context.

Another helpful guideline to follow when subtitling is the concept of the “nine pedagogical pillars” created by Gottlieb (1994:106). The scholar came up with this

checklist to help translators achieve better results. The first pillar requires the subtitlers to reflect on what they will translate, identifying which parts of the dialogues do not need to be rendered into the target language and figuring out whose side they are on: this will determine how certain phrases and expressions are translated. The second and third pillars focus on making sure the subtitlers are aware of what is actually being said in the dialogue and that they know the exact meaning of problematic expressions such as idioms, proverbs, and slang, as well as the nuances of accents and dialects.

The fourth step has to do with segmentation: regardless of which type of segmentation is chosen by the translators, be it grammatical, rhetorical, or visual, as Gottlieb stresses, “the subtitler should not spill the beans by prematurely revealing a point, such as the answer to a dramatic question. The target-language audience should get the point *as* things happen, not *before* they happen” (Gottlieb 1994:110, emphasis in the original). This is usually a consequence of the fact that viewers of the audiovisual product likely read the whole subtitle faster than the actors deliver their lines in the source language. The next idea to keep in mind is that the translation should be loyal yet idiomatic: the subtitlers should write as the characters would speak in the target language and they should only use expressions that sound natural in the situations presented on the screen. Moreover, they should make sure that any recognizable auditive feedback from the source language (“yes” and “no” in English, for instance) is translated in a way that does not create confusion for the target audience. The sixth pillar reminds the translator to minimise the loss of information even though the very nature of the subtitles says otherwise. The concepts presented in pillars number seven and eight share some characteristics. The translation should be user-friendly in that the subtitler should be mindful of the distribution of line breaks and of the text volume and syntax to make it easier to follow the subtitles and fully comprehend the translation. Another way in which the viewing can be made more enjoyable for the new audience is through a timely and precise spotting that adapts the length of the subtitles depending on the pacing and the scene cuts. Lastly, the final pillar reminds the translator of the importance of a careful process of proofreading and prooflistening of the final product against the audiovisual content.

In addition to these steps, the translator should also thoroughly research the source text, including checking the spelling of names and understanding any type of reference in order to render them accurately in the target language (Pedersen 2011).

When the translation is finished, the revision and proofreading steps are carried out, ideally by someone who is not familiar with the source material. This stage is essential in order to spot any spelling mistakes or mistranslations; during this process, the translator in charge of the project should have a say in the changes made by the proofreader (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007).

Before the translation is irreversibly burnt on the celluloid, a simulation of the final product is carried out for the client, who will suggest changes to the subtitles. Then, the laser engraving process begins. As seen in a previous section, technological advances will likely be the reason why this method will disappear and be replaced by electronic subtitles (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). At this point, the subtitling company proceeds with a final viewing, after which the translated film is then delivered to the client.

In the next paragraph, we will tackle the various technical characteristics that make up the medium constraints of subtitling and to which the translators must pay close attention, not only in the editing phase but also during the translation process itself, in order to find the most suitable solutions for this AVT mode.

2.1. Technical characteristics

The technical features that characterise subtitling and that are a result of its nature inevitably affect the translation choices and strategies adopted by subtitlers. In view of this, the first methods adopted in order to fit the text on the screen are adaptation and reduction of the original dialogue. Not only are they connected to the spatial and temporal restrictions of the subtitle itself, but they also have to do with the code shift from speech to writing (Pedersen 2011, Guillot 2019). In fact, the translators must take into account the way they will represent orality in a written form that does not overtly show accents, intonation, hesitation and emotions. Therefore, some speech elements such as repetitions, exclamations, fillers, and false starts, the so-called “intrasemiotic redundancy” (Pedersen 2011:20), are usually omitted when they do not contribute to the characterisation of a certain character. The same holds true for other redundant deictic expressions such as appellative constructions or any information that can be understood from the filmic image: they are removed from the target text to keep it within the character limit and improve readability. Other oral features that are often removed are slang, dialect, and taboo

language; in general, the original syntax is simplified and fragmented to favour fast comprehension (Chiaro 2009). According to various studies on this topic (Gottlieb 2001 in Pedersen 2011, Antonini 2005 in Chiaro 2009, Pérez-González 2009), at times the translator might even have to sacrifice 40 to 75% of the original dialogue. However, it is more likely that, on average, the condensation rate is much lower, reaching 31% according to Pedersen (2011:21).

This reduction process, however, does not mean that the viewers will lose an important part of the plot because they can pick it up through other channels, primarily the visual one. Moreover, there are also cases in which condensation is not needed, for instance when the dialogue is slow or with on-screen displays, and it might even be the case that sometimes expansion strategy is applied, as we will see in one of the following paragraphs (Pedersen 2011). In any case, we must remember that subtitles are a means to an end and that “subtitlers are expected to prioritize the overall communicative intention of an utterance over the semantics of its individual lexical constituents” (Pérez-González 2009:15).

The second main aspect subtitlers must keep in mind when translating is cohesion, which in this case is closely tied to the multimodal nature of the audiovisual text. Here, soundtrack and image mesh together to create the full meaning intended by the film director, and the translator must make sure to harmonise all the modes and sub-modes of subtitling to deliver the original message (Guillot 2019).

To be able to deal with these issues effectively and to harmonise the different styles of presenting subtitles that had developed over time, some scholars (Ivarsson and Carroll 1998 in Guillot 2019, Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007) have contributed to the creation of subtitling guidelines that promote preserving and fostering quality in subtitling, although they are not binding (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). It has to be noted that subtitling conventions have developed in each country in a different way over a long period of time and they have become part of the audiovisual translation tradition; therefore, an abrupt change could upset the audience. These recommendations, of course, are not meant to overthrow these traditions completely; instead, they are intended to encourage reflection and they are open to change, especially because of digitalisation and technological advances.

Spatial restrictions

In this section, we will analyse subtitles characteristics linked to spatial restrictions, which consequently require linguistic adjustments. According to Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007), the standard position of subtitles on the screen is at the bottom, horizontal and either centred or left-aligned, depending on the language and the country's subtitling tradition. For instance, in Japan subtitles are usually placed vertically on the right-hand side of the screen. The standard centred-bottom position has proven to be the best option both to show the translated text and not to obstruct the image, which is fundamental to the delivery of the message of the audiovisual text. However, there are still situations in which an unconventional placement is needed, for example when the background at the bottom is too light for the subtitles to be read or when an important action or data, such as details about the speaker (usually in documentaries or interviews), is shown at the bottom of the screen. In this case, the translated dialogue or display is generally moved or added to the top of the screen. When this is not possible, a different strategy involves covering the original data with a grey or black box over which the subtitles will then be placed (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). Some additional shifts of the text horizontally to the right or to the left are possible so as not to hide the image underneath. Another benefit of keeping the translated text at the bottom is that, in this way, the viewer can get used to finding the information quickly because it does not change placement unless necessary, also considering the fact that the audience will need additional time to find the new placement and then read the subtitle. For these reasons, the translator should consider leaving the subtitles on-screen for a couple additional seconds or making them appear slightly earlier or later.

As for what concerns the length of the subtitles, the unit of measurement is the character (including punctuation) and not the word, which has a varying length (Pedersen 2011). The maximum number of characters per line (cpl) should be adjusted to fit the target viewers' presumed reading speed, which, for example, is lower for children's programmes and has become faster over the years after audiences have become accustomed to watching subtitled content. The maximum number of cpl varies also depending on the language and the type of alphabet used (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). There is not a consensus among scholars regarding the perfect number of cpl but,

according to Pedersen's calculations (2011:19), "a full line of contemporary subtitling [...] is considered to have 36 characters, and a full two-liner 72 characters", although different companies follow different guidelines and it is not uncommon to find examples that break this convention, at 42 characters per line. We should also keep in mind that not all characters are considered to occupy the same amount of space: some letters, both in lowercase and uppercase, as well as italics, take up more space than other letters or unmarked text (Pedersen 2011).

One last factor that influences the length of the on-screen text is the delivery medium, as content created for the television tends to have shorter subtitles compared to films screened in cinemas, where the audience's concentration is higher, or on DVDs, where the viewers have the chance to stop and re-read what they missed (Chiaro 2009). In any case, when subtitles are left-aligned and relatively short, translators are encouraged to fit it only in one line, in order to improve readability; however, when subtitles are centred, two shorter lines of equal length are to be preferred for aesthetic reasons (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). Furthermore, the first line should be shorter than the second one to improve readability, especially in left-aligned subtitles (Perego 2005, Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007).

Although there is no fixed rule, subtitles should also have a minimum of 4 to 5 characters in order to justify their presence on the screen. A solution to this problem would be to add the text that is too short to form a single subtitle to the preceding or following one (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007).

Thanks to technological advances, nowadays subtitling software can help the translators stay within the cpl limit by signalling it in the translation cells as the translation is in process (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). Moreover, since the font size can be altered, more characters can be shown on-screen, although it could hinder readability (Díaz-Cintas 2010).

The standard maximum number of lines per subtitle is two, although it can vary depending on the specific type of mode: in SDH and fansubbing, for instance, we can find subtitles made up of three or four lines and in bilingual subtitling the number can go up to four lines to allow more text to be shown in each language (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007, Díaz-Cintas 2010). When only one line is used, different subtitling companies have

different conventions for its placement, whether in the spot occupied by the first or second line. The lower position is to be preferred in order to allow more of the image to show; however, the top line grants consistency in the place where subtitles appear, so that the eye of the viewer is always automatically redirected to same spot (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007).

For what concerns segmentation, line break should not be random; instead, it should respect the syntactic and semantic units to promote readability and coherence and to better deliver the intonation of the sentence (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007, Díaz-Cintas 2010). If the character's speaking portion is too long to fit in one two-line subtitle, the translator should consider breaking it into two shorter sentences instead of spreading the same sentence across more than two subtitles.

Temporal restrictions

As for the exposure time, the general rule dictates that translators should be careful not to create subtitles less than one second long since they would flash on the screen and not grant enough time for the viewer to read the text (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). If such situation occurs, the subtitlers can either add the text to the previous or following subtitle or, if the portion of dialogue is preceded or followed by a pause, they can allow for some asynchrony between the appearance of the subtitle and the beginning and the end of the utterance, leaving the text on-screen for a more extended period. Translators should also pay attention when subtitling fast dialogue and they should use reduction strategy accurately to allow the viewer to both comfortably read the text without feeling pressured and enjoy the image on the screen (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007).

The maximum exposure time, instead, should follow the “six-seconds rule”, according to which “two full lines of around 35 characters each can be comfortably read in six seconds” by an average viewer at a speed of 140 words per minute (or 12 characters per second) (Díaz-Cintas 2010:345). Therefore, one-line subtitles should stay on screen for three to five seconds and two-line ones for four to six seconds (Chiaro 2009, Pedersen 2011). As Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007:89) point out, “when a subtitle remains on screen longer than the time the viewer actually needs to read it, there is a tendency to read it again”; moreover, it could lead to more condensation in the following subtitle to make up

for its shorter exposure time (Chiaro 2009). For these reasons, subtitles longer than their suggested maximum exposure time should be avoided. Nevertheless, although not much research has been done on this topic, more recently viewers' reading speed has increased to around 180 words per minute (or 15-17 characters per second) thanks to their exposure to audiovisual content in daily life, allowing them, for example, to read a two-line subtitle in less than five seconds (Díaz-Cintas 2010).

Similarly to the physical length of the subtitles, their exposure time also varies depending on the pace of the dialogue, the speakers alternation, the amount of information coming from the non-verbal visual channel (i.e. the action on screen), and the target audience's assumed reading speed (Perego 2005, Díaz-Cintas 2010, Pedersen 2011). As mentioned before, children's programmes often have fewer cpl and longer exposure time; moreover, intralingual subtitles too tend to have a slower pace, which requires more condensation (Pedersen 2011). Furthermore, "[t]he degree of familiarity that viewers can be assumed to have with the source language and with subtitling are also factors that have an impact on the final decision" (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007:96).

Time constraints also have to do with the fact that subtitles should appear in synchronicity with the part of the dialogue they refer to, keeping a delay between subtitles to signal the change to the viewers. Ideally, they should stay on the screen in the span of time when an actor speaks, respecting shot changes, pauses and hesitations, and avoiding showing important parts of the dialogue if they have not yet been said out loud, in order not to break the suspension of disbelief. As Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007:90) put it, "[a]ccurate timing is crucial for optimal subtitling since it reinforces the internal cohesion of the translated programme and plays the essential role of helping the viewer identify who is saying what in the programme".

If a character speaks for more than six seconds, the subtitle should be segmented when a natural pause occurs during the delivery, either continuing the sentence in the following subtitle after signalling the change with three dots or breaking it up into two shorter sentences (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007).

Punctuation and other conventions

The guidelines also suggest other formal conventions for the production of subtitles. First of all, the font used should be clearly visible, usually white or, occasionally, yellow, although in SDH other colours such as cyan and can be used to better indicate which character is speaking or to convey the emotions and intonation (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007, Guillot 2019). In the same vein, italics and block letters help the audience understand if the voice is off-screen or far away or if the characters are shouting (additionally, block letters are used to indicate display translation). Furthermore, multiple voices should be signalled with a dash at the start of the sentence and by placing each utterance in a different line in a two-line subtitle. The font used should be easy to read and the size can vary, although small fonts are not recommended (Perego 2005, Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). Punctuation is another fundamental element in rendering speech into writing, since it facilitates reading and it helps the viewer to understand tone, hesitations and continuations of sentence in the following subtitle (Perego 2005, Guillot 2019).

2.2. Translation strategies

As seen in the previous section but contrary to what most people think, subtitling is not just a direct translation of the actors' dialogues. Instead, it requires specific strategies that cater to the three main aspects of subtitling: transfer from source to target language, diamesic transfer as a consequence of the switch from oral to written code, and reduction (Perego 2005). These characteristics are the reason why, over the years, translators have tried to come up with a taxonomy for all the possible strategies that can be used in this situation. First of all, let us take a look at the concepts of equivalence, adequacy, fidelity, and translatability, which are fundamental to know which approach to adopt when translating.

For decades scholars have tried to give their own definition of the complex concept of equivalence in translation. Its main purpose is to describe the relationship between the source text and target text, which is not monolithic and exists across the different elements of text, from the single graphic words level to bigger translation units (Perego 2005). Both Vinay and Darbelnet and Nida have proposed a definition of equivalence that takes into consideration the variability of the relationship between original and translation, based on the fact that a situation can be rendered differently depending on the methods used during the translation process and its context. This type of process, which is the norm when

dealing with idioms, proverbs, and fixed expressions, aims at recreating in the target text the same situation found in the source text, with different words if necessary. Nida's functional or dynamic equivalence, in particular, focuses on replicating the situation in its totality, producing a target text that is as natural as possible (Perego 2005). Because isomorphism between different languages does not exist, it is very likely that not all expressions in a language will have the same meaning and connotations in another. Therefore, the best solution according to Nida is to find the "closest possible equivalent" in the target language, a procedure that sometimes involves radical adaptation and explicitation of the source material. These translation approaches can be defined as target-oriented, as they focus on understanding the relationship between the message and the receiver and on recreating its effect in the target text. Obviously, functional equivalence is not always the only or best solution: in fact, the translator should know how to navigate the continuum of formal and functional equivalence to best deliver the original message in the translation.

Díaz-Cintas (2004) calls the two opposite poles of this continuum as adequacy and acceptability. The former occurs when "the translated product adheres to the values and referents of the source product", whereas the latter implies a translation solution that requires a compromise or a necessary loss, an approach more similar to Nida's functional equivalence that "embraces the linguistic and cultural values of the target polysystem" (Díaz-Cintas 2004:29). Perego (2005), however, defines adequacy as a less strict and absolute relationship between source and target text compared to the one found in the idea of equivalence. This approach brings forward the concept of "dominant", the element of the text that has a crucial role in the characterisation of the text itself and based on which the translation strategies are adopted.

The next concept is fidelity, which determines if the target text can be considered a reasonable and loyal representation of the original (Perego 2005). To achieve a high level of fidelity and be able to recreate the effect of the source text, the translators must make sure that they have completely understood the meaning and message of the original, that they possess a thorough knowledge of the source culture, and that their comprehension and reformulation skills can allow them to find the most appropriate translation approach.

Lastly, the concept of translatability allows us to understand how many of the elements and ideas contained in the source text can be translated in the target language and

how many of them are not shared between the two cultures (Perego 2005). According to Aixela (1996:54), in fact, the level of translatability is high when two cultures share many values and ideas and when they have come into contact with one another. This concept, however, does not mean that there are fully untranslatable elements, but rather that there are different levels of adherence to the source text and that it is just a matter of finding the right translation solution.

In subtitling, equivalence is a fundamental concept that dictates the strategies used in the translation; however, it is also influenced by the constraints put on it because of the nature of the medium. For this reason, formal equivalence might not always be possible to achieve because the text in the subtitle has to be shorter, making the subtitler resort to adopting the reduction or adaptation strategies, based on functional equivalence. In any case, the translator's duty is to preserve the content of the original dialogues as much as possible and to keep the same effect it had on the original audience. One of the occasions in which functional equivalence is an optimal solution is when we come across "cultural asynchrony" in a text (Manhart 2000 in Guillot 2019): this term refers to the linguistic and cultural mismatches between source and target language which are challenging to render in translation, especially in a limited space and time. This aspect is also connected with the issue of the diversification of practices and expectations. Thanks to digitalisation, which democratised AV products and changed our relationship with content consumption with the rise of the Internet (Jones 2019), audiences around the world have evolved and have developed more specific interests, needs and expectations towards multimedial content. The viewers have also gained a more active role in the consumption and production of AV products, coining new unconventional practices and requiring a questioning of the ideals of accuracy, fidelity and authenticity (Guillot 2019).

The second main aspect of subtitling is diamesic variation, which leads to a medium switch between speech and writing. This transfer, however, is hindered furtherly by the fact that the nature of subtitles requires reductions and omissions as the main adaptation strategies instead of being able to enrich the text with notes and indications on the characters' prosody, register and accent (Perego 2005:89). In order to meet this requirement, "subtitling has developed a style of its own that has an impact on grammar and register, as well as on the interactional and other oral features of dialogue. These features are signals speakers send to each other to convey they have understood an

explanation, to underscore a mood or a connotation underlying their utterance, etc.” (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007:63). A subtitle should be able to replicate the features of written and spoken language at the same time, bearing in mind that speech in film is already a form of scripted, prefabricated orality that loses some of its spontaneity (Díaz-Cintas 2012). Nevertheless, a tendency to revert to writing conventions can be seen in most subtitles, such as the use of correct grammar, the reduction of interactional features in the speech, and avoiding taboos, swear words, hesitations, and false starts (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007, Chiaro 2009, Pedersen 2011).

To sum up, although some features of speech manage to be kept during the subtitling process, rendering all of them would be an impossible task because it would go against the nature and purpose of subtitles, which are meant to be a support to the original soundtrack and not a one-to-one replacement. The information conveyed should deliver the original message by taking advantage of the visual contextualisation, and features that characterise a certain character such as socio-linguistically marked expressions should not be excluded a priori (Perego 2005).

The last aspect of subtitling I will analyse here is reduction. We have already mentioned that reduction is necessary due to the spatial and temporal constraints of this AVT mode, but it is also influenced by the translator’s personal judgement on what should be kept and what can be sacrificed without taking away from the original message. This strategy has been discussed at length by many scholars (Perego 2005), who describe it as a problematic aspect given the fact that sometimes its use can be unjustified and it can hinder comprehension, conveying only textual information and losing the paralinguistic features of speech. The duty of the subtitler is to make sure that the viewers, especially those who rely solely on the subtitles to understand the AV product, do not feel that they have lost any information. To be able to reach this goal, the translator should carefully watch and analyse the source material in order to point out the elements that are essential and those that are not. In this regard, Perego (2005:77) lists three different types of reduction: total, partial and explicating.

Total reduction is to be intended as the elimination from the target text of whole linguistic units – from single words to full sentences – depending on how relevant they are in contributing to conveying the message. This strategy should be adopted with caution since its reckless use can be detrimental to the target text and to its global coherence.

Usually, it is applied in situations where the information can be inferred from the context or from the image, when appellative constructions or deictics are being used, with socio-culturally marked expressions, and with false starts and hesitations and other intrasemiotic redundance.

Partial reduction involves the use of condensation, which refers to a summarised and reformulated version of the source text that keeps all the essential information of the original. As is always the case when dealing with reduction, this process should not be abused and its underlying complex and deeper strategies should be chosen carefully as not to increase the information density of the text, hindering readability.

Finally, we have explicating reduction, which could seem like a counterintuitive concept since it involves the expansion of text and content, made possible by the reduction or omission of previous elements. This process enriches the message conveyed through the translation by emphasising certain elements or by making implicit information explicit for the new audience.

All of these aspects differentiate subtitling from other AVT modes and, as mentioned before, they require their own strategies. However, they are not the only hurdles translators come across when rendering a text from one language to another: in fact, subtitlers still have to deal with all of the usual problems found also in written translation. According to Chiaro (2009), subtitlers face three types of translation problems: culture-specific references, language-specific features and areas of overlap between language and culture, such as songs, rhymes and jokes. These issues become more prominent in audiovisual translation because “audiences will be able to match what they see on screen (the visuals) [and/or the original soundtrack] with what they hear in a dub or read in a subtitle” (Chiaro 2009:155), whereas in written translation, since it is covert, the target audience is not exposed to these elements.

As we have seen in throughout this chapter, reduction is the main strategy used in subtitling. Let us now see other strategies that can be applied to overcome translation problems and optimise the translator’s work. Since to this day a single, defined, objective classification of translation strategies does not exist, I will analyse the main ones that are applicable to subtitling based on the studies of various scholars, both in the field of translation proper (namely Vinay and Darbelnet and Venuti) and in the specific field of

AVT (namely Gottlieb and Lomheim). I will then propose a separate taxonomy that summarises these strategies, which I will refer to in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of my retranslation to comment on my translation solutions.

First of all, we have to distinguish between the concepts of “translation method” and “translation procedure”. While the former refers to the overall approach that the translator chooses for the whole text, which could be a word-for-word or free translation for example, the latter indicates the various types of strategies that can be used to render an element from the source language to the target language (Ordudari 2007).

As for written translation – and translation in general – we will take into consideration the seven strategies proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet. Since the translators should focus on transferring concepts across various semantic fields, the two scholars believe that single words should not be considered full units of translation, which could also be described as lexicological units or units of thought (Waliński 2015). Its translation process, then, will have to fall between formal correspondence and semantic equivalence, depending on the context and the pragmatic level, which will determine which translation strategy should be applied to achieve a meaningful target text. According to Siregar (2016:52), in fact, “[t]ranslation procedures are methods applied by translators when they formulate an equivalence for the purpose of transferring elements of meaning from the Source Text (ST) to the Target Text (TT)”.

Vinay and Darbelnet subscribed to two major transfer methods: direct and oblique translation. Direct translation aims to maintain the original message in the translation by either keeping the expression in the source language or by employing a parallel category or concept through borrowing, calque and literal translation. This method is made possible because of the “structural and metalinguistic parallelisms that occur between languages”, which allow to “overcome gaps [...] between the source language and the target language by transposing the SL message piece by piece into the TL” (Waliński 2015:58). Oblique translation, on the other hand, – not to be confused with Gottlieb’s concept by the same name – can be compared to free translation and it is the method the translator should resort to when direct translation is not possible. Here the text is modified to a greater or lesser extent “due to structural and metalinguistic differences between languages” (Waliński 2015:61) that do not allow certain effects and connotations to be rendered successfully in the target language. These two main methods can be employed at three levels of language,

lexicon, grammar, and message, and, although they propose different approaches to the translation of the source text, in practice the distinction is not always clear, but rather the two methods are “opposite ends of a wide spectrum of options” (Waliński 2015:58). The three direct translation strategies are:

- *Borrowing*. It is the simplest translation strategy and it consists in maintaining a source language word or expression in the target text without translating it. This process is usually employed in two situations: either to define new technical or unknown terms and concepts derived from technological advance and for which an equivalent does not yet exist in the target language, or to create a stylistic effect by giving the text a new flavour through the foreign language (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/95 in Munday 2001:56, Waliński 2015).
- *Calque*. It can be described as a special type of borrowing where every single element of the source language expression is translated literally in the target language. This strategy can produce two kinds of calques: lexical, which follows the syntactic structure of the target language while simultaneously introducing a new mode of expression, and structural, which keeps the literally translated elements in the structure of the original language (Waliński 2015). Italian, in the same way as many other languages, has acquired numerous borrowed expressions from English, a process which recently has intensified due to globalisation and the status of English as a lingua franca in today's global society.
- *Literal translation*, or word-for-word translation, is “a direct transfer of the source text into grammatical and idiomatically appropriate target text” that does not alter the original meaning (Siregar 2016:52). It is mostly used when the languages involved belong to the same family and/or share the same culture and when keeping the verbatim meaning of the source text is the main goal of the translation since its characteristic is the adherence to the linguistic rules of the target language (Waliński 2015).

In case the first three procedures produce a translation that “has no meaning, gives another meaning, skews the original message in any other way, the procedures of oblique translation can be employed to achieve a better result” (Waliński 2015:61). The four oblique translations strategies are:

- *Transposition*. It is a very versatile procedure that consists in “replacing one word class with another class without changing the message” and it can be either obligatory (because of the differences between the two language systems) or optional (Siregar 2016:52). One of the benefits of using transposition especially in subtitling is that it allows to produce a more concise version of the text, making it more easily understandable for the viewers, although it could have a substantially different semantic value compared to the original expression (Waliński 2015).
- *Modulation*. This strategy involves a shift in perspective by changing the form of the source text, usually on the semantic level. As was the case for transposition, it can either be obligatory or optional depending on the wider linguistic context: an obligatory modulation, for example, occurs with verbal constructions and set phrases that depend on the structure of the languages (Waliński 2015). This procedure allows to stress the meaning, to increase coherence and to find a more natural expression in the target language, especially when literal translation or transposition still produce awkward-sounding – although grammatically correct – translations. The change in perspective can occur in various forms: abstract for concrete, cause for effect, part for whole, part for another part, reversal of terms, negation of opposite, active to passive (and vice versa), space for time, rethinking of intervals and limits (in space and time), change of symbol (including fixed and new metaphors) (Asadi Sadeghi Azar 2018).
- *Equivalence* (or reformulation). It creates “an equivalent text in the target language by using completely different stylistic and structural methods” (Waliński 2015). It is usually employed with inherently cultural expressions, such as exclamations, expletives, onomatopoeia, idioms, proverbs, etc., and it tends to be a fixed equivalence, appropriate in most contexts. Finding an equivalent is not always easy because at times the target language might not have a corresponding expression that features in everyday speech, and a literal translation or a calque might confuse the audience.
- *Adaptation*. It is the most complex procedure, and it can be considered a situational equivalence, therefore the final translation will depend on the context because it is not fixed. Here, the translator “has to create a new situation that can be considered equivalent” and that will function in the target culture, changing the cultural reference (Siregar 2016:52). This usually happens with the translation of book and

film titles. As Waliński (2015:64) points out, “[t]ranslators are often reluctant to make use of adaptation, as it invariably affects not only the syntactic structure, but also the development and representation of ideas within the paragraph, chapter, or the text as a whole”, for example the translation of the titles of a film sequel. For this reason, some viewers have started to demand translations based on calques in order to maintain a higher level of adherence to the source text, although this method often produces unnatural results.

When talking about adaptation, one other theory that should be mentioned is Venuti’s approach based on domestication and foreignisation. After the cultural turn in Translation Studies in the 1970s and 1980s, the role that differences between cultures play in hindering communication became more apparent and scholars started investigating translation as not just a linguistic process, but rather as an act of negotiation between two cultures where one is usually dominant and the other subjugated (Myskja 2013). In light of this, two main approaches emerged: domestication, which replaces the source culture with the target culture, and foreignisation, which preserving the differences present in the source culture. These practices are not at all recent: in ancient Roman times, translation was a form of conquest used to increase the Roman Empire’s cultural prestige by getting access to Greek texts and domesticating them. The foreignising approach, on the other hand, was first introduced during the Romantic era by Friedrich Schleiermacher in relation to the demand for less homogenous translations that could reflect the original culture even in the target language (Yang 2010). The dispute over which of these two approaches should be preferred is not recent either; however, at the end of the 20th century it has started being viewed from a new social, cultural, and historical perspective, and not just as an extension of the long-standing controversy over free and literal translation. In the contemporary international translation field, the two main exponents of this dispute have been Eugene Nida, who sides with domestication and according to whom “readers of a translated text should be able to understand and appreciate it in essentially the same manner as the original readers did” (Nida 1995:118 in Yang 2010:78), and Lawrence Venuti, who favours foreignisation, concerned about “the exclusion or inclusion of peripheral and minority forms within the target language in the translation process” (Myskja 2013:3).

Venuti defined domestication as “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values” aimed at moving the author towards the target audience by

means of a transparent style that minimises the foreignness of the source text. Foreignisation, on the other hand, is “an ethnodeviant pressure on [those cultural] values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text” aimed at moving the reader towards the original author keeping some the foreignness of the source text by breaking target culture conventions (Venuti 1995:20 in Yang 2010:78). In domestication, naturalness is prioritised in order to achieve a text that would feel undistinguishable to other original texts in the target language, using strategies such as idiomatic translation, deletion, cultural equivalent, functional equivalent, synonymy and coinage (Myskja 2013, Baawaidhan 2016). This is what has won domestication the title of violent translation process, especially since it has become the expected mode in the Anglo-American culture. In this regard, foreignisation has been promoted by Venuti in an effort to restrain ethnocentricity of the English-speaking world as a form of resistant translation against the dominant culture (Yang 2010). To do so, the strategies that can be applied are literal translation, borrowings, calques, and glosses (Baawaidhan 2016).

The use of either domestication or foreignisation depends both on the individual translator’s approach, which is based on the model reader and the text function, and on the stylistic choice chosen by a specific government (Yang 2010). Just as we have seen with subtitling and dubbing, the two approaches vary in use depending on the target culture and its view of foreign texts, whether it should be left to be enjoyed as originally intended, keeping its foreignness, or adapted to fit the conventions of the target culture. The two concepts of domesticating and foreignising, however, “are clearly insufficient when dealing with AVT in which the value of the image tends to take precedence over the word” (Díaz-Cintas 2004:29). As Denton (2000:146) points out, “domestication [...] can hardly be applied to the visual element (unless scenes are actually cut out or subjected to very limited manipulation, as does happen)”. Therefore, the amount of “otherness” that is kept or removed from the target text is connected to the acoustically transmitted verbal signs.

Let us now see the translation procedures that have been developed specifically with subtitling in mind. When choosing a translation strategy, there are five main influencing factors: the nature of the source text, the AV product genre, the target audience, the linguistic structures, and the overlap between the source and target languages and cultures (Perego 2005:100). For the sake of this project, we will mainly take Gottlieb’s

strategies as reference to determine the possible translation procedures that can be employed in subtitling based of the text's function (or *skopos*).

Gottlieb's taxonomy consists of ten procedures, the first seven offering a translation of the original element, the last three focusing of removing different amounts of information from the target text (Perego 2005):

- *Expansion*. It produces an expanded version of the original expression for those circumstances in which additional information has to be provided to the viewer due to the formal differences between two languages. It involves an explanation that allows the audience to interpret extralinguistic references that are not retrievable in the target language or to understand the author's linguistic choices better by specifying them.
- *Paraphrase*. Despite its name, it does not entail an explanatory reformulation of the source text, but rather a modification of the original to make it acceptable for the target audience. This goal is achieved by preserving the message through functional equivalence. The final product has equal expressive potential to the original without maintaining correspondence at the form and content level: the translated meaning is different but also relevant to the original message. It is often used with idiomatic expressions, where "the phraseology of the original cannot be reconstructed in the same syntactic way in the target language" (Ghaemi and Benyamin 2011:42), and when the source expression is exclusive and specific to that source language.
- *Transfer*. This concept is similar to Vinay and Darbelnet's idea of literal translation in that it creates a complete, word-for-word translation that fully mirrors the source text on a form and content basis, preferably also respecting the syntactic structure. This procedure is especially helpful in interlingual subtitling where the original soundtrack is exposed since it preserves the correspondence between what is said and the order in which it is translated (Díaz-Cintas 2010). It has to be noted that the application of this strategy depends on the spatial and temporal constraints given by the nature of the subtitle and that it might not always be the best translation solution to render the original intended effect.
- *Imitation* is not used very frequently because it should be employed only in a specific functional perspective, that is if it contributes to maintaining the *skopos* of the source text. The target text expression is identical to its counterpart in the

original, keeping it in the source language as a loanword, untranslated, and, for this reason, it could be compared to Vinay and Darbelnet's idea of borrowing. It is mostly used with proper names, greetings, song lyrics, and quotations in languages that are different from the source language.

- *Transcription.* This procedure is used to render non-standard, socio-linguistically marked expressions in the source language, dialects, and wordplay which have a precise communicative function. Its aim is to reproduce and respect the otherness of the original expression within the source language. It is important to remark that not all of these elements of the text must be replicated in the translation.
- *Dislocation.* This strategy is most useful in subtitling because it allows the translator to adapt and reformulate the original message based on the image and the audiovisual referents, which also helps achieve content equivalence. The resulting target text is different from the original expression since it is influenced by the original context and message and, therefore, it has to be reformulated to disambiguate it and to render the intended effect.
- *Condensation.* It is similar to Perego's partial reduction. It consists in rendering the same message in a more linguistically synthetic form, therefore only the form changes and not the content, unlike decimation and deletion, which eliminate secondary information. It is a fundamental strategy in subtitling because it allows to provide the reader with a shorter version of the source text without losing any part of the message.
- *Decimation.* Decimation can be compared to Perego's total reduction, since additional elements that carry a lot of information but are not essential are excluded from the target text without changing the overall meaning. This reduction, both at the level of form and content, is fully comprehensible and usually motivated by the spatial and temporal constraints of subtitles.
- *Deletion.* Here, unimportant portions of text or conversational turns are omitted from the target text. This elimination happens on a much bigger scale compared to decimation and it could generate dissonance in the audience, who will still hear the original voice track and will therefore be aware that some information is missing in the translation, noticing incongruencies between source language dialogues and interlingual subtitles.

- *Resignation*. This procedure is completely different from what we have seen before; in fact, it is not as much a procedure as it is an unstoppable phenomenon. It occurs “when no translation solution can be found and meaning is inevitably lost” (Ghaemi and Benyamin 2011:42) and it involves untranslatable items. In some cases, when the original elements are not omitted, they can be replaced by similar cultural references that, however, still stray far from the source text, as is the case for neutralised culture-specific items; otherwise, the visual scene itself might be able to clarify any comical misunderstanding.

Let us now briefly see one more type of taxonomy for translation strategies, as proposed by Lomheim (Perego 2005:115). Some aspects of Lomheim’s procedures agree with Gottlieb’s strategies: for example, the former’s addition, condensation, and effacement correspond to the latter’s expansion, condensation, and decimation or deletion. Lomheim, however, adds three strategies that have not been mentioned before, that is hyperonymy, hyponymy and neutralisation, respectively as a means of generalisation, specification or explicitation, and elimination of intrinsic connotations of the source expression. These three procedures involve replacing specific lexical units with other expressions that are semantically related to them in the target language and they are not necessarily types of reduction strategies.

To conclude this section, as anticipated, I will propose a unified taxonomy for ease of reference during the commentary of the translation solution in Chapter 3. Taking from the three scholars we have previously mentioned, this classification features:

- *Transposition*, following Vinay and Darbelnet’s definition. It consists in a syntactic paraphrase of the source text, achieved by changing the syntactic category of the original expression. This can occur on the level of parts of discourse, for example changing a verb into a noun and vice versa, or of the sentence structure, by modifying the order of the constituents and the use of punctuation.
- *Modulation*. Just as the previous strategy, modulation too mirrors Vinay and Darbelnet’s definition by involving a change in perspective over the original expression. This semantic paraphrase can result from logical derivation (for instance by substituting a procedure with the name of the tool needed, or modifying the cause-effect relationship), an antonymic translation, or other mechanics, for

- example from dynamic to static or from animate to inanimate. This strategy includes the procedures of specification and generalisation, mentioned by Lomheim.
- *Borrowing*. Following Vinay and Darbelnet's definition of the strategy by the same name and Gottlieb's concept of imitation, borrowing is used when a source language expression is kept in the target text in the form of a loanword. This could happen because of the lack of an equivalent or word for that term in the target language or because, thanks to globalisation, many foreign words can be understood by other cultures, especially in the case of English.
 - *Transfer*, which takes directly from Gottlieb's taxonomy. Through transfer strategy, the source language syntax is reproduced in the target text to underline the relationship between the subtitle and the voice track, especially for those viewers who have a working knowledge of the foreign language.
 - *Adaptation*. As Vinay and Darbelnet defined it and taking from Gottlieb's paraphrase, this strategy can be used to solve various translation problems in a creative way, by finding a functional solution that fits the context even though it might not correspond to the fixed, official translation for the source language expression. It is most useful when having to deal with wordplay, visual elements that cannot be avoided or changed and to recreate the original effect of the AV product on the new target audience.
 - *Equivalence*. Contrary to adaptation, this procedure involves using the fixed, official translation or cultural equivalent of the original expression in the target text. In this category, I shall include the official translations for events, TV shows, films, and character names.
 - *Explicitation*. The explicitation strategy comprises Gottlieb's expansion and Pedersen's specification, which I will analyse in more detail in Chapter 3. According to this procedure, an explanation or explicitation is added to the term in the source language – which may or may not be kept in the target text – in order to specify what is kept implicit in the original expression. This is very useful for the translation of proper names and job titles. It is also used to make certain implicit parts of discourse such as pronouns and logical-semantic links explicit.
 - *Reduction*. This procedure needs to be included when compiling a taxonomy of translation strategies for subtitling since it is the most useful one. The resulting

target text has a reduced number of constituents, which produces a shorter, more concise sentence that does not lose the original message.

- *Elimination*. Another strategy that cannot be excluded is elimination, which here represents the deletion of unnecessary or redundant elements from the source text, following Gottlieb's definitions of deletion and decimation.
- *Resignation*. This strategy follows Gottlieb's concept of resignation, which happens when the original connotation, wordplay or reference is inevitably lost in the target text due to linguistic and cultural differences between the two languages.
- *Compensation*. As the name suggests, this last procedure is used to compensate for a loss resulting from the employment of resignation strategy. This goal can be achieved in different ways, using all of the previously presented procedures.

3. Recent studies on subtitling

Although at its core subtitling remains a complex task, thanks to technological advances the translator's job has changed drastically during the last century. AVT has always been linked to technology, which has shaped the translation process itself from day-one. In the case of subtitling, initially the spotting and burning process used to be quite tedious and time-consuming; however, nowadays the same person can spot, subtitle, and preview the finished product all at the same time and the delivery is done through digital files (Díaz-Cintas 2005, Guillot 2019). New technological tools have allowed to streamline subtitling creation and to increase the production rhythm, as well as to expand AVT across new industries, such as videogame localisation and corporate films and documentary translation (Chiaro 2009, Pérez-González 2014). On the other hand, it has also contributed to an increase in the amount of material that needs to be subtitled efficiently in order to keep up with the expectations of our globalised digital society (Chiaro 2009, Pérez-González 2014, Guillot 2019).

Subtitling has become a translation mode that can be approached by anyone who owns a computer and a free subtitling software or online platform, despite not having received any prior education on audiovisual translation, which gave rise to the fansubbing phenomenon, as seen in a previous section (Díaz-Cintas 2005, Gambier 2012). Consumers have become more familiar with and more exposed to AV products since they can be accessed from anywhere and there is a growing range of various genres and contents

(Pérez-González 2014). Over time, viewers have assumed a more active role in the fruition and creation of subtitles for their favourite programmes and they have effectively become “prosumers” who know what they want (Jones 2019:187, Guillot 2019:31). The advent of fansubbing also means that “standard” subtitling conventions are being followed less strictly, either finding new creative ways to colour code dialogues, changing the maximum number of cpl and lines in a subtitle, sticking to a more source text oriented translation to be faithful to the original message, and adding explanatory glosses and notes at the top of the screen or as pop-ups and hyperlink capsules, which creates new trends that some scholars consider should be added to normal conventions (Díaz-Cintas 2005, Guillot 2019, Jones 2019).

As mentioned before, technology allowed subtitlers, film studios and distributors to digitalise the way in which AV material is accessed in order to undergo the subtitling process. Through cloud-based systems of data storage, the audiovisual content can be accessed from anywhere at any time and can also be protected from piracy, since the translators do not have to download or receive physical copies of the films or series episodes (Georgakopoulou 2019, Bolaños-García-Escribano et al. 2021). The growing demand for translation of AV content in the 21st century with an ever-so-tight deadline led to translation companies and distributors resorting to the cloud, with the additional benefits of cost reduction, increased automation, and real-time access to and sharing of project information. Cloud-based platforms offer a number of services such as online editors, project management tools, change trackers, quality control, and machine translation (Georgakopoulou 2019). In this way, the product is translated, reviewed, and signed off more quickly and it is immediately accessible to the client.

Thanks to the use of translation memories and machine translation, among the many other technological tools mentioned by Bolaños-García-Escribano et al. (2021:6), the work of the subtitler can be done more quickly, in order to meet the increasingly tight deadlines required by global distribution and online streaming. In this regard, Pérez-González mentions the case of the integration of Example-Based Machine Translation (EBMT) in the subtitling process of DVDs and bonus material. These systems “reuse examples of already existing translations, collected in the form of bilingual or parallel corpora, as a basis for the automated production of new translations” (Pérez-González 2014:18). Another tool that has greatly developed over the last decades is speech

recognition, which has already been discussed in this chapter. Its main benefits are its cost- and time-effectiveness, especially for respeaking, and the creation of real-time intralingual subtitles (Georgakopoulou 2019). More recently, by combining speech recognition software with machine translation it has been possible to create live interlingual subtitles used, for example, on platforms like *Youtube*. Additionally, speech recognition can be used to create time-coded transcripts of audiovisual files to make the translation process quicker, resulting in an automated version of a master template (Georgakopoulou 2019).

Subtitling norms have also changed greatly with the rise of on demand video and streaming platforms. In recent years and with the introduction of broadband Internet, the amount of audiovisual content we consume everyday has skyrocketed and translation has grown from luxury to utility, creating an unprecedented volume of material that needs translation (Georgakopoulou 2019, Cordeiro-Campos and de Assis-Azevedo 2020). What changed is not just how translation is perceived, but also the very meaning of audiovisual content: now AV products have expanded into different genres and formats that did not exist before, reaching the advertising, corporate and education sectors (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007, Gambier 2012, Chaume 2013, Georgakopoulou 2019).

When it comes to the subtitling process specifically, every company and target language follows different guidelines and traditions – although there are still standard parameters –, but they all have the same pressure created by tighter deadlines in common (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007, Cordeiro-Campos and de Assis-Azevedo 2020). This urgency to deliver translated AV content at a fast pace has changed the subtitling process, as well as the quality of the final products in some cases. Shorter deadlines often mean that the subtitler might not have enough time to perform a review, which leads to subtitles having more mistakes, either from an incorrect translation or because of typos (Cordeiro-Campos and de Assis-Azevedo 2020). As said in a previous section, another risk is the use of master templates, which speed up the translation process by providing the translator with an already time-coded transcript of the original (Gambier 2012). However, they might also cause the subtitling itself to become a form of horizontal translation, done without consulting the image, often because of lack of time (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). One more disadvantage of having to meet tight deadlines is that, in order to be able to make all of the episodes of a season available on a streaming platform at the same time, multiple

translators have to be involved in the subtitling process, likely creating continuity errors within the series (Cordeiro-Campos and de Assis-Azevedo 2020).

This instantaneous access to online audiovisual content has not only had consequences on the translators' work, but also on the viewing habits and expectations of audiences worldwide (Gambier 2012). They can get access to more content than ever before from anywhere in the world and they expect it to be translated in their native languages to be able to enjoy it. "Binge-watching" has become a popular term, especially after the introduction of *Netflix* in most countries, and it has dictated a whole new way of consuming content, leading more and more people away from traditional cable TV: this is particularly true for younger generations, whose preferred method of viewing content is on demand video available online (Georgakopoulou 2019). They also have more independence over how they want to consume it, either dubbed or subtitled, both intra- and interlingually, and over other options through which they can completely personalise their viewing experience (Guillot 2019).

The tendency to switch from broadcasting to narrow-casting has made various scholars interested in the field of audience reception research to better understand how to cater AVT to these new expectations (Gambier 2012, Mendiluche-Cabrera and Hernández-Bartolomé 2005). The analysis can be done with various methods of data collection and is favoured by digitalisation and new text processing software. By studying viewers' habits, reading speed and reception patterns, all the more if aided by scientific tools such as eye-tracking devices (Díaz-Cintas 2012), researchers can observe "response, reaction and repercussion —referring, respectively, to perceptual decoding (lisibility), psycho-cognitive issues (readability) and attitudinal issues (viewers' preferences and habits, and the sociocultural in the broader non-diegetical contexts that influences the receiving process)" (Guillot 2019:40). With the resulting data, the translators can understand AV products' context of reception and the characteristics of the potential spectator (Bartrina 2004), which determine which approach they will use. Paget's and Jenkin's studies on audiences for film adaptation, for example, "have drawn attention to the importance of redundancy and excess amongst communities of fans [...]" (Bartrina 2004:162).

As a response to the recent interest in audience reception, more emphasis has been put on the accessibility aspect of AVT, taking advantage of new scientific and technical tools and collaborating with different fields of study to better the subtitling process and

reception (Perego and Bruti 2015, Orero et al. 2018). SDH and audiodescription have become some of the most researched topics in recent AVT literature and new theories on the new reading speed of today's viewers has made it possible to increase the number of cpl, easing the subtitler's job, as previously mentioned. One example is the use of respeaking to make important information immediately available to everyone. However, intralingual subtitling is now not only targeted to deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers, but it has taken "different forms and labels, and it can accomplish several new functions" (Perego and Bruti 2015:2). Recently, for example, their didactic potential for second language students and to increase literacy and reading abilities has been the subject of various studies (Díaz-Cintas 2012, Chaume 2013, Perego and Bruti 2015). Accessibility also includes allowing the viewers to choose from a variety of different subtitles and dubbed versions from DVDs menus depending on each viewer's needs: "in different languages, or in the same language but for different user groups: youngsters, the deaf, [elderly] people unable to read fast, etc" (Gambier 2008:26).

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

1. The sitcom

The subject of my research is the American sitcom *Community*, which aired on NBC from 2009 to 2014 and on the video hosting service Yahoo! Screen in 2015 for its last season (*Community* n.d.). This show was created by writer and producer Dan Harmon, who got the idea for the plot from his own life. Harmon, born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1973, started attending Glendale Community College in Glendale, California, at 32 years old to save his relationship with his girlfriend at the time (*Dan Harmon* n.d.). As he told in an interview with A.V. Club, “[...] I thought we should take Spanish together. [...] It will force us to communicate and interact and have fun together” (Hyden 2009). While his relationship ended up not working out, Harmon started being approached by his classmates, who were 18-19 years old and had just finished high school, who asked him to study with them. Harmon was neither interested in the classes nor in those kids’ requests because he considered himself a narcissistic and unappreciated TV writer and would have rather ignored them, but he joined them nonetheless (Bland 2020). However, a couple of hours into his study session, he had a change of heart when he saw the students learning the subjects they had the most trouble with and explaining them to each other. He found himself caring about those strangers passing their biology test, which made his selfish and egocentric personality start to soften (Lawrence and Agard 2020, Entertainment Weekly 2020). “[...] I started really liking them, – Harmon recalls – even though they had nothing to do with the film industry and I had nothing to gain from them and nothing to offer them” (Hyden 2009). At that point, he thought about pitching this idea to a network to try something new, satisfying both himself and the higher-ups, and the show was then finally picked up by Sony and aired on NBC on September 17, 2009.

The series revolves around the lives of seven students and their friendship during their time at the fictional Greendale Community College in Colorado. The main protagonist is Jeff Winger, a lawyer whose license was revoked because of a fake degree and who is now forced to go back to college (*Community* n.d.). While trying to trick one of

his classmates from the Spanish course (Britta Perry) into a date with him by pretending to be a language tutor, he finds himself being part of an unlikely study group made up of Abed Nadir, a socially awkward Palestinian 20-something who has a passion for cinema and pop culture, Shirley Bennet, an African American Catholic single mother, Annie Edison, a studious student and former prescription drug addict, Troy Barnes, former high school football star, and Pierce Hawthorne, a racist 68-year-old millionaire. Other key characters on the show are Craig Pelton, Greendale's flamboyant dean, who has a crush on Jeff and who enjoys dressing up in various costumes for comedic effect, and Señor Chang, their mentally unstable Spanish teacher.

The protagonist of the series, Jeff Winger, reflects Harmon's initial attitude towards student life and his study group, as the producer himself told A.V. Club (Hyden 2009). Jeff is not the only character based on Harmon's life: in fact, he took inspiration from various people he knew to create characters such as Abed and Pierce (*Trivia* n.d., Entertainment Weekly 2020). Other than for its impressive ensemble cast, consisting of Joel McHale, Gillian Jacobs, Danny Pudi, Yvette Nicole Brown, Alison Brie, Donald Glover, Chevy Chase, Jim Rash and Ken Jeong, the show became very popular because of its heavy use of meta-humour and pop culture references, which are the main problem when translating the dialogues. As we will see in Chapter 3, in fact, the writers added intertextual references and parodies of films, shows and characters to pay homage to the film industry and its clichés. Other famous aspects of this sitcom are its concept episodes, themed around a certain event or filmic genre, which are loved by the fans. Some examples are "Modern Warfare" (Season 1 Episode 23), where a paintball game takes place on the college campus, "Contemporary American Poultry" (Season 1 Episode 21), that references the mafia movie *Goodfellas*, the Halloween and Christmas specials and the episodes centred around the role-playing game of *Dungeons & Dragons*, which have stirred up quite the controversy lately because of the use of blackface, resulting in an episode being removed from streaming services (VanDerWerff 2020).¹

One last notable aspect of this sitcom is how some scholars refer to it when discussing film and television semiotics. The large number of references to and parodies of traditional cinematic tropes in *Community* contributes to helping the audience construct the

¹ Ivie, D. (2020, June 27). *Community Episode Removed from Streaming Over Chang's Dungeons & Dragons Blackface*. Vulture. (<https://www.vulture.com/2020/06/community-blackface-episodes-removed-by-netflix-and-hulu.html>).

meaning of the entire show (Sander 2012). For this reason, according to Detmering (2014:41), the fans of this series need to have a “certain level of rhetorical and interpretive skills” in order to perceive all the semiotic layers and references and to then give their own meaning to the show.

Despite its continued struggle in the ratings, because of these features the series developed a niche of dedicated fans and was critically acclaimed for its acting, writing and direction (*Community* n.d). The show was briefly aired in Italy on the Italia 1 TV channel in 2013 and was added to the Italian and international *Netflix* catalogues on April 1, 2020, just a month after the Covid-19 pandemic broke out (Bragadini 2020). This new platform gave the series the chance to gain new fans, both in the U.S. and in Italy, reaching an entirely new audience that did not manage to see it when it was first aired and that was excited to enjoy its iconic and bizarre moments that had been circulating on social media (Venable 2020). Although it was previously offered on other streaming platforms such as *Hulu* in the U.S. and *Amazon Prime Video* in Italy, the success of its release on the streaming giant *Netflix* was incredible, and it garnered the show a spot in the American Top 10 in the first few weeks (Entertainment Weekly 2020). The reason for this success was connected to the wider audience that *Netflix* can reach since it is available in 190 countries and it currently has more than 200 million users worldwide, 3.78 million of them coming from Italy (Porro 2021, *Lo streaming* 2021).

2. What does retranslation mean?

This research sets out to propose a retranslation into Italian of some of the elements present in the episodes of Season One of this sitcom. Let us first define what we mean by retranslation, both as a product and as a process. Koskinen and Paloposki (2010:294) describe it as “a second or later translation of a single source text into the same target language”, a phenomenon that usually occurs over time, but that does not exclude instances in which two translations of the same text are produced simultaneously. In Translation Studies the theoretical assumptions on this process are referred to as the “retranslation hypothesis”, which was first mentioned by French translation scholar Antoine Berman in the journal *Palimpsestes* in 1990 (Gürçağlar 2009). He argued that “translation is an ‘incomplete’ act and that it can only strive for completion through

retranslations” which bring it closer to the source text (Berman 1990:1 in Gürçağlar 2009:233). This is motivated by the fact that first translations are assumed to be domesticating in order to be better accepted in the target culture, who could initially see the source text as unfamiliar and foreign. Only later on, “when it has become familiar with the text (and author), the target culture allows for and demands new translations – retranslations – that are no longer definitively target oriented, but source text oriented” (Desmidt 2009:671). In this sense, retranslation was perceived by Berman as a linear process of improvement of the first translation over time; this view, however, oversimplifies this complex phenomenon and later scholars such as Brisset claimed that an approach focused on bringing novelty to the original target text should be preferred (Gürçağlar 2009). While this is what happens in most cases, some texts do not follow this schema, as their first versions could be foreignising and their subsequent retranslations domesticating (Gürçağlar 2009).

The reasons that lead to the retranslation of a text are various: they can be material, resulting from developments in the source text material, formal, because of a change in norms, final, determined by the purpose of the text, and efficient, motivated by the personal intentions of the translator (Mathijssen 2007). As Díaz-Cintas (2004:26) remarks, “[t]he equivalence between source and target products is not absolute and depends on socio-historical variables”; therefore, one of the primary factors is the aging of the source text. Texts, in the same way as language and culture, change over time, both because of technical reasons, such as authorial, editorial or printing interventions, and due to political reasons (Koskinen and Paloposki 2010). The cause of the aging process is to be attributed to the change in the norms that regulate the various target contexts and in the change in the perception towards the domesticated first translation long after its first introduction into a target culture (Paloposki and Koskinen 2004): an increased knowledge of the source text, author and culture could bring about the need for a more foreignising retranslation (Koskinen and Paloposki 2010). It has to be noted that some texts are more prone to retranslation because of their status as classics; however, canonical texts are not the only ones that undergo this process (Desmidt 2009). In fact, other texts can be retranslated in order to fit in a new ideological context, as is the case for feminist retranslations, mentioned by Venuti (2003: 27 in Gürçağlar 2009)

Because both the target language and society can evolve over time, a retranslation might be required in order to address the original text to a new audience, which is the case for the reasoning behind the retranslation in this research. The change in target audience could concern the production of versions for younger audiences – who need an update and modernisation of the language used in the translation – or the addition of a new interpretation of the source text (Paloposki and Koskinen 2004). In this case, the retranslation has a supplementary nature, “which enables translators to target different audiences or re-categorize source texts” and whose aim is to complement and reorient the source text, but also to introduce “novel material and ideas to the target culture” (Gürçağlar 2009:235). One final reason for retranslation is the retranslator’s unawareness of the existence of a previous translation or of another translation of the original text that is being published at the same time, in which case both would be simultaneously “first translation” and “retranslation” of the source text (Gürçağlar 2009).

In this regard, Anthony Pym (Gürçağlar 2009) differentiates between passive and active retranslations. Passive retranslations “reflect the changing attitude of (a large part of) the target culture and may confront the beliefs of two cultures set apart in time or geographical space” (Mathijssen 2007:18). On the other hand, active retranslations “share the same cultural and temporal location and are indicative of ‘disagreements over translation strategies’, challenging the validity of previous translations” (Gürçağlar 2009:235). These disagreements come in the form of pointing out the deficiencies of the first translation or of claiming that what sets a retranslator’s version apart from previous translations is better access to the source culture and better interpretation of the source text. The assumption of unacceptability is usually based on “social or ideological premises, rather than an evident linguistic or literary lack in the previous translations” (Gürçağlar 2009:235). Therefore, an essential factor in the retranslation process, other than the change in norms in the target culture, is the human element, since every translator has a different perspective on how and why a retranslation should be produced. In relation to this, Venuti highlights the role of the individual translator by arguing that “retranslations typically highlight the translator’s intentionality because they are designed to make an appreciable difference” (2003: 29 in Gürçağlar 2009:236). Therefore, we can conclude that “retranslation is a function of the dynamics of the target context, rather than a response to any inherent properties of the source text” (Gürçağlar 2009:236).

As both Koskinen and Paloposki (2010) and Chaume (2018) point out, a distinction should be made between retranslation, revision, and indirect translation. Revision consists in “editing, correcting or modernizing a previously existing translation for re-publication, [and it] is sometimes seen as a first step towards retranslation” (Koskinen and Paloposki 2010:294). However, different versions of the same text have often been labelled arbitrarily as either revisions or retranslations. This happens because an initially revised edition could later be classified as a new translation or the new version could be a hybrid, made up of revised parts of the original translation and entirely retranslated portions within the same text. On the other hand, indirect, or mediated, translations consist in creating a new translation into a co-official language (e.g. Catalan, Galician and Basque) based on a widely available translated version in the same language family (e.g. in Spanish), which is used as an intermediary text that aids the translation. This translation process “almost equals to the process of a retranslation, whereas the product is not a retranslation, but an indirect translation carried out as a retranslation” (Chaume 2018:15). One thing to be noted, as Toury (1995 in Chaume 2018) explains, is that depending on the motives behind the translators’ use of the existing target text – either as reference, while also checking the source text, or to make up for their lack of knowledge of the source language and using the translated version as a pivot – this process could be considered either as legal or as a malpractice. We can then differentiate between indirect translation and retranslation: while the former always employs the first translation as its main source, the latter only uses it as a reference text, sometimes taking inspiration from its translation solutions, but its main resource is the source text, from which it often translates directly. This is the case for my retranslation proposal, given that it is based on the pre-existing *Netflix* Italian subtitles, which are taken as a reference, mainly to identify the elements that should be changed taking into account the new target audience, and that are then retranslated by directly referring to the original English dialogues.

In conclusion, “[r]etranslations result from the wish to meet the requirements of the receiving culture, requirements that are obviously not (no longer or not entirely) met by the existing translation(s). As cultures continuously change, every generation may take a different view on what is a good, i.e., functional, translation and may ask for the creation of a new translation” (Desmidt 2009:670). These requirements are also referred to as “expectancy norms”, as defined by Chesterman (1993:9 in Mathijssen 2007:19), which “are established by the receivers of the translation, by their expectations of what a

translation (of a given type) should be like, and what a native text (of a given type) in the target language should be like”.

While several studies have been conducted on retranslation in the context of literary translation, retranslation in the field of AVT still has a long way to go, although theatrical retranslations and resubtitling are regular practices (Koskinen and Paloposki 2010, Di Giovanni 2016). In the case of AV products, the retranslation can imply the use of the same mode as the original or of a different one (e.g. from subtitling to dubbing) and it mostly concerns films (Bywood 2019). Generally, retranslation is not performed on documentaries, cartoons, and TV series since they are perceived as artistic endeavours and the original dubbing usually has an element of nostalgia for the viewers; the only reasons that would justify a retranslation are a major mistake in the first translation or a significant technological hinderance (Chaume 2018).

The reasons that prompt AV retranslation are, once again, several and some of them coincide with the ones that apply to literary texts (i.e. linguistic and social changes) (Bywood 2019, Chaume 2018, Raffi 2018). The first one is related to the loss or corruption of the original copy of the translated version of the film, requiring the dialogue to be retranslated from scratch. Similarly, retranslation could be dictated by not being able to secure the copyrights of the previous translation to be used, for example, on a streaming service, or because commissioning a new translation might be cheaper than purchasing the existing one. Other economic reasons are exploiting the retranslation as a selling point for the film, especially in case the original subtitles had to be adapted to fit new devices, which require a visual and information redesign of the first translation.

3. Why Gen Z?

Generation Z, also called Gen Z or Centennials, comprises people born between 1997 and 2012, although the dates vary by one or two years depending on the source (Dimock 2019). They are often referred to as “digital natives” since, depending on which part of the world they grew up in, they have never known life before digital technology gained such a pervasive presence in our day-to-day. They have effectively grown up on the Internet and on social media, and they use it as “a new way of communicating, getting information, consuming, building relationships and identity” (*Generation Z* 2021). This constant

exposure to information coming from different parts of the world has made them very aware of the social issues and the injustice that pervade our society and has turned them into activists within their communities (Rue 2018). They stand up for those who do not have the same privileges as them and who are discriminated against, especially because of race and sexual orientation: this is also likely because they are the most ethnically diverse generation yet (Fry and Parker 2018), and they openly fight and protest for equal rights for everyone (Milotay 2020). Another characteristic of Gen Z is their commitment to environmental causes, which is reflected in their less materialistic attitude compared to previous generations and in their relationship with shopping and with brands and conglomerates (Babbel n.d.).

Their primary form of communication, mainly through social media, is visual. Generation Z uses images such as memes and GIFs to express themselves in a unique and more impactful way, and their principal forms of entertainment are *TikTok* and *Youtube*, which are video sharing platforms (Babbel n.d., Signorelli 2020). They are focused on enjoying the moment, physically connecting with others and seizing every opportunity, but this does not mean that they do not feel anxiety, be it social or climate-related (*Generation Z* 2021). They are persistent, realist, innovative and self-reliant (Milotay 2020); they are a generation of entrepreneurs and creators who want to let their voices be heard and to be part of something bigger. As an article in *The Guardian* (Hertz 2016) described it, Gen Z is “[s]elfie-taking yet unselfish, connected yet lonely, anxious yet pragmatic, risk-averse yet entrepreneurial, [...] a distinct cadre, a generation very different from those that preceded them”.

As mentioned in the beginning of Chapter 1, Chaume (2013) reports that well-educated younger audiences have started to generate a demand for subtitled original versions of films, something that they can now easily access through the *Netflix* platform, since it offers the original audio and subtitles in various combinations of languages. This holds true for Italian audiences as well. Although dubbing is the primary AVT mode in Italy, the one Italians are most familiar with and which they resort to by default, their preference has started to change recently. According to a survey conducted by the popular language-learning app *Babbel*, 53% of Italians – mostly men and younger people – choose to watch TV series in the original language, both to improve on their language skills and to enjoy it at its fullest, grasping the essence of the story and the characters (A.M. 2019).

For all these reasons, Italian Gen Z makes for an ideal target audience of a retranslation of *Community*. During the pandemic, their consumption of TV series on streaming platforms, *Netflix* in particular, has increased by 38% (Signorelli 2020). This has likely exposed them to this show and, with it, its translation problems. These issues are mostly connected to the rendering of sensitive topics, such as anti-feminist and discriminatory language, and of the various pop culture references which Gen Z might not be able to catch in the original subtitling. In addition to this, their increased knowledge of English since they have started learning it at a young age (Vesperini 2022) now allows the subtitlers to keep some expressions in the source language or to use an Italianised version of them, the so-called *itanglese*.²

² Viviani, A. (2010). Itangliano. In *Enciclopedia dell'italiano*. Treccani. [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/itangliano_\(Enciclopedia-dell%27Italiano\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/itangliano_(Enciclopedia-dell%27Italiano)/)

CHAPTER 3

SUBTITLING PROPOSAL AND ANALYSIS

1. Structure of the chapter

The following chapter will deal with the resubtitling proposal for the translation problems of Season One of *Community*. Each subtitle has been sorted into one of seven categories based on the nature of its translation problem and then divided again based on its specific characteristics. The categories are “culture-specific items”, “intertextual references”, “sensitive topics”, “wordplay”, “catchphrases”, “English loanwords” and “miscellaneous”, where all other types of translations problems that do not belong to the other categories have been grouped.

The subtitles are listed in tables. The first column shows the episode number for ease of reference. The second column contains the original English dialogue, retrieved from the intralingual captions on the *Netflix* website using the “Tampermonkey” Firefox extension³ and integrated, when necessary, by manually transcribing the additional dialogue from the audio track. The third column displays the Italian subtitles provided by *Netflix*, retrieved once again using the “Tampermonkey” Firefox extension. The last column shows the retranslation proposal, where the changes from the original subtitling have been signalled in a bold font. It should be noted that this retranslation will not factor in the timing, segmentation and synchronisation norms used in subtitling since the original Italian subtitles were used as a template, which explains the absence of a column indicating the time stamps for each subtitle. On the other hand, the character limit for one or two lines of subtitles recommended by *Netflix*’s style guide, 42 cpl according to Cordeiro-Campos and de Assis-Azevedo (2020:235), will be taken into account.

Under each table, the retranslation solutions were analysed by commenting on them and explaining why the changes were needed. Explanations of the references and homages

³ *Tampermonkey* di Jan Biniok. (n.d.). <https://addons.mozilla.org/it/firefox/addon/tampermonkey/>

were retrieved by consulting online resources such as the wiki page dedicated to the show⁴ and other forum posts made by fans, such as the *Community* subreddit page.⁵

Finally, the subtitles that were not included in this analysis either did not contain translation problems or, if they did, the original *Netflix* translation had already dealt with them in a way that could still be considered appropriate for the new target audience.

2. Culture-specific items

Many linguists have tried to find a precise definition for what the term “culture” entails. To this day, it is one of the most complex concepts to describe given the fact that it permeates every aspect of an individual’s life, down to their language and to the way they perceive the world. As Aixela (1996:53) states, “[e]ach linguistic or national-linguistic community has at its disposal a series of habits, value judgments, classification systems etc.”. These factors are bound to cause misunderstanding when coming into contact with another culture if there are no overlaps between the two.

These culture-bound elements can acquire different denominations and definitions depending on the scholar (Zare-Behtash and Firoozkoobi 2010, Blažytė and Liubinienė 2016). However, for the purpose of this research, I chose to adopt the term used by Aixela (1996:58, emphasis removed from the original), who defines “culture-specific items” as “[t]hose 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 nonexistence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the reader of the target text”. In other words, some elements of a source text can be tied to a specific culture, and their problematic nature – which arises during the translation process – is not static, but rather it can change or even vanish over time and depending on the culture pair and textual function.

The first category of *Community*’s translation problems we will analyse is indeed that of culture-specific items. To do so, among the various classifications developed by scholars (Aixela 1996, Daghighi and Hashemian 2016), I have employed Pedersen’s

⁴ *Community Wiki*. (n.d.). *Community Wiki*. Retrieved from https://community-sitcom.fandom.com/wiki/Community_Wiki

⁵ *Community (TV show) subreddit!* (n.d.). *Reddit*. Retrieved from <https://www.reddit.com/r/community/>

(2011) categorisation of what he calls “extralinguistic cultural references”. This term identifies the entities or processes that the items refer to, that can be accessed through the encyclopaedic knowledge of a certain culture and whose translation is context-dependent. His categorisation of culture-specific items (Pedersen 2011:59-60) includes:

- Weights and measures
- Proper names (personal names, geographical names, institutional names, brand names)
- Professional titles
- Food and beverages
- Literature – which will be dealt with separately, as part of the intertextual references
- Government
- Entertainment
- Education
- Sports
- Currency
- Technical material
- Other.

Another topic that has long been discussed is the types of strategies that a translator should use when faced with these translation problems, which are considered among the most challenging to tackle. In this regard, Zare-Behtash and Firoozkoohi quote Nida and Taber’s definition of cultural translation, “a translation in which the content of the message is changed to conform to the receptor culture in some way, and/or in which information is introduced which is not linguistically implicit in the original” (Nida and Taber 1969/1982:199 in Zare-Behtash and Firoozkoohi 2010). To achieve this, the translator is not only called to find the most effective strategy but also to understand every cultural aspect of both the source and target cultures, which could influence the connotation of a particular expression (Blažytė and Liubinienė 2016). It is also agreed that different types of culture-specific items may need to be dealt with using different approaches, which is why many linguists (Bagheridoust and Mahabad 2017, Blažytė and Liubinienė 2016, Zare-Behtash and Firoozkoohi 2010, Daghighi and Hashemian 2016, Horbačauskienė et al. 2016) have theorized their own taxonomies of strategies. When there is a corresponding

concept in the target culture, that equivalent, as we saw defined by Vinay and Darbelnet in Chapter 1, can be used in the translation. However, if the source element does not exist or has a different value in the target culture, as Aixela (1996:57) proposes, there can be two main approaches: conservation – a lower level of cultural manipulation – and substitution of the original reference; these methods are similar to Vinay and Darbelnet’s concepts of direct and oblique translation.

Let us now see Pedersen’s taxonomy, which focuses on strategies for translating culture-specific items in the context of subtitling, which can also be used for other less specific translation issues (Pedersen 2011:76). Since we are dealing with this mode of AVT in particular, spatial constraints represent an added difficulty to the translator’s job. In fact, we have to remember that the viewer needs to understand the content of the subtitle in a matter of seconds; therefore, the translator cannot insert full explanations about foreign or culture-bound concepts. Pedersen’s goal with these strategies – which are based on other scholars’ taxonomies – is “match[ing] the world, rather than trying to make the world fit the model” (Pedersen 2011:74). However, as the author himself states, these strategies are not set in stone and, in the future, they might need to change to render the translation of culture-specific items better.

There are six main strategies, three source language oriented and three target language oriented. To these, Pedersen (2011:76) adds a seventh option, the existing official equivalent, which has been decided either through common usage or by an administrative process (Horbačauskienė et al. 2016). The first source-oriented strategy is retention which, much like the Vinay and Darbelnet’s borrowing and calque and Gottlieb’s imitation strategies, consists in keeping the culture-specific item either in its original form (making it a “complete retention”) or in a slightly adapted form to fit the requirements of the target language, for example by adjusting the spelling. Through specification, the culture-bound element is kept, and an explanation is added, either through semantic content or by completing names or acronyms. As the name suggests, in the same way as Gottlieb’s transfer and Vinay and Darbelnet’s literal translation, direct translations entail a word-for-word rendering of the source item without any semantic alteration. As for the target-oriented strategies, generalisation translates the culture-specific item through a paraphrase or a superordinate term, whereas with substitution the element is replaced with another culture-specific item – either from the source or target culture (“cultural substitution”) or

with something completely different (“situational substitution”). Finally, in the omission strategy, often necessary because of the spatial constraints, the culture-bound element is not reproduced in any way in the target text. Pedersen’s omission can be considered a version of the Gottlieb’s deletion strategy used specifically in the case of culture-specific items, whereas substitution can be likened to Vinay and Darbelnet’s process of adaptation.

As previously mentioned, however, “a third component in the nature of a [culture-specific item] is the course of time and the obvious possibility that objects, habits or values once restricted to one community come to be shared by others” (Aixela 1996:58). Thanks to globalisation, some foreign elements have become common for other target audiences over time (Pedersen 2011): keeping the item in the original language, then, allows both to speed up the translation process and for the viewer to more directly relate to the source text. One notable example is the first category we will analyse: food and beverages.

2.1. Food and beverages

Despite the translation process for food items being complicated, as both Farkhan et al. (2020) and Chiaro and Rossato (2015) note in their works, the culture-bound relationship between food and language remains an under-researched topic in the linguistic community. Food is tied to every culture in different ways and for many reasons. It can be connected to the coexistence of different ethnicities within a single country, or it can tell a lot about a community’s values and identity. Even just the presence or absence of a particular food in a culture’s cuisine or its categorisation and denomination can have a profound cultural and symbolic connection (Farkhan et al. 2020, Garzone 2017, González-Vera 2015, Rossato 2015). At times, the ways food itself is perceived also vary depending on how that specific language’s sensory terminology has developed; in this case, as Garzone (2017:216) points out, “it is inevitable that language shapes our perception and tasting of food”. Furthermore, if we look at how food is used in audiovisual media, as González-Vera (2015:252) observes in relation to her analysis, it can have various functions: a culinary reference can have a narrative or humorous purpose, and it also can be used to set the scene or to build stereotypes.

For all these reasons, the translation of the names of the dishes must take into consideration all the possible connotations, cultural connections, and emotional and

linguistic values they have for the source and target audiences and if they are relevant within the specific situational context (Garzone 2017, Farkhan et al. 2020). Some of the main strategies are described by Jakobson in his essay “On linguistic aspects of translation” (1959), as quoted in Garzone (2017), and they can be compared to Pedersen’s taxonomy: “Whenever there is deficiency, terminology may be qualified and amplified by loan-words or loan-translations, neologisms or semantic shifts, and finally, by circumlocutions” (Jakobson 1959:234 in Garzone 2017:216).

Nowadays, the translation process has been made much easier thanks to globalisation and aided by the spread of audiovisual texts, making other cultures’ cuisines popular everywhere in the world during the past few decades (Chiaro and Rossato 2015, González-Vera 2015). Consequently, foreign food terminology has been introduced in other cultures’ lexicons as borrowings, making it possible to maintain many names in their source language through Pedersen’s retention strategy. As Garzone (2017:219) remarks, “[u]sing foreign words, incorporating them, assimilating them, is a very normal process in the functioning of any language.” She also notes that it is important to distinguish between loanwords resulting from “interference” – or “borrowing”, which marks the beginning of an assimilation process – and loanwords derived from “transference”, the translator’s act of deliberately not translating an expression to assert the source culture’s identity.

In the following tables, we can see some examples of changes in the original translation that aim to better suit the intercultural knowledge of the new globalised target audience.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
1	and tried to order chalupas from the emergency call box	...e hai cercato di ordinare delle chalupas dalla postazione SOS...	...e hai cercato di ordinare dei tacos dalla postazione SOS...

Table 1.1 – Cultural substitution from a third culture

The first example in Table 1.1 shows how a food item belonging to an ethnic minority within the United States can be perceived differently by an Italian audience because their experience of it differs. “Chalupas” is a traditional Mexican dish that is well known in America, as it can be found on the menu of the popular fast-food chain

“Tacobell”.⁶ Rather than the original translation, I chose to employ the substitution technique by mentioning a different Mexican dish that is more common for Italians and with which the new generations are more familiar since they are more likely to be exposed to international cuisines. This choice was also supported by the results of a Google search, where I found the occurrences of the two dishes in Italian websites (“chalupas” = 3,390; “tacos” = 1,020,000). With this tweak in the first translation, the new target audience can quickly identify the type of item professor Duncan tries to order while he is drunk.⁷ In addition to this, the word itself was put in italics in the new subtitle, as it is a foreign word.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
6	Or pancakes.	O delle frittelle.	O dei pancake.
22	Wouldn't want you reaching for me should you get a hankering for pancakes.	Non vorrei che allungassi le mani alla ricerca di qualcosa da mangiare.	Non vorrei che allungassi le mani nel caso ti venisse voglia di pancake.
10	I believe that, uh, fusing brownies with the, uh, Internet is going to create the next Napster for brownies. (...) I mean, nobody wants to buy brownies (...) These brownies are, uh-- Uh! They, um-- Um! These brownies are delicious.	Credo che fondere torte di cioccolato con Internet... ...creerà il futuro Napster per le torte di cioccolato. (...) Nessuno comprerà torte... (...) Queste torte sono-- Sono-- Queste torte sono deliziose. (...) "La stima del valore di mercato	Credo che fondere i brownie con Internet... ...creerà il futuro uTorrent per i brownie . (...) Nessuno comprerà brownie ... (...) Questi brownie sono-- Sono-- Questi brownie sono deliziosi . (...) "La stima del valore di mercato

⁶ *Che cos'è un Chalupa?* (n.d.). Spiegato. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from <https://spiegato.com/che-cose-un-chalupa>

⁷ *Tacos, la ricetta originale messicana!* (2021, February 6). Leitiv. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from <https://www.leitiv.it/cucina/ricette/tacos-la-ricetta-originale-messicana/>;

Taco Day: Storia, Curiosità e Varianti dei "Leggendari" Tacos. (2019, October 4). Il covo del ribelle. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from <https://ilcovodelribelle.com/2019/10/04/taco-day-storia-curiosita-e-varianti-dei-leggendari-tacos/>

	(...) "The estimation of market value of brownies has... (...) They are wonderful. We all love brownies. They're delicious. If you love brownies, you love life. Orgasmically delicious. Here's Brownie!	delle torte..." (...) Le torte sono buonissime. Chi non ama le torte? Sono deliziose. Se amate le torte, amate la vita. Orgasmicamente deliziose. Eccovi il cioccolato.	dei brownie..." (...) I brownie sono buonissimi . Chi non ama i brownie ? Sono deliziosi . Se amate i brownie , amate la vita. Orgasmicamente deliziosi . "Sono i brownie."
16	We're going to get frozen yogurt.	- Ci prendiamo uno yogurt gelato.	- Ci prendiamo un frozen yogurt .

Table 2.2 – Complete and TL-adjusted retention

Another situation we can frequently find in this retranslation proposal is when the new subtitles keep the name of a certain food in English because it has become so popular in the target culture over the years that there is no need to use an equivalent item or a translation of the name of the dish. The examples we can see in Table 1.2 specifically concern “pancakes”, “brownies”, and “frozen yogurt”. The original translation employed the term “frittelle” for pancakes, which can be perceived as old-fashioned, especially when the viewer can see what the characters are referring to on the screen or when they hear it in the original audio track. This kind of domestication can also cause a misunderstanding, given that in Italy the term “frittelle” refers to a very different type of dessert that has a different cooking method – deep-fried and covered in granulated sugar as opposed to cooked on a skillet or pan. Therefore, the term was kept in English in its TL-adjusted version on two occasions since it is a well-known dish: the adjustment concerns the omission of the “-s” plural morpheme since English loanwords in Italian do not keep it; moreover, the term did not need to be put in italics since it can be found in the Italian dictionary.⁸

⁸ Treccani. (n.d.). Pancake. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/pancake/>

Another instance is the retranslation using the TL-adjusted retention strategy of the word “brownie”, the typical dessert which usually contains chocolate, also popular in Italy and known by its English name. Moreover, using an explanatory paraphrasis such as “torta al cioccolato” could cause a misunderstanding since they are two different kinds of dessert.⁹ Finally, “frozen yogurt” was also kept in its English name through complete retention strategy, given that it is the name by which the dessert is known in Italy and because Italian Gen Z is more likely to use the English term as opposed to the translated one used in the first translation.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
12	Oh, hash browns and applesauce, that's nice.	Oh, cotoletta e mela grattugiata, che bello.	Oh, scaloppine e salsa al marsala , che dolce .
14	Absolutely. Do you cook macaroni?	- Certamente. Cucina i maccheroni?	- Certamente. Sa cucinare le lasagne ?
21	Float? I'm good.	- Succo? - No, grazie.	- Bibita ? - No, grazie.

Table 3.3 – Cultural and situational substitution and generalisation

When dealing with the translation of food items, we can frequently come across some source culture’s traditional dishes that do not exist in the target culture or that have a different connotation. Such is the case of one of the dishes that Shirley mentions when the other members of the study group bring food to share at their Christmas party, each of them coming from a different ethnic or religious background. In this scene, Annie brings a plate of hash browns and applesauce, which are framed in a close-up by the camera. This dish is not popular in Italy; therefore, I opted to use a situational substitute to account for the connection to the visual element by mentioning a food that would look similar, but that is also better known: “scaloppine” paired with “salsa al marsala”, a more traditional Italian dish.

“Mac and cheese” is an example of a traditional food in the source culture that the Italian audience has gotten to know over the years through media coming from the United States, even though it is not regularly found on Italian tables. In this case, there are two ways in which this translation can be approached. One is foreignising, which consists in retaining the English name and relying on the fact that the target audience will be familiar

⁹ *Brownies*. (n.d.). Giallo Zafferano. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://ricette.giallozafferano.it/Brownies.html>
Torta al cioccolato. (n.d.). Giallo Zafferano. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://ricette.giallozafferano.it/Torta-al-cioccolato.html>

with it because it has already been exposed to this type of food. The other is domesticating, which entails using an equivalent comfort food in the target culture. In this scene, Jeff, who – as Abed points out – can be considered as a father figure for the study group, introduces his new girlfriend, professor Slater, to the rest of the members, thus making her a mother figure. To keep Abed’s question about her skills in the kitchen relevant to her role, I decided to use cultural substitution strategy by replacing “macaroni” with a traditional dish in the Italian cuisine, “lasagne”, often related to home-cooked meals that one’s mother would expertly make.

Lastly, we have a food item that is still not common neither in the Italian food scene nor in the minds of an Italian audience exposed to American food because of its peculiar combination of ingredients. Here, Abed offers Jeff a “float”, usually made of a soft drink topped with a scoop of ice cream, which is clearly seen being added to Abed’s glass at the end of the scene. The absence of a corresponding beverage in Italy made me opt for the use of generalisation strategy by replacing it with the word “bibita”, which does not specify the type of drink and leaves it up to interpretation.

2.2. Entertainment

Entertainment is another category that is closely related to culture. In different parts of the world people enjoy different activities and take part in different events and traditions; therefore, translators should be careful when dealing with these culture-specific items. Often times official equivalents have been established over time (Pedersen 2011) or the event name has become popular in its original language through globalisation, especially if those pertaining to the American culture. However, there are also some instances in which a culture-bound activity needs to be furtherly explained to the target audience because it is not as well-known.

2.2.1. Traditions

The presence of traditions and aspects of daily life in a script can cause translation problems linked to the absence of similar customs in the target culture. We can see some examples of this, especially related to student life in the United States, in Tables 2.1.1, 2.1.2 and 2.1.3.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
1	who lost his scholarship	...che si è rovinato la	...che si è rovinato la

	by dislocating both shoulders in a keg stand.	carriera slogandosi le spalle su un barile di birra.	carriera facendo la verticale sul fusto di birra .
25	Just did my first keg stand.	Ho appena fatto la bevuta a testa in giù sul barile!	Ho appena fatto la mia prima verticale sul fusto di birra!
25	No, Jorge, you killed it. Are you going to Abed's kegger?	No, Jorge, tu sei stato grande. Vai alla festa di Abed?	No, Jorge, tu sei stato grande. Vai al birra-party di Abed?
25	Have you ever seen one of these? It's called a beer bong.	Troy, hai mai visto uno di questi? Si chiama "bong per la birra".	Troy, hai mai visto uno di questi? Si chiama " birra-bong ".

Table 2.1.1 – Drinking games and parties

As the new target audience may know thanks to being exposed to American media their whole life, the college scene in the United States is often regarded as wilder, more exaggerated than that in other countries and it offers many occasions to socialise among the students at parties and gatherings.

The subtitles in Table 2.1.1 revolve around the presence of beer at house parties hosted by the students. The term “keg stand” is used to refer to a particular drinking game during which one of the participants has to drink beer from a keg while doing a handstand, helped by three or four other people.¹⁰ This game is not usually played at student parties in Italy, therefore there is not an equivalent or an “official” translation for it; however, younger generations may be familiar with it since it often appears in party scenes in films and TV series set in America. For this reason, the new subtitle takes advantage of this prior knowledge of the viewers by describing the position the main player takes in this drinking game and its main component through specification strategy to deliver a retranslation that is equivalent to the source text, while also not using the English name, since it might still not be as common as the description of the game itself. It is also worth noting that, in the first example, the reduction technique was used to follow the character limit guidelines for subtitles by leaving the consequences of Troy’s keg stand up to the situational context.

For the translation of “kegger”, specification strategy was used in a compound word that mirrors other popular English expressions (such as “pool party” for example) to better represent the main characteristic of this type of party which, as the name suggests,

¹⁰ Urban Dictionary. (n.d.). *Kegstand*. Retrieved November 16, 2021 from <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=kegstand>

revolves around the consumption of beer. The Italian word for “beer keg” (“fusto di birra”) was not used on this occasion; instead, a figure of speech was deployed, namely a synecdoche, mentioning the content of the keg instead of the container itself.

Through direct translation, copying the syntactic structure of the source text expression, and complete retention of the word “bong”, the last of this first series of examples uses, once again, a compound word in Italian to refer to a device made up of a funnel and a plastic tube used to drink a larger amount of beer at once. The new target audience is likely already familiar with the concept of “beer-pong”, another drinking game popularised by American media and well-known in Italy in its translation, “birra-pong”. Therefore, calling the contraption Pierce shows Troy “birra-bong” is an adequate solution.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
23	SPRING FLING	SVAGO PRIMAVERILE!	FESTA DI PRIMAVERA
23	Our Spring Fling is on the quad today.	Lo Svago Primaverile ha inizio oggi.	La Festa di primavera inizia oggi.
16	I'm chaperoning tomorrow's dance.	Sarò la badante del ballo di domani.	Domani devo sorvegliare il ballo.

Table 2.1.2 – School dances

The three subtitles we can find in Table 2.1.2 refer to the American school tradition of hosting parties for the students at specific moments during the academic year. One of the parties that have become very popular in the last few years among the new generations is “Prom”, the school dance hosted at the end of high school that celebrates the last moments of senior-year students as high schoolers. On this basis, the name of the “Spring Fling” dance hosted at Greendale has been retranslated as “festa di primavera”. This dance is not as well-known as Prom, Winter Formal or Homecoming, but the retranslation through specification strategy manages to both explain what type of event it is, and it does not limit it to a night-time party: referring to it as “ballo di primavera” would give it a different connotation, whereas the dean himself said that the celebrations would take place starting from the afternoon.

In this regard, one of the roles given to the school faculty during these events is mentioned in the last subtitle in this table. Teachers and professors are often asked to chaperone the dance to ensure the students are safe and discourage any illegal activity, such as underage drinking or drug consumption. Since, as previously said, these events are not very common in Italian schools, the role of chaperone does not have an official

equivalent; we can, however, use the generalisation technique to better explain the responsibilities of this role to an Italian audience.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
23	Glee club is luring stragglers into sniper traps with cheery renditions of hit songs.	Il coro attrae i deboli nelle trappole... ...con canzonette allegre.	Il glee club attrae i deboli nelle trappole... ...con i remake delle grandi hit .

Table 2.1.3 – College clubs

Finally, the last school tradition we will deal with is the presence of glee clubs among the many extra-curricular activities offered at colleges in the United States. College clubs are meant to help the students socialise with others from the same campus based on their interests, which can vary from theatre to sports, from media to debates. A glee club is “a chorus organised for singing usually short pieces”.¹¹ They have become very popular among young people following the success of the TV show *Glee*, aired in Italy on the Fox and Sky Uno channels between 2009 and 2015. For this reason, I decided to use complete retention keeping the English name of the club since the target viewers will already be familiar with it. Moreover, the term “coro” in Italian has a connotation more tied to professional singers performing renditions of classical songs instead of the pop song remakes made by the TV series characters.

2.2.2. Events

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
1	We're the only species on earth that observes "Shark Week". Sharks don't even observe "Shark Week," but we do.	Siamo l'unica specie al mondo che guarda i documentari sugli squali. Neanche gli squali li guardano, ma noi sì.	Siamo l'unica specie al mondo che festeggia la "Shark Week". Neanche gli squali la festeggiano , ma noi sì.
2	Garfield's wishing me a Arbor Day, you'd like a fresh start.	Garfield augura buon Arbor Day, e tu vuoi ricominciare.	Garfield mi augura una buona Giornata della Terra e tu vuoi ricominciare.
4	The Soul Train Awards were tonight.	I Soul Train Awards erano stasera.	I Grammy erano stasera.

¹¹ Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Glee club. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/glee%20club>

6	<p>Unfortunately, I don't know what to do about the mascot.</p> <p>Oh. I could help with that, Your Honor.</p> <p>I have a wealth of experience in image management, icon development, and Y2K preparedness.</p>	<p>Purtroppo, non so che mascotte usare.</p> <p>Posso aiutarla io, Vostro Onore.</p> <p>Ho molta esperienza in gestione dell'immagine... ...sviluppo dei simboli e preparazione al Millennium Bug.</p>	<p>Purtroppo, non so che mascotte usare.</p> <p>Posso aiutarla io, Vostro Onore.</p> <p>Ho molta esperienza in gestione dell'immagine... ...sviluppo dei simboli e installazione di antivirus.</p>
9	Abu Ghraib.	Abu Ghraib.	I gulag.

Table 2.2 – Events

In Table 2.2 we can see the instances in which particular events have been mentioned in the episodes of Season One. The first example represents an occasion in which complete retention strategy was used to render the television event of “Shark Week” that has been held every August on Discovery Channel in the U.S. since 1987. This event is aimed at removing the negative stigma related to sharks by airing various programmes and documentaries starring these animals.¹² What motivated this translation solution was the fact that in recent years the same event has been added to the programming of the Italian version of Discovery Channel, which advertises it with its English name.¹³ Since this network is available both on digital TV and online, we can assume that a large portion of the target audience will be familiar with this event. Moreover, using a direct translation, calling it “La Settimana dello Squalo”, would not have aided comprehension since the original version is more concise and it is made up of two basic words of the English vocabulary.

The next couple of examples concern instances of cultural substitution. “Arbor Day” is not celebrated in Italy: in fact, a Google search reveals that the results (15,600) are not relevant or they specifically refer to the “Arbor Day Foundation” and not the event itself. Therefore a similar event, which incidentally is also held at the same time of the year, was used to convey the same meaning intended in the original, while being more acceptable for

¹² Cohen, M. (2015, January 9). *The history of Shark Week: How the Discovery Channel both elevated and degraded sharks.* The Week. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from <https://theweek.com/articles/444542/history-shark-week-how-discovery-channel-both-elevated-degraded-sharks>

¹³ Discovery Channel. (n.d.). *Shark Week 2021: la settimana più adrenalinica dell'anno!* Retrieved November 16, 2021, from <https://discoverychannel.it/programmi/shark-week-2021-non-perderti-settimana-adrenalinica-anno/>

the target audience since it gives 214,000 results on Google.¹⁴ The “Soul Train Awards”, instead, are an annual award ceremony dedicated to artists and entertainers in the black music industry. Since it is not popular in Italy and since there is no corresponding award show in our country, this event was replaced by one pertaining to the same field but much more famous worldwide as well as in Italy, the “Grammys”.¹⁵

The next one is a case of specification strategy that aims at recreating the same comedic effect the original dialogue had while also making it more acceptable for a younger generation. As he lists his skill set, Pierce mentions being an expert in Y2K preparedness: this event revolves around the fear that potential computer errors related to the formatting of calendar data would lead to apocalyptic consequences at the stroke of midnight on the first day of the new millennium, causing computer systems to collapse.¹⁶ For this reason, many people started to learn how to protect their devices from the Y2K bug. Considering that a large portion of Gen Z was not yet born at the time, this reference would not make sense to them, the phrasing was changed by explicating what being ready for the Millennium bug meant, therefore the act of installing antivirus software. The humorous effect caused by a 68-year-old man talking about Y2K preparedness in 2009 was then replaced with the image of the same man being able to list his IT experience as one of his main skills, which, in any case, would not have been useful in helping dean Pelton designing the college mascot.

The last example in Table 2.2 is part of a sequence during which the two debate teams, one from Greendale and one from City College, take turns listing examples that confirm the thesis that man is either intrinsically good or evil. In this case, Abu Ghraib is mentioned since it refers to the 2004 violation of human rights scandal that took place

¹⁴ Arbor Day Foundation (n.d.). *History of Arbor Day*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.arborday.org/celebrate/history.cfm>

Earth Day Italia Onlus. (n.d.). *Earth Day - Giornata Mondiale della Terra*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.earthdayitalia.org/CELEBRAZIONI/Earth-Day-Giornata-Mondiale-della-Terra>

¹⁵ Weaver, M. (1987, March 23). ‘Soul Train’ Awards are a 1st for Black Music. *Chicago Tribune*. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1987-03-23-8701220565-story.html>

Encyclopedia Britannica. (n.d.). Grammy Award. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/art/Grammy-Award>

¹⁶ Encyclopedia Britannica. (n.d.). Y2K bug. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/technology/Y2K-bug>
Treccani. (2013). Millennium bug. In *Lessico del XXI Secolo (2013)*. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/millennium-bug_\(Lessico-del-XXI-Secolo\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/millennium-bug_(Lessico-del-XXI-Secolo))

inside a prison where the inmates were abused.¹⁷ In my retranslation I chose to use a cultural substitution, mentioning a similar event that is more famous in Italy, that is the soviet concentration and labour camps called “gulag”.

2.3. Education

Terms and concepts related to education vary depending on the systems adopted in each country. At times it may be difficult to find the corresponding mark between two educational systems but, once more, thanks to globalisation, nowadays audiences around the world are more familiar with the American education system, although there are still some aspects that are less widely known. An instance in which the original Italian translation was not modified is the use of the American grading system. The *Netflix* subtitles kept the American letter marks because, as was the case for some of the traditions mentioned in the previous section, the Italian audience can easily understand them, since it has been exposed to them for some time and the conversion to Italian marks is quite intuitive.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
7	Hi, Michelle Slater, PhD. Britta Perry, GED.	Ciao, Michelle Slater, PhD. - Britta Perry, GED.	Ciao, Michelle Slater, PhD. - Britta Perry, OFA.

Table 3 – Education

“GED” is an acronym that stands for “Tests of General Educational Development”, a series of exams centred around four subjects aimed at proving that senior-year high school students who choose not to sit conventional final exams possess the basic academic knowledge that is necessary in order to receive their high school diploma.¹⁸ The average Italian student is not aware of the existence of these tests because there is no direct equivalent in the Italian education system. For this reason, in order to keep the wordplay between professor Slater’s and Britta’s introductions to each other, the acronym has been translated using cultural substitution. The acronym used in the new target text, in fact, stands for “Obblighi Formativi Aggiuntivi”, an indication that a student, who has been

¹⁷ Mannocchi, F. (2021, September 10). Dopo l’11 settembre: Abu Ghraib, lo specchio della vergogna. *La Stampa*. <https://www.lastampa.it/topnews/primopiano/2021/09/10/news/dopo-l-11-settembre-abu-ghraib-lo-specchio-della-vergogna-1.40684802/>

¹⁸ GED Testing Service. (n.d.). *What Does GED Stand For? Everything you Need to Know*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://ged.com/blog/what-does-ged-stand-for/>

admitted to an Italian university and who can therefore be registered there, will still have to partake in extra-curricular activities and lessons leading up to a test to make up for the lack of basic knowledge needed to attend the courses.¹⁹ This retranslation manages to keep the difference in status between the professor and the student, while not confusing the target audience with an acronym they would not easily understand.

2.4. Sports

Sports too can vary in popularity from country to country, and some of them may have a different connotation depending on their cultural relevance within each society. Americans, for example, are renowned for being big fans of baseball and American football, which are less prevalent in Italy. That is why some of that jargon has made its way into the everyday English language, such as in the metaphorical use of the three-strike rule in baseball. During the translation process, these expressions have to be adapted based on the target audience's familiarity with these sports. In other cases, some sports might not even exist in some countries, which will bring the translator to ponder on whether to adapt the reference by replacing it with another sport or whether to use it either way. We can see some examples from Season One of *Community* in the following tables.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
17	If this is gonna turn ugly, I can't be here. I'm a two-striker.	Se questo si fa brutto, non posso restare qui. Sono un attaccante.	Se fa di nuovo lo strambo me ne vado. È una causa persa.

Table 4.1 – Baseball

In Table 4.1, we can see an occasion where baseball lingo comes into play. In this scene, the study group is helping Abed approach a girl he is not interested in; therefore, when asked to be a version of himself who would approach her, he starts acting strange and does weird gestures and noises. The group manages to stop him in time, but Pierce says that, if Abed were to go make a fool of himself and of the group with that girl again, he would leave and let the others take care of the situation because he is not a “two-striker”. The baseball rule according to which after three strikes the batter is eliminated is

¹⁹Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna Campus di Forlì. (n.d.). *Cosa sono e come assolvere gli OFA (Obblighi Formativi Aggiuntivi)*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://corsi.unibo.it/laurea/ScienzeInternazionaliDiplomatiche/cosa-sono-e-come-assolvere-gli-ofa-obblighi-formativi-aggiuntivi>

known internationally and it is also used metaphorically to refer to the three chances people usually give others when doing something. In this situation, however, Pierce says that he never gives anyone a second chance to strike out, meaning that, if Abed were to behave weirdly a second time, Pierce would leave because he would be too embarrassed about it, which is exactly what happens. The retranslation does not replicate the exact wording, saying for example “Non do seconde possibilità”, but instead it uses specification and modulation strategy to change the perspective of the sentence, making Abed the focus of the utterance. By doing this, the retranslation maintains the same idea of Pierce not believing that Abed will be able to get the girl after what he has done.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
4	Because I might be worried if I was playing hacky sack a decade too late.	Se giocassi a palla con un decennio di ritardo, ne sarei preoccupato.	Io mi preoccuperei se stessi giocando a footbag con un decennio di ritardo.
25	Your boyfriend just got offered a spot on the number one Hacky Sack team in the nation.	Al tuo ragazzo è stato offerto un posto... ...nella squadra di palleggio numero uno del community college.	Al tuo ragazzo è stato offerto un posto... ...nella squadra di footbag numero uno del community college.

Table 4.2 – Hacky sack – Official equivalent

“Hacky sack”, or “footbag”, refers to a game that originated in Asia that involves hitting a cloth bag with one’s lower body in various ways, without making it fall on the ground. This game is not very common in Italy, but I have found that it is referred to in both ways; however, I decided to use “footbag” based on the evidence I found. The first clue was the Wikipedia page for this sport, which in English is titled “hacky sack”,²⁰ whereas in Italian it is titled “footbag”.²¹ Then, I compared the results of the Google search: “hacky sack” had a higher number of occurrences (11,200 vs 6,200), but many of the results featured non-specialised websites or also included the term “footbag”.²² Moreover, the term “hacky sack” is more common in the United States because it is the name of the main brand that makes products for this sport, whereas in the websites

²⁰ Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Hacky sack*. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hacky_sack

²¹ Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Footbag*. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Footbag>

²² Lo Store di Magia Giocoleria Circo e Tutto per il Party. (n.d.). *Panel Footbag - Hacky Sack*. Retrieved November 24, 2021, from <https://www.festivalmagiagiocoleria.it/hacky-sacks/2860--panel-footbag---hacky-sack-3734459846663.html>

Mangiafuoco Shop. (n.d.). *Footbag Freestyle (hacky sac)*. Retrieved November 24, 2021, from <https://mangiafuocoshop.it/footbag-freestyle-hacky-sac-.html>

dedicated to this sport we find that “footbag” is used more often and to refer to every variant of the game.²³ Finally, we can assume that, even without being familiar with this sport, any viewer would at least relate it to “football” and would figure out its main characteristics based both on the scene depicted on screen and on the two words that make up its name, which are part of the basic vocabulary that is taught in school: “foot” and “bag”.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
4	Ultimate Frisbee at the Senior's Center. It is amazing.	Frisbee da pazzi al centro anziani. È incredibile.	Ultimate Frisbee al centro anziani. È incredibile.
5	I'm gonna tell you what my mother told me when I wanted to quit cheerleading: "You can't do a basket toss to save your life but you made a commitment."	Quando volevo rinunciare a fare la ragazza pon-pon mia madre mi disse: ...non sai fare canestro, ma ti sei presa un impegno".	Quando volevo rinunciare a fare la cheerleader mia madre mi disse: ...“non sai fare il salto mortale ma ti sei presa un impegno”.

Table 4.3 – Complete and TL-adjusted retention

“Ultimate Frisbee” was kept in its English name because the target audience can easily understand what this sport entails and also because it is its official name, although at times it can be shortened to just “Ultimate”.²⁴ Another case in which the English word was kept in the retranslation through the TL-adjusted retention strategy since it has become a common term in Italian is the role of “cheerleader”, which can also be found in the Italian dictionary.²⁵ Speaking of this sport, while it is known in Italy, it is also not very commonly practiced; therefore the translation of the term “basket toss”, a type of throw the cheerleaders make when performing, was replaced with a more generic stunt, the “salto mortale”, using generalisation strategy.²⁶

²³ World Footbag. (n.d.). *About Footbag*. Retrieved November 24, 2021, from <https://worldfootbag.com/about-footbag/>

Footbag WorldWide. Retrieved November 24, 2021, from <http://www.footbag.org/>

²⁴ FIFD. (n.d.). *Ultimate - Cos'è*. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://fifd.it/pages/ultimate-cos-e>

²⁵ Garzanti Linguistica. (n.d.). *Cheerleader*. In *Garzanti Linguistica*. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.garzantilinguistica.it/ricerca/?q=cheerleader>

²⁶ FIDS. (n.d.). *Regolamento tecnico di settore 2021. Cheerleading e cheerdance*. Retrieved November 28, 2021, from <https://www.federdanza.it/la-federazione/carte-federali-e-regolamenti/regolamento-dell-attivita-sportiva/stagione-sportiva-2021/1943-settore-cheerleading/file>

CSAIn. (n.d.). *CSAIn Cheerleading Norme E Regolamenti*. Retrieved November 28, 2021, from <https://www.csain.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/CSAIn-Cheerleading-Regolamento-gare-2019.pdf>

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
6	Is that linebacker a pregnant woman?	Quel linebacker è una donna incinta?	Quel difensore è una donna incinta?

Table 4.4 – American football

Finally, American football is the first sport that comes to mind when thinking about the United States. Its positions, however, may not be as recognizable for an international audience, who is more likely familiar with the figure of the quarterback. Therefore, “linebacker”²⁷ was rendered through generalisation strategy to make the Italian viewers better understand this role in the team. I would like to point out that, as previously said, since the position of quarterback is the most famous, it was not changed or translated differently in the other subtitles of Season One that were analysed.

2.5. Proper names

As Pedersen (2011) states, most of the culture-specific items in a language are proper names of various kinds, identifying a person, an institution, a brand, or a geographical location. They are usually not considered translatable when their function is simply denotative but, when they carry a deeper meaning connected to their etymology or to the encyclopaedic knowledge of a culture that is used for comedic purposes (in the case of sitcoms, for instance), there are some strategies that can be used to recreate their meaning in the target text.

“Retention is by far the most common strategy for rendering proper names” as it usually employed for character or brand names that do not change from one language to another (Pedersen 2011:203). As Hervey and Higgins also point out, “either the name can be taken over unchanged from the ST to the TT, or it can be adopted to conform to the phonic/graphic conventions of the TL”, which mirrors Pedersen’s concepts of complete and TL-adjusted retention (Hervey and Higgins 1986:29 in Ordudari 2007). The other main strategy is direct translation, which is common for institutional names, although they are often retained.

The second most used strategy is specification, which in this case consists in adding a job title, the type of place or another indication that can make the reference clearer to the

²⁷Sportivo e informa. (n.d.). *Tutti i ruoli del football americano*. Retrieved November 28, 2021, from <https://sportivoeinforma.it/tutti-i-ruoli-del-football-americano/#Linebacker>
 Tutto Scommese (2019, November 17). *Tutti I Ruoli Del Football Americano: Spiegazione e Compiti (NFL)*. Retrieved November 28, 2021, from <https://tuttoscommese2013.blogspot.com/2019/11/tutti-i-ruoli-del-football-americano.html>

target audience. This could be achieved either by keeping the original name or omitting it and simply substituting it with the additional explication.

Another strategy we can see used in the next section is generalisation. Pedersen (2011), in this regard, reports a couple of examples in which this technique was used to provide a more accessible translation. On one occasion (Pedersen 2011:54) the fictional character Nancy Drew was translated with the hypernym “a girl detective”, mentioning her “job” title to help the audience understand the reference. In another example (Pedersen 2011:109), a past translation of a subtitle from a TV show rendered the Disney character Pocahontas with the phrase “the Indian princess” since, at the time, the film was not yet popular in the target culture.

In other cases, especially when dealing with pop culture references that are supposed to have a comedic effect, the most suitable translation strategy is substitution, which consists in finding a similar referent in the target culture system to recreate the effect of the source text. On other occasions, official equivalent might be needed: for example, as we will see later, the names of the British Royal family members used to be adapted to the Italian language, for instance making the official translation for Queen Elizabeth II “Regina Elisabetta II”. However, in recent years this practice has been abandoned and the names of the Royals are kept in English (e.g. “Principe William”).

2.5.1. Personal names

References to both real and fictional people and characters are found quite often in this genre of series since they are mostly used for comedic effects. In the next tables we will see how these references have been retranslated and adapted to the new, younger target audience.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
2	You're like Jodie Foster or Susan Sarandon.	Sei come Jodie Foster o Susan Sarandon.	Sei come Emma Watson o Jane Fonda .
11	So you never seen one when you were growing up? Like, on the Internet, in a picture, or Harvey Keitel's?	Non ne hai mai visto uno da ragazzina? Tipo su Internet, su una foto, o quello di Harvey Keitel?	Non ne hai mai visto uno da ragazzina? Tipo su Internet, in foto, o su <i>Il trono di spade</i> ?
12	Then you give them the Forest Whitaker eye.	Poi gli fai l'occhio alla Forest Whitaker.	Poi gli fai l'occhio da guercio .

14	<p>You thought I was dead, didn't you?</p> <p>No. I did.</p> <p>Do you people have any idea how emasculating that is?</p> <p>I'm not Mickey Rooney.</p> <p>You don't have to cross your fingers to see if I'll show up.</p>	<p>Pensavate che fossi morto, vero?</p> <p>- No. - Io sì.</p> <p>Sapete quanto questo sia castrante?</p> <p>Non sono mica Mickey Rooney.</p> <p>Non dovete incrociare le dita perché venga.</p>	<p>Pensavate che fossi morto, vero?</p> <p>- No. - Io sì.</p> <p>Sapete quanto questo sia castrante?</p> <p>Non ho mica cent'anni.</p> <p>Non dovete incrociare le dita perché venga.</p>
24	Picture her as Paul Giamatti.	Immaginatela con la faccia di Paul Giamatti.	Immaginatela con la faccia di Quentin Tarantino .
25	<p>Banana rhino.</p> <p>Banana Sam Elliott.</p> <p>LeVar Banana Burton.</p> <p>Banana King Tut.</p>	<p>Banana rinoceronte.</p> <p>Banana Sam Elliott.</p> <p>LeVar Banana Burton.</p> <p>- Banana Tutankamen.</p>	<p>Banana rinoceronte.</p> <p>Banana Borat.</p> <p>Occhiali banana futuristici.</p> <p>- Banana Tutankamen.</p>

Table 5.1.1 – Actors

The first set of examples in the category of proper names is connected to mentions of names of actors. The first subtitle is taken from the scene in which Britta is compared to Jodie Foster and Susan Sarandon because of her interest in the injustice that is taking place in Guatemala, where journalists are being killed because they expressed their opinions about the government. In order to make the implicit reference about the two actresses being activists more explicit for the new target audience, I opted to replace them with more popular names among the celebrities that are involved in activism and with whom Gen Z would be familiar. The first one is Emma Watson, star of the “Harry Potter” film saga: the young actress famously held a speech at the 20 September 2014 press conference at the UN Head Quarters in New York City as a UN Women Global Goodwill Ambassador for the launch of the solidarity campaign called “HeForShe”, aimed at promoting gender

equality.²⁸ On the other hand, Jane Fonda, American film and television industry veteran, has been campaigning against war and in favour of feminism since the 1970s, and recently she has been very outspoken in the protests against climate change. She has become very famous for getting arrested several times at some of these events in 2019.²⁹ For these reasons and because Gen Z is more invested in activism compared to previous generations, these changes made through cultural substitution strategy are a suitable translation solution.

An occasion in which situational substitution strategy was used is when Shirley asks Annie if she had ever seen frontal nudity, either on the Internet, in picture or in one of Harvey Keitel's films.³⁰ This actor, however, is not known by younger generations; therefore, the reference needed to be adapted and it was replaced with a more recent TV series that notoriously features violence and nudity: "Il trono di spade".³¹

Next, we find two examples of generalisation technique. In both cases, the name of the actors mentioned were replaced by making the reference to their particular characteristics more explicit through a change in perspective. In the first case, actor Forest Whitaker, who has a very distinct facial feature because of his eye defect,³² was replaced with an expression that mirrors the gaze that Troy wants Jeff to use when he is teaching him how to confront the school bullies in a fight. A first translation proposal considered substituting him with an Italian rapper known for a similar eye defect, Gué Pequeno;³³ however, this solution would have been considered too domesticating. In the second example, Pierce is disappointed by the fact that the study group thinks he is so old that they are worried about him dying if they do not hear from him. For this reason, he says that he is not comedian Mickey Rooney, whose main characteristic in this context is being very

²⁸ M.Ser. (2014, September 22). *Emma Watson alle Nazioni Unite: «Ecco perché sono femminista»*. Corriere della sera. http://www.corriere.it/esteri/14_settembre_22/emma-watson-nazioni-unite-ecco-perche-sono-femminista-19828fc8-4266-11e4-8cfb-eb1ef2f383c6.shtml

²⁹ BBC News (2019, October 11). *Jane Fonda arrested at Washington climate protest*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-50021146>

³⁰ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Lezioni di piano*. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1993/lezionidipiano/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Il cattivo tenente*. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1992/ilcattivotenente/>

³¹ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Il trono di spade*. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2011/gameofthrones/>

³² Zuofo, M. (2021, April 27). *Forest Whitaker e il suo occhio affetto da ptosi: ecco cosa comporta il disturbo e perché i critici lo amano*. Cinematographe.it. <https://www.cinematographe.it/news/forest-whitaker-e-il-suo-occhio-affetto-da-ptosi-ecco-cosa-comporta-il-disturbo-e-perche-i-critici-lo-amano/>

³³ Di Castro, B. (2021, May 21). *Gué Pequeno, il "difetto" all'occhio sinistro: cosa è la blefaroptosi*. Solonotizie24.it. <https://www.solonotizie24.it/2021/05/21/gue-pequeno-il-difetto-allochio-sinistro-cosa-e-la-blefaroptosi/>

old. Since younger generations are not familiar with this actor, he was replaced with a generalisation that makes the reference to his age explicit to the audience.

The following line is taken from a scene in which Jeff is trying to make the study group realise that, although she would usually get away with doing something bad because she is a pretty girl, Annie is to blame for putting the whole Spanish class in trouble. To do so, he convinces his friends to close their eyes as to not feel pity towards her; then, he also tells them to imagine her with the face of actor Paul Giamatti³⁴ who, in this case, should be considered as an example of the physical opposite of Annie, allowing them to see through her cuteness. This actor is not particularly famous in Italy; therefore, his name was changed through situational substitution with one the Italian audience is more familiar with and who could cause the same reaction in the group, Quentin Tarantino.

The last set of subtitles includes a case of cultural substitution and a case of generalisation. The first one is prompted by the mention of Sam Elliot's name, an American actor famous for his moustache, which Abed is replicating here by putting a banana over his upper lip. The reference was changed to a more popular comedy character with a famous moustache who younger people would recognise more easily, Borat.³⁵ The second retranslation concerns the reference to LeVar Burton's character in the "Star Trek" TV series from the 90's who is known for wearing a futuristic visor over his eyes.³⁶ This characteristic was made explicit for the new audience, who might not be familiar with it by using a change in perspective from the character himself to one of his features.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
3	You don't really have tickets for Ravi Shankar, do you? (...) Hey, wait a minute. Where's Weezer?	Non hai veramente i biglietti per il concerto di Ravi Shankar, vero? (...) - Ehi, un attimo, dove sono i Weezer?	Non hai davvero i biglietti per il concerto di Ravi Shankar, vero? (...) - Ehi, un attimo, dove sono i Bon Jovi ?

³⁴ [Ankit Seth]. (2020, December 6) *Meaning of dialogue about "Paul Giamatti" said by Jeff Winger in Community*. [Online forum post]. Movies & TV Stack Exchange. <https://movies.stackexchange.com/questions/111852/meaning-of-dialogue-about-paul-giamatti-said-by-jeff-winger-in-community>

³⁵ Coming Soon. (n.d.). *Borat*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.comingsoon.it/film/borat/494/scheda/>

³⁶ *Geordi La Forge*. (n.d.). Memory Alpha. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from https://memory-alpha.fandom.com/wiki/Geordi_La_Forge

11	"Tube Top R.E.M. Concert."	"Canotta Concerto R.E.M."	"Canotta Concerto Pink Floyd ".
12	"W.W.B.J.D.?" If that stands for "What would Billy Joel do?" I'll tell you right now, he'd write another crappy song. (...) "What would baby Jesus do?"	"C.F.G.B.?" Se significa "cosa farebbe George Benson?"... ...te lo dico io: scriverebbe un'altra canzone orrenda. (...) Significa "cosa farebbe Gesù bambino?"	"C.F.G.B.?" Se significa "cosa farebbe George Bush ?"... ...te lo dico io: non saprebbe governare. (...) Significa "cosa farebbe Gesù bambino?"
6	That dude looks like Moby.	"Quello lì somiglia a Moby".	"Quello lì somiglia a Stanley Tucci ".
9	What you going to sing tonight? I'm in the mood for Sade.	Cosa canti stasera? Vorrei sentire Sade.	Cosa canti stasera? Vorrei sentire Mariah Carey.
13	In October, there was a free Toni Braxton concert	- C'è stato un concerto di Toni Braxton...	- C'è stato un concerto di Alicia Keys...
19	Guess which class I signed up for. Singing with Tennille?	Indovinate a che classe mi sono iscritto. Cantare con Tennille?	Indovinate a che classe mi sono iscritto. Pesca con Capitan Findus?

Table 5.1.2 – Singers

The first instance in which we encounter a musical reference is when Jeff tricked Britta and Abed's father to go to the group study room by promising concert tickets to the former and a meet-and-greet to the latter. The first artist's name was kept because finding an equivalent that had the same characteristics and that would be known by the target audience was not possible. Later in the same scene, in fact, the ironic contrast between Britta's and Mr Nadir's musical interests creates a joke since it is Britta who is a fan of the Indian music virtuoso Ravi Shankar,³⁷ and not the Palestinian man. This gag ends with Mr Nadir being surprised because the American rock band Weezer was not in the room, as Jeff had promised. This group, although known internationally, would probably not be familiar

³⁷ Encyclopedia Britannica. (n.d.). Ravi Shankar. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ravi-Shankar>

to a Gen Z audience; therefore, I chose to change the reference to a band of the same musical genre and nationality but more famous, Bon Jovi.³⁸

A similar case in which a band was replaced with another one for the same reasons is the second subtitle in Table 5.1.2. Here, the original reference, “R.E.M.”, was retranslated with “Pink Floyd” after running a Google search to verify the number of occurrences (“r.e.m. concerto” = 85; “pink floyd concerto” = 803).

Instead of cultural substitution, situational substitution strategy was used to render the reference to singer Billy Joel within the acronym “W.W.B.J.D.?”. This retranslation was quite intricate since the reference had to be adapted to fit the Italian translation of the acronym which is “C.F.G.B.?” (“Cosa farebbe Gesù bambino?”), finding an alternative reference that had “G.B.” initials to recreate Pierce’s misunderstanding. At first, I tried to replace it with it with Italian singer Gianni Bella,³⁹ whose initials match the ones of the acronym and who could be known by Pierce and not by the younger members of the study group, given that Annie and Troy look at each other when they hear this name, confused because they do not know who Pierce is talking about. This solution, however, would have been too domesticating. For this reason, in the end I decided to change the reference completely by mentioning politician George W. Bush.⁴⁰ This led to the retranslation of the following line in which Pierce jokes about something Bush would not be able to do: this joke works since the former President of the United States is a Republican while Pierce is a Democrat.

Another musician is mentioned when Troy says that dean Pelton, who is bald and wears glasses, looks like the American singer Moby.⁴¹ This reference comes back at the end of Season Three, when Chang replaces the dean with a Moby impersonator. Since this singer is not known in Italy by younger generations, I opted to retranslate it with an American actor that has the same physical features and who is more popular, Stanley Tucci.⁴²

³⁸ All Music. (n.d.). *Bon Jovi*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/bon-jovi-mn0000069534>

³⁹ *Gianni Bella*. (n.d.). Rockol. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.rockol.it/artista/gianni-bella>

⁴⁰ *George W. Bush*. (n.d.). The White House. Retrieved January 11, 2022, from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/george-w-bush/>

⁴¹ *Moby*. (n.d.). Sapere.it. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.sapere.it/enciclopedia/Moby.html>

⁴² Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Stanley Tucci*. Retrieved January 11, 2022, from <https://www.mymovies.it/persone/stanley-tucci/2962/>

We then encounter two female musicians that needed to be adapted in the retranslation. The first one is Jazz and R&B singer Sade,⁴³ replaced by another female artist of the same genre but more popular among the target audience, Mariah Carey.⁴⁴ The second one is an R&B and Soul singer popular during the 90s, Toni Braxton;⁴⁵ following the same strategy, she was retranslated with Alicia Keys.⁴⁶

Lastly, in this scene Pierce enters the group study room dressed in a yachting outfit and tells his friends to guess for which he had signed up. Jeff, then, replies by referencing a vocal duo from the 70s, Captain and Tennille,⁴⁷ obviously hinting at the way Pierce is dressed. These singers are not famous among the new generations; therefore, the reference was adapted by mentioning another famous captain who, however, does not belong in the music industry. “Capitan Findus” is, in fact, the name and the mascot for a brand of frozen fish fingers and he is often seen sailing and fishing in TV commercials.⁴⁸

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
3	I heard this class was a cakewalk. Are you passing it? Do you like Dane Cook? Yeah, he's awesome.	Ho sentito che questo corso è una passeggiata. Tu hai dei buoni voti? - Ti piace Dane Cook? - Sì, è un grande.	Ho sentito che questo corso è una passeggiata. Tu hai dei buoni voti? - Ti piace Eddy Murphy ? - Sì, è un grande.
5	I mean, I may not be a practicing lawyer anymore, but relative to this place, I'm Alan Dershowitz.	Non sarò più un avvocato... ...ma relativamente a questo posto, sono Alan Dershowitz.	Non sarò più un avvocato... ...ma qui dentro sono come Harvey Specter in Suits .
8	Did I say anything in my sleep about farm animals	Ho parlato nel sonno di fattorie o Brian	Ho parlato nel sonno di fattorie o di un

⁴³ Encyclopedia Britannica. (n.d.). Sade. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sade>

⁴⁴ All Music. (n.d.). Mariah Carey. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/mariah-carey-mn0000262255/biography>

⁴⁵ McLeod, E. R. (2005). Toni Braxton. In *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/toni-braxton-b-1968/>

⁴⁶ Encyclopedia Britannica. (n.d.). Alicia Keys. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Alicia-Keys>

⁴⁷ All Music. (n.d.). Captain & Tennille. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/captain-tennille-mn0000940831/biography>

⁴⁸ SpotMania. (2020, September 9). *Capitan Findus fish bar spot pubblicità 2020* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9bv8p0-3fPc>

SpotMania. (2020, January 10). *Pepite di merluzzo Findus pubblicità spot 2020* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aVu5B-IEQeY>

	or Brian Williams?	Williams?	giornalista?
8	Kind of hoping for a Michael Richards situation.	Spero in una situazione alla Michael Richards.	Spero che facciano qualcosa di scandaloso.
8	He's got a real Phil Spector vibe going.	- Mi ricorda Phil Spector.	- Sembra un teenager scappato di casa.
14	There are exceptions to the rule. Even when Jerry Rice went on <i>Dancing With the Stars</i> --	Ci sono eccezioni alla regola. Ma anche quando Jerry Rice è andato a <i>Dancing With the Stars</i> --	Ci sono eccezioni alla regola. Ma anche quando Mayweather è andato a Ballando con le stelle --
15	Then gave him a copy of my poem so he could laugh at me with that Sherri Shepherd lady?	E poi gli ha dato la mia poesia e così lui ha riso di me con Sherri Shepherd?	E poi gli ha dato la mia poesia e così lui ha riso di me con Viola Davis?

Table 5.1.3 – TV personalities

In the first scene, Jeff attends one of professor Whitman’s classes because everyone said that it was an easy way to get college credits. When he finds a seat, he asks one of the students how he is doing in the class; however, the boy does not answer him and just stares at him, so Jeff asks him if he likes Dane Cook to see whether he is a smart guy or not. This comedian was very famous in America in the 2000s but then he was quickly forgotten,⁴⁹ therefore Gen Z would not be able to recognise the reference. Through cultural substitution, I replaced his name with a more famous American actor, known for his comedic roles, Eddie Murphy.⁵⁰

In another scene, Jeff refers to himself as one of the world’s best lawyers, Alan Dershowitz⁵¹ who, however, might not be familiar to the target audience. Therefore, the reference was made clearer by replacing it not with another real-world lawyer but with a fictional one who is the best in his field, Harvey Specter from the famous TV series “Suits”.⁵² This translation choice was also justified by the occurrences of a Google search which gave 14,500 results for “Harvey Specter” against the 7,130 results for “Alan Dershowitz”.

⁴⁹ Thompson, S. (2021, June 17). *Whatever Happened To Dane Cook?*. Looper. <https://www.looper.com/439511/whatever-happened-to-dane-cook/>

⁵⁰ Coming Soon. (n.d.). *Eddie Murphy filmografia*. Retrieved January 11, 2022, from <https://www.comingsoon.it/personaggi/eddie-murphy/74444/filmografia/>

⁵¹ Encyclopedia Britannica. (n.d.). Alan Dershowitz. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Alan-Dershowitz>

⁵² *Harvey Specter*. (n.d.). Suits Wiki. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from https://suits.fandom.com/wiki/Harvey_Specter

As for the following three examples, all taken from Episode 8, the original references to journalist Brian Williams⁵³, comedian Michael Richards, and former music producer Phil Spector⁵⁴ were replaced through generalisation strategy either with the corresponding job title, the reason they were mentioned, or a reference to their appearance. In particular, in the case of the second example, keeping the original reference was not possible because there was no corresponding recent event that could be compared to it. In this scene, Shirley tells Annie that she wants to record Pierce and Vaughn's band performance because she hopes that something scandalous will happen, just like what occurred during one of Michael Richards' shows in 2006, when the comedian told two members of the audience to stop talking, using racial slurs.⁵⁵ This scandal is not famous in Italy, therefore I tried to find a similar incident that could be more recognisable for the target audience. Unfortunately, the only possible replacement was the band The Doors' concert in Miami in 1969 when the lead singer walked on stage late and drunk,⁵⁶ which would still have been too obscure to the Gen Z. For this reason, I replaced it with a phrase that makes Shirley's wish more apparent, though less specific.

In the penultimate subtitle in Table 5.1.3, the name of the TV show, which does exist in Italy, was translated with its official equivalent,⁵⁷ while the reference to a male athlete taking part in it was changed to a more famous name, that of the renowned boxer Floyd Mayweather, Jr.⁵⁸ In the last subtitle another cultural substitution was performed by changing the reference that compares Shirley to comedian Sherri Shepherd⁵⁹ to a comparison with the actress Viola Davis,⁶⁰ both black women.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
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⁵³ Brian Williams. (April 2007). NBC News. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://web.archive.org/web/20100107020921/http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/3667173/>

⁵⁴ Gnocchi, A. (2014, October 27). *Spector e l'odissea viziosa Così il mito è finito in cella*. Ilgiornale.it. <https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/spettacoli/spector-e-lodissea-viziosa-cos-mito-finito-cella-1062793.html>

⁵⁵ LaRepubblica.it. (2006, November 21). *"Fottuto negro" a uno spettatore un comico americano nella bufera*. <https://www.repubblica.it/2006/11/sezioni/esteri/comico-razzista-due/comico-razzista-due/comico-razzista-due.html>

⁵⁶ Il Post. (2019, March 1). *Il più famoso e disastroso concerto dei Doors*. <https://www.ilpost.it/2019/03/01/the-doors-concerto-miami-1969/>

⁵⁷ Il Messaggero. (n.d.). *Ballando con le Stelle, il programma cult di Rai 1 condotto da Milly Carlucci*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.ilmessaggero.it/t/ballando-con-le-stelle/#show>

⁵⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica. (n.d.). Floyd Mayweather, Jr. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Floyd-Mayweather-Jr>

⁵⁹ IMDb. (n.d.). *Sherri Shepherd*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0791868/>

⁶⁰ Encyclopedia Britannica. (n.d.). Viola Davis. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Viola-Davis>

7	You sound like Cookie Monster.	Sembri il Mostro dei biscotti.	Sembri Cookie Monster .
14	Like Privacy Smurf, Discreet Bear or Confidentiality Spice?	Come Puffo Riservato, Orso Discreto o Spezia Segreta?	Come Puffo Riservato, Discretorso o Privacy Spice?

Table 5.1.4 – Cartoon characters

In Table 5.1.4 we find some references to cartoon and children shows characters. The first one, which mentions Cookie Monster was kept with official equivalent strategy because it is his official name.⁶¹ Moreover, the occurrences from a Google search of “Cookie Monster” (88,700) were higher than those of the name used in the Italian version of the TV show⁶² (“pasticcino sesamo apriti” = 2,020) and of the literal translation of the name used in the *Netflix* subtitles (“mostro dei biscotti” = 742).

The other subtitle featured in this table shows an example of cultural substitution. The invented versions of the fictional characters names were adapted in the retranslation to fit the changes in the original dialogue. To do so, the official equivalent of the names of the characters in Italian was found and then modified accordingly: while the first adaptation was already the optimal solution (“Puffo Riservato”),⁶³ the other two references were changed to fit the translated names of the Care Bears characters (“Discretorso”)⁶⁴ and the English names of the member of the girl band Spice Girls (“Privacy Spice”),⁶⁵ which are not translated into Italian.

Ep.	Original dialogue	<i>Netflix</i> subtitles	Translation proposal
6	Hip hop, body don't stop	<i>Hip hop, non faccio stop</i>	<i>Hip hop, non faccio stop</i>
	Riverside got the broom	<i>La Riverside ha la scopa</i>	<i>La Riverside ha la scopa</i>
	Don't need a mop	<i>Non ci serve lo straccio</i>	<i>Non ci serve lo straccio</i>
	Put your team in a box	<i>Metti la squadra in una scatola</i>	<i>Metti la squadra in una scatola</i>
	A ribbon on top	<i>Mettici un nastro sopra</i>	<i>Mettici un nastro sopra</i>
	Not John Kerry	<i>Non siamo come John</i>	<i>Non siamo come Obama</i>
	We don't flip flop	<i>Kerry</i>	<i>Non siamo un flop</i>

⁶¹ Melamorsicata.it. (2016, March 17). *Cookie Monster usa Siri in un nuovo spot*. <https://www.melamorsicata.it/2016/03/17/cookie-monster-usa-siri-un-spot/>

⁶² *Sesamo Apriti*. (n.d.). Muppet Wiki. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from https://muppet.fandom.com/wiki/Sesamo_Apriti

⁶³ *Personaggi dei Puffi*. (n.d.). Blue Dwarfs. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://bluedwarfs.com/it/2173-personaggi-dei-puffi>

⁶⁴ Uip 2013. (n.d.). *Orsetti del cuore: trama e nomi dei personaggi della serie animata*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <http://www.uip2013.it/orsetti-del-cuore-trama-e-nomi-dei-personaggi-della-serie-animata/>

⁶⁵ *Qual era il nome originale delle Spice Girls?*. (2021, June 16). Italian.news24viral.com. <https://italian.news24viral.com/qual-era-il-nome-originale-delle-spice-girls/>

	(...) Oh Bing, bong, sing along Your team's Al Gore Your views are wrong (...) Greendale, we're number one Nancy Pelosi is no fun	<i>Non siamo un flop</i> (...) <i>Canta, canta, dai, cantate</i> <i>La tua squadra è Al Gore</i> <i>Le tuo [sic] opinioni sono sbagliate</i> (...) <i>Greendale, siamo i migliori</i> <i>Nancy Pelosi ci fa un baffo</i>	(...) <i>Canta, canta, dai, cantate</i> <i>La tua squadra è Biden</i> <i>Le tue opinioni sono sbagliate</i> (...) <i>Greendale, siamo i migliori</i> <i>La Clinton ci fa un baffo</i>
19	Still have the number of that investigator you used when you thought Ross Perot was sleeping with your mom?	Hai ancora il numero di... ...quell'investigatore privato che hai usato... ...quando pensavi che Perot andasse a letto con tua mamma?	Hai ancora il numero di... ...quell'investigatore privato che hai usato... ...quando pensavi che Trump andasse a letto con tua mamma?

Table 5.1.5 – Politicians

In Table 5.1.5, on the other hand, we find mentions of names of American politicians. In the first set of subtitles Troy is singing his high school's anthem in which three democratic politicians who partook in the 2004 presidential elections are mocked. To update the references, they were replaced with three other Democrats, better known by younger generations in Italy, Barack Obama, Joe Biden and Hillary Clinton. The other subtitles, instead, mentions republican entrepreneur and politician Ross Perot, who was replaced through cultural substitution with a more well-known entrepreneur turned politician, Donald Trump.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
6	Is that Seal? That is our human color wheel. It goes from Seal to Seal's teeth.	- È Seal, quello? - Quella è la ruota del colore umano. - Va da Seal ai denti di Seal.	- È Kevin Hart quello? - Quella è la ruota del colore umano. - Va da Kevin Hart ai suoi denti.
6	I think if we add in a little bit of Phylicia Rashad, we'll be in better shape.	Secondo me, faremmo bene ad aggiungere un po' di Phylicia Rashad.	Secondo me, faremmo bene ad aggiungere un po' di Priyanka Chopra .

6	A Desmond Tutu with enough cream to make a Lou Diamond Phillips. <i>La Bamba</i> . Got it.	Desmond Tutu, con giusto il latte per renderlo Lou Diamond Phillips. <i>La Bamba</i> . Ho capito.	Un Idris Elba con giusto il latte per renderlo Pedro Pascal . <i>Narcos</i> . Ho capito.
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Table 5.1.6 – Episode 6 shades of skin colour

Table 5.1.6 features examples from a particular episode, in which Pierce and dean Pelton are trying to come up with an inclusive mascot for the college by classifying every shade of skin colour and naming it after the person who is that specific shade. In the first subtitle we see British singer Seal⁶⁶ being mentioned to refer to both the deepest and the brightest shade, using his skin and his teeth as a reference. Since he is not popular among Italian Gen Z, I chose to replace his name with a more famous American comedian who has similar shades of both skin and teeth, Kevin Hart.⁶⁷

The second example mentions American actress Phylicia Rashad's⁶⁸ skin colour. Her name was replaced by Priyanka Chopra's,⁶⁹ another Indian American actress, famous in Italy for being singer Nick Jonas' wife.

In the last set of subtitles, dean Pelton is ordering a black coffee with a touch of milk using the same chromatic scale used to find the mascot's skin colour. In doing this, he refers to Anglican archbishop Desmond Tutu⁷⁰ and to actor Lou Diamond Phillips,⁷¹ who starred in the film "La Bamba",⁷² which is later mentioned by Pierce referring to the name of the coffee order by the dean. To update the references and to connect them to the mention of the film, I opted for names of actors that have similar skin colours to those of

⁶⁶ Notizie Musica. (2021, February 19). *Seal: le curiosità sul grande cantante britannico ex marito di Heidi Klum*. <https://notiziemusica.it/chi-e-seal/curiosita/>

⁶⁷ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Kevin Hart*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/persone/kevin-hart/16146/>

⁶⁸ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Phylicia Rashad*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/persone/phylicia-rashad/41849/>

⁶⁹ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Priyanka Chopra*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/persone/priyanka-chopra/40776/>

⁷⁰ Cavallini, G. (2021, October 8). *I 90 anni di Desmond Tutu*. Nigrizia. <https://www.nigrizia.it/notizia/i-90-anni-di-desmond-tutu>

⁷¹ Coming Soon. (n.d.). *Lou Diamond Phillips*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.comingsoon.it/personaggi/lou-diamond-phillips/80494/biografia/>

⁷² Coming Soon. (n.d.). *La Bamba*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.comingsoon.it/film/la-bamba/4871/scheda/>

the original references (Idris Elba and Pedro Pascal)⁷³ and, in the case of the latter, I was able to connect it with a TV series of a similar genre, “Narcos”.⁷⁴

2.5.1.1. Nicknames

The nicknames shown in this section have different characteristics and have been, therefore, divided into two categories.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
4	See how often Hacky Sack takes his shirt off?	Hai visto quante volte Mr. Pallone si toglie la maglia?	Hai visto quanto spesso Mr. Palleggio si toglie la maglia?
4	Miss Annie Fanny Panties in a Bunch.	... signorina Annie Sederona Mutandone nei Cespugli.	... Miss Annie Permalosetty .
5	Star-Burns, that means you.	- Basettone, parlo con te.	- Star-Burns , parlo con te.
10	Whatever, valley girl.	- Come vuoi tu.	Ok, svampitella .
19	Now, does Little Miss Nice have a name? Shirley Bennett.	Ora, come si chiama la Signorina Gentilezza? Shirley Bennett.	Ora, come si chiama Miss Dolcezza? Shirley Bennett.

Table 5.2.1 – Nicknames

The first nickname we can see in Table 5.2.1 is used by Shirley to refer to Vaughn, who spends his free time playing hacky sack in the campus quadrangle. As discussed in section 2.4 Sports, hacky sack is not a well-known activity in Italy; therefore, the nickname in the retranslation has shifted its focus through a generalisation strategy from the name of the sport to its main action, that is hitting the ball with one’s body parts.

“Miss Annie Fanny Panties in a Bunch” is what professor Duncan calls Annie after the failed social experiment that takes place on campus. The main thing to consider when rendering it in Italian is the idiomatic expression “to get one’s panties in a bunch”, or “to get one’s knickers in a twist”, which refers to someone that gets angry because of something small or someone who gets easily offended.⁷⁵ To keep this meaning, I chose to

⁷³ Coming Soon. (n.d.). *Idris Elba*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.comingsoon.it/personaggi/idris-elba/212128/biografia/>
Coming Soon. (n.d.). *Pedro Pascal*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.comingsoon.it/personaggi/pedro-pascal/248356/biografia/>

⁷⁴ Coming Soon. (n.d.). *Narcos*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.comingsoon.it/serietv/narcos/1522/scheda/>

⁷⁵ [simonaj]. (2006, September 10). *Panties in a bunch / knickers in a twist*. [Online forum post]. WordReference.com Language Forums. <https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/panties-in-a-bunch-knickers-in-a-twist.232223/>

use cultural substitution, translating it as “Permalosetty”, which both maintains the meaning of the idiom and takes advantage of a common structure used to create nicknames in Italian.

The name of Star-Burns’ character, whose main feature is his star-shaped sideburns, was kept in English through complete retention strategy because the wordplay can easily be understood; the same choice was made by other *Netflix* subtitlers in other episodes of Season One.

In the next example, Pierce calls Shirley “valley girl” after she uses “like” as a filler-word during her marketing presentation practice.⁷⁶ Using these types of words is typical of girls that are considered ditzy; therefore, the retranslation rendered this connotation through cultural substitution strategy with the adjective “svampitella”.

The last subtitle includes the nickname given by the sailing teacher to Shirley because of her catchphrase (which will be discussed in section 6.2. Shirley Bennet). To keep the reference, I used the retranslation of the catchphrase, “Oh, che dolce”, and created the nickname “Miss Dolchezza” through situational substitution.

Ep.	Original dialogue	<i>Netflix</i> subtitles	Translation proposal
1	That means you do my homework, right, Seacrest?	Significa che studi per conto mio, giusto?	Quindi farai i compiti al posto mio, vero Seacrest?
4	I'm Dr. Doogie Seacrest.	Sono il dottor Doogie Seacrest.	Sono Barney Seacrest.
1	Gonna leave my homework with Slumdog Millionaire.	Io lascio la roba da studiare con Slumdog Millionaire.	Lascio i miei compiti a Mr. Bollywood.
16	Looks like the law firm of Seacrest and Slumdog	Pare che lo studio legale di Seacrest e Slumdog...	Pare che lo studio legale di Seacrest e Mr. Bollywood...
17	Huh, boss? Let's go, Slumdog.	Eh, bello? Forza, pezzente.	Eh, bello? Forza, Mr. Bollywood.
5	Who did it, huh? Mary Ann? Grandpa? Jackée? Kumar?	Chi è stato, eh? Mary Ann? Nonno? Jackée? Kumar?	Chi è stato, eh? Bella? Nonno? Sister Act? Rajesh?

Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Get one's knickers in a twist. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/get%20one%27s%20knickers%20in%20a%20twist>

⁷⁶ [Xavier da Silva]. (2020, August 5). *Valley girl*. [Online forum post]. WordReference.com Language Forums. <https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/valley-girl.3728556/>

	(...) You hear him call me Jackée like I'm some black female caricature?	(...) Con che tono mi ha chiamata Jackée, come se fossi un fumetto?	(...) Mi ha chiamata <i>Sister Act</i> come se fossi lo stereotipo di una donna nera!
5	Fine. The tribunal calls teacher Chang. Okay, just keep it up, Frost/Nixon. I was planning on doing that. Cleared my whole day.	Bene. Il tribunale chiama l'insegnante Chang. Okay, pronti a subire. Siamo pronti. Ho l'intera giornata libera.	Bene. Il tribunale chiama l'insegnante Chang. Okay, continua a insistere, Frost/Nixon. È quello che farò. Ho annullato tutti i miei impegni per questo.
5	You got Prince Charles over here as your drinking buddy.	E tu hai il principe Charles qui, con cui vai al bar.	E tu hai il Principe Carlo qui, con cui vai al bar.
25	Dudley Moore. Spray tan.	- Dudley Moore. - Abbronzatura con lo spray.	- Hugh Grant. - Abbronzatura con lo spray.
6	You dropped your books, Poindexter. Heh-heh-heh.	Ti sono caduti i libri, secchione.	Ti sono caduti i libri, Dexter.
23	Oh, look, it's post-ironic Disco Stu.	È lo studente della disco music.	Guarda, è Disco Stu!
16	What's the blonde's name? Bitter, Butter, Beetlejuice?	Come si chiama la bionda? Brutta, Burina, Barilla?	Come si chiama la bionda? Briglia, Brocca, Beetlejuice?
20	Nice frame job, Britta-dict Arnold. Oh, colonial burn.	Ma che bel lavoretto, Britta-dict Arnold. Oh, guarda chi c'è.	Grazie per avermi incastrata, Br-uda Iscariota. Oh, dissing biblico.
23	No paintballs, Hans?	Niente vernice, tesoro?	Niente vernice, Hans?
25	Yo, Goldilocks.	Yo, biondina.	Yo, Riccioli d'oro.
16	Well, nice fix, Tweedledum and even Tweedlerdum.	Beh, bella trovata, Pincopanco e Pancopinco.	Beh, bella trovata, Pinco Panco & più Pinco Panco.
18	Thanks a lot, Pollyanna.	Grazie mille, Pollyanna.	Grazie mille, Miss Buoncuore.
19	Hey, Laura Ingalls. Home Depot guy.	Ehi, Laura Ingalls. Amico di Home Depot.	Ehi, contadinella. Amico di Home Depot.

Table 5.2.2 – Nicknames based on TV, cinema, and pop culture

The translation of the nicknames in Table 5.2.2 was more challenging because they include references to films, TV series and pop culture. The first couple of subtitles refers to Jeff's nickname throughout the series. This is a meta-reference to the fact that the actor who plays him, Joel McHale, has been compared to TV presenter Ryan Seacrest⁷⁷ in real life on multiple occasions. In addition to being directly called "Seacrest", Jeff is also mocked by referencing one of the most famous programmes presented by the celebrity, "American Idol". For this reason, I chose to keep the reference using complete retention strategy. In the second example, Troy makes fun of Jeff because of his resemblance to both Ryan Seacrest and actor Neil Patrick Harris, main character of the TV show "Doogie Howser, M.D."⁷⁸ The reference to this series needed to be changed because it was aired in Italy during the 90s, therefore the target audience would not be familiar with it. For this reason, it was replaced with another character, Barney Stinson, played by the same actor in the sitcom "How I met your mother",⁷⁹ which is very popular in Italy.

Abed, on the other hand, is often called "Slumdog Millionaire", which is a 2008 film directed by Danny Boyle and distributed in Italy as "The Millionaire".⁸⁰ This nickname is given to him because of his skin colour, since the protagonist of the film is Indian. Despite its success and the nine Academy Awards won after its release, I chose to use the modulation technique to change the original nickname to create an immediate connection in the target viewers' minds because it might not be as popular as in the United States. Moreover, mentioning "The Millionaire" might have caused confusion with the popular TV program "Chi vuol essere milionario?". In the end, I chose to shift the focus from this particular one to a wider genre, that is Bollywood, the name of the Indian film industry. In this way, Abed gets called "Mr. Bollywood", keeping the reference to the fact that to other people he looks Indian, even though he is Palestinian.

In one of the other subtitles, Chang tries to make the person who cheated on the test confess and he calls Annie, Pierce, Shirley and Abed with nicknames that are meant to connect them to stereotypes. Annie gets named after Mary Ann Summers from the 60s' TV

⁷⁷ Encyclopedia Britannica. (n.d.). Ryan Seacrest. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ryan-Seacrest>

⁷⁸ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Doogie Howser*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1989/doogie-howser/>

⁷⁹ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *E alla fine arriva mamma*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2005/eallafinearrivamamma/>

⁸⁰ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *The Millionaire*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2008/themillionaire/>

series “Gilligan's Island”: she is a naive white girl with straight brown hair, the typical girl-next-door look, just like Annie’s.⁸¹ The target audience would not be familiar with this series, as it aired a long time before they were even born; therefore, I decided to adapt the reference by mentioning a similar character, Bella Swan, the protagonist of the “Twilight” saga, which was very popular in Italy when it was first released.⁸² Shirley, instead, as she points out later in that same scene, is compared to a black TV personality, Jackée Harry.⁸³ Since she is not famous in Italy, that same comment made by Shirley (“like I'm some black female caricature”) is exploited to add to her characterisation the fact that she is Christian and to change the reference to the film “Sister Act”.⁸⁴ This film is about a group of nuns, and it was very popular in Italy; in addition to this, it features Whoopi Goldberg, one of the most renowned black actresses. Lastly, Abed gets called Kumar, the name of one of the two protagonists of the film franchise “Harold & Kumar”.⁸⁵ This saga is not well-known in Italy, so I decided to replace it with a more popular TV series, “The Big Bang Theory”, where one of the characters, Rajesh, is Indian, keeping the stereotype.⁸⁶

Next is the scene in which Britta goes to court for cheating on the aforementioned test. Here, Chang calls professor Duncan “Frost/Nixon”, the title of a film based on the series of interviews done in 1977 by the British journalist David Frost to the former President of the United States Richard Nixon.⁸⁷ In doing so, Chang manages to reference both the fact that Duncan comes from the U.K. and that the fake trial that is taking place in the college swimming pool resembles the one Nixon went on during these interviews. Although I initially considered changing the reference to a completely different programme where fake trials took place, “Forum”,⁸⁸ this translation solution would have

⁸¹ Mary Ann. (n.d.). Gilligan's Island Wiki. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from https://gilligan.fandom.com/wiki/Mary_Ann

⁸² Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Twilight*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2008/twilight/>

⁸³ IMDb. (n.d.). *Jackée Harry Biography*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0364068/bio?ref=nm_ov_bio_sm

⁸⁴ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Sister Act - Una svitata in abito da suora*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1992/sisteract/>

⁸⁵ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *American Trip - Il primo viaggio non si scorda mai*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2004/american-trip-il-primo-viaggio-non-si-scorda-mai/>

⁸⁶ Rajesh Koothrappali. (n.d.). The Big Bang Theory Wiki. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from https://bigbangtheory.fandom.com/it/wiki/Rajesh_Koothrappali

⁸⁷ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Frost/Nixon - Il duello*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2008/frostonixonduello/>

⁸⁸ Pasqui, G. (2018, March 23). *Forum, parlano i contendenti-attori: “Abbiamo un copione, facciamo la parte. Ci dicono tutto, anche quando arrabbiarci o piangere”*. Il Fatto Quotidiano. <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2018/03/23/forum-parlano-i-contendenti-attori-abbiamo-un-copione-facciamo-la-parte-ci-dicono-tutto-anche-quando-arrabbiarci-o-piangere/4246276/>

been too domesticating. Therefore, I based my decision of keeping the original reference on the fact that the Italian title of the film is “Frost/Nixon – Il duello”, which is similar enough to the original title. Moreover, omission strategy was used to reduce the number of characters of the full Italian title.

Season One of *Community* also features two other nicknames for professor Duncan, both of them based on his British nationality. On one occasion, Chang refers to him as Prince Charles, which was translated with the Italian version of the name “Principe Carlo”; in a later episode, then, Jeff calls him Dudley Moore, the name of an English actor, comedian and pianist. In order to make the connection to the professor’s nationality more immediate, the name was replaced with Hugh Grant’s, a more popular British actor.

A more complex retranslation is that of “Pointdexter”, the nickname Troy gives a student after throwing the books he was holding to the ground. The reference here is to a character of the animated series from the 60s’ “Felix the Cat”, a prodigy child that always wears glasses, a lab coat and a mortarboard hat.⁸⁹ In addition to this, we could also consider the added reference to one of Donald Glover’s mixtapes, the actor who plays Troy and that is also known as the rapper Childish Gambino. To maintain the reference, although only partly, the retranslation mentions another animated character, the boy-genius Dexter from the series “Dexter’s laboratory”,⁹⁰ which is more popular in Italy compared to the series in the source text. Dexter is also always seen wearing glasses and a lab coat, just like Pointdexter.

The student that goes around the campus roller-skating and that has an afro hairstyle is also assigned a nickname: “Disco Stu”, a character from the animated series “The Simpsons”. Since this show is very popular in Italy, the reference was kept.

Another reference that had many complex features is that of professor Slater’s attempt to remember Britta’s name. Other than trying to guess similar-sounding words such as “Bitter” and “Butter” (which might also hint at a famous tongue twister),⁹¹ she mentions “Beetlejuice”, which is the name of the ghost of the homonymous 1988 Tim

⁸⁹ Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Pointdexter. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/poindexter>

⁹⁰ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Il laboratorio di Dexter*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1996/il-laboratorio-di-dexter/>

⁹¹ Chompers. (2019, October 1). *Tongue Twisters Morning Betty Botter*. Gimlet. <https://gimletmedia.com/shows/chompers/49h9d4>

Burton film that is summoned after someone says its name three times. At first this reference might not seem too important, but the same name is mentioned two other times, once in the Season Two episode “Cooperative Calligraphy” and once in the Season Three episode “Horror Fiction in Seven Spooky Steps”: immediately after “Beetlejuice” is said for the third time, a person dressed in the same white and black costume shows up in the background of the scene, making it a fun easter egg to spot. Although the payoff is not immediate, I chose to keep the name in English because it still sounds like “Britta” and the official title in Italian is “Beetlejuice - Spiritello Porcello”.⁹²

Another nickname given to Britta references Benedict Arnold, who became famous for betraying the United States by leading the British army against the American soldiers:⁹³ in this line, in fact, Jeff is accusing Britta of having betrayed him. Since this historical character is not well-known in Italy, I decided to use situational substitution to replace it by referencing a more famous historic betrayal, that of Judas, using his full name in Italian, Giuda Iscariota, and adding to it Britta’s name. The translation of the following line uttered by Troy will be dealt with in section 7. English loanwords.

The next nickname is a call-back to a scene from the film “Die Hard” when Hans Gruber fails to shoot John McClane because he had previously removed the bullets from his gun,⁹⁴ as in this scene of the sitcom Jeff has removed the paintballs from Britta’s paintball gun. Since this film has become cult and this is not a direct quote, I decided to keep the reference to the character’s name in the retranslation. In a later episode, Britta gets also called “Goldilocks”, the protagonist of the popular children story, which was replaced with its official Italian translation, “Riccioli d’oro”.⁹⁵

In one episode, Pierce calls Annie and Shirley “Tweedledum and even Tweedlerdum”, referring both to the characters featured in the story of “Alice in Wonderland” and to the film “Dumb and Dumber”. My translation recreated the

⁹² Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Beetlejuice - Spiritello porcello*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1988/beetlejuice/>

⁹³ Encyclopedia Britannica. (n.d.). Benedict Arnold. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Benedict-Arnold>

⁹⁴ AaronBank. (2013, December 17). *Oops... No bullets...:)))* [Video]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bjIvD_Ma8bc

McCormick, C. (2019, July 30). *Community: 10 Hidden Details You Missed In The Modern Warfare Episode*. ScreenRant. <https://screenrant.com/community-hidden-details-missed-modern-warfare-episode-tv-show/>

⁹⁵ Favole & fantasia. (n.d.). *Riccioli d’oro e i tre orsi*. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.favolefantasia.com/231/riccioli-doro-e-i-tre-orsi.html>

nicknames by using the official equivalents of the names in the translated versions of the story and film in Italian, “Pinco Panco e Panco Pinco”⁹⁶ and “Scemo & più scemo”.⁹⁷

One more nickname given to Annie is “Pollyanna”, the name of the protagonist of an 80s’ anime.⁹⁸ Since her principle was seeking the good and she often used to say that she was fond of many things, the name was changed to “Miss Buoncuore”, which describes her personality without mentioning her name, with which Gen Z would not be familiar. Finally, Annie is also called by Jeff Laura Ingalls after the protagonist of the film “Little House on the Prairie”. Since the film might not be familiar to the target audience, the original reference was generalised and the name was replaced by the character’s job.

2.5.2. Geographical names

When dealing with toponyms, Gornostay and Skadiņa (2009) claim that there are four main translation strategies. The first two, which they call transference and transliteration strategy, can be compared to Pedersen’s complete and TL-adjusted retention: these techniques can be applied based on the context and on the target language as London in Italian is translated as “Londra” while, for example, the city of Liverpool is retained in English. The other two are translation and combined strategy.

In Table 5.3 we will see how, in the case of this retranslation, the suitable translation solution is the use of Pedersen’s existing official equivalent.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
7	One time he ran down the street with no pants on, which in the Gaza Strip is considered a real party foul so you should probably be careful.	Una volta è corso per la strada senza pantaloni... ...che a Gaza Strip rovina le feste quindi dovresti stare attento.	Una volta è corso per la strada senza pantaloni... ...che nella Striscia di Gaza rovina le feste quindi dovresti stare attento.
14	Okay, uh, did you hear that the Shroud of Turin is actually--?	Okay. Hai sentito che la Sindone di Torino...	Okay. Hai sentito che la Sacra Sindone ...

Table 5.3 – Toponyms

⁹⁶ *Pinco Panco e Panco Pinco*. (n.d.). Disney Wiki. Retrieved January 11, 2022, from https://disney.fandom.com/it/wiki/Pinco_Panco_e_Panco_Pinco

⁹⁷ Filmtv.it. (n.d.). *Scemo & più scemo*. Retrieved January 11, 2022, from <https://www.filmtv.it/film/12936/scemo-and-piu-scemo/#>

⁹⁸ Anne e M. (n.d.). *anime – POLLYANNA (Ai Shoujo Pollyanna Story) – di Kozo Kusuba*. Il bazar di Mari. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.ilbazarдимari.net/ai-shoujo-pollyanna/>

The name of the land located between Israel and Palestine, the Gaza Strip, has been rendered into Italian by using its official equivalent of the toponym, that is “Striscia di Gaza”. In the same way, the Shroud of Turin, a relic that is considered very important in Italy, has been translated with its official name, “Sacra Sindone”, which does not require the mention of the city in which it is kept.

2.5.3. Brand names

The popularity, existence and name of certain brands vary depending on each country. As a result, some of the more important corporations may be known world-wide, while other more local companies may not. In this section we will look at two macro-groups of brand names, by analysing the retranslation of brands relating to services, namely shops, restaurants, private companies, hotels, and other retail chains, and to products, such as food items, mascots, and lifestyle goods.

2.5.3.1. Shops, restaurants, and hotels

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
7	she'd be at the Comfort Inn right now giving me a Mexican Halloween.	...ora lei sarebbe al Comfort Inn a farmi un Halloween messicano.	...ora lei sarebbe al Best Western a farmi un Halloween messicano.
16	One Papa John's commercial he thinks he's Christian Bale.	Fa uno spot sulla pizza e già crede di essere Christian Bale.	Fa uno spot per Domino's Pizza e già crede di essere Christian Bale.
17	Shouldn't you be at an Urban Outfitters?	Non dovresti essere da Urban Outfitters?	Non dovresti essere da Zara ?
12	If this dude doesn't show up, we're going to Applebee's. Because I'm getting into a fight no matter what today.	Se questo qui non si presenta, andiamo sicuramente all'Applebee's. Perché io oggi in ogni caso devo scatenare una rissa.	Se questo qui non si presenta, andiamo sicuramente al Mc Donald . Perché io oggi in ogni caso devo scatenare una rissa.

Table 5.4.1 – Cultural substitution strategy with brand names

Other situations in which the cultural substitution technique was used by replacing an American brand that does not have stores or that is not popular in Italy with one that is better known by the target audience are: the “Comfort Inn” hotel chain – here the Google search showed that its occurrences were 232,000 versus the 2,930,000 hits that the “Best Western” chain gave; “Papa John’s” pizza franchise – for which in the retranslation the

reference shifts to the multinational chain “Domino’s”; and the clothing store “Urban Outfitters” – adapted to “Zara”, keeping the same implication of being a pretentious store.

As for the “Applebee’s” restaurant chain,⁹⁹ where substitution was used once more, it was replaced with the “Mc Donald” fast-food chain. These two joints do not offer the same type of menu: the one mentioned in the original dialogue offers dishes from the traditional American cuisine, quite different to the junk food served at “Mc Donald’s”. Nevertheless, this translation solution was chosen because the fast-food chain is very popular among young people, especially teenagers, and because it fits the context, based on the fact that over the years some cases of street fights have occurred at some of these franchises, as suggested by the bully’s line in this scene.¹⁰⁰

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
8	First off is Anderson Septic.	Tra loro, la Anderson Septic.	Tra loro, lo spurgo pozzi neri .
19	Yes, I was robbed at the YMCA. Again.	Sì, mi hanno derubato al circolo sportivo della parrocchia. Di nuovo.	Sì, mi hanno derubato al centro sportivo . Di nuovo.
22	I once met Sting at a Cracker Barrel.	Una volta ho conosciuto Sting da Cracker Barrel.	Una volta ho incontrato Sting all’autogrill .

Table 5.4.2 – Changes in references to brand names

The examples in Table 5.4.2 are cases in which the original reference has been made clearer to the target audience through the use of specification strategy which, instead of using an equivalent in the target language or culture, explains the type of store or service offered. “Anderson Septic” company, for example, has been rendered into Italian by specifying the type of services offered by them, instead of using a specific name which could differ depending on the city or region.¹⁰¹ The same strategy was adopted for the “YMCA”, a service that is known in Italy only through the famous Village People song and that does not immediately bring to mind the facilities offered there, as well as for the American restaurant and gift store chain “Cracker Barrel” that can be found on some highway exit points, making it similar to the Italian “autogrill”.

⁹⁹ Applebee’s (n.d.). Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.applebees.com/en>

¹⁰⁰ De Riccardis, S. (2021, June 28). *Rissa davanti al McDonald's a Milano, i ragazzi: "Picchiati per razzismo". I carabinieri: "Noi presi a bottigliate"*. La Repubblica. https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2021/06/28/news/video_scontri_piazza_xxiv_maggio-308064166/

¹⁰¹ Anderson’s Septic and Sewer. (n.d.). *About us*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.andersonsepticandsewer.com/about-us/>

2.5.3.2. Products

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
6	Kleenex?	Kleenex?	Fazzoletto?
8	Lucky Charms?	- Lucky Charms?	- Cereali?
16	a non-Keebler nose,	un naso meno da gnomo,	un naso meno da elfo ,

Table 5.5.1 – Examples of generalisation strategy

“Kleenex” is a clear example of how certain brands end up becoming the commonly used name to refer to a certain product, in this case tissues. A similar example in the Italian language is the brand “Post-it”, which has become the standard name used to refer to sticky notes. In this retranslation, generalisation was used to clarify what type of product the original dialogue was referring to both in the case of “Kleenex” and of “Lucky Charms”, a cereal brand that is not sold in the large distribution system in Italy and that can only be found in niche stores that sell American products.

A similar case occurs when the name of the mascot of a certain brand is used to refer to a specific characteristic. In the third subtitle, Britta tells Jeff that he should have “a non-Keebler nose”, referring to the fact that the brand’s mascot is an elf, a mythological creature that is known for having a very pointy nose. To explain this reference to the target audience, the name of the brand and its connection to the mascot have been made explicit by removing the original reference and directly comparing Jeff’s nose with that of an elf, who in the Italian folklore shares the same characteristic.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
5	Smooth move, Metamucil.	Bella mossa.	Bella mossa, Dulcolax .
22	Hey, Clearasil! What time is your mommy picking you up?	Ehi, Clearasil, a che ora viene a riprenderti la mamma?	Ehi, Garnier , a che ora viene a riprenderti la mamma?

Table 5.5.2 – Product names used as nicknames

Another situation we come across when analysing these subtitles is the use of product names as nicknames for some of the characters, often as a way of insulting them. First, Pierce calls Annie “Metamucil”, a fibre supplement made with psyllium that promotes digestive health. This brand is not very famous, especially among younger viewers, so through cultural substitution I chose a product that had a similar effect and a higher number of occurrences compared to the original reference (“dulcolax” = 3,060,000; “metamucil” = 1,550,000). Moreover, the name itself, “Dulcolax”, may suggest its effects to an audience that is not familiar with it since it contains the term “-lax” from “laxative”.

Then we have “Clearasil”, used by Jeff to insult a high schooler that had been messing with him that week. Here, another affordable skincare brand was mentioned to make it more relatable to the new target audience.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
22	Oh, my God! Is she wearing a Discman?	Oh, mio Dio, ha un lettore CD?	Oh, mio Dio, è un Walkman quello?
6	Maybe over some Milky Ways or some Mars bars.	Magari mangiando Milky Way o un Mars.	Magari mangiando un Kinder o un Twix.

Table 5.5.3 – Official equivalent and cultural substitution

The next few examples feature cases of adaptation, in which the original brand was replaced with one from the same category but more widely known to the Italian viewers. The first instance is the “Discman”, Sony’s brand name for their portable CD-player produced in the 1980s. Younger generations might have encountered this device, known in Italy as “Walkman”, at their parents’ house or they might even have used one when they were little, before MP3-readers gained popularity. Next, we find a series of snacks whose names have been rendered with brands that the Italian Gen Z is more familiar with, using cultural substitution strategy.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
14	I brought Goobers. Anybody want a Goober? Get them while they're goobie.	Ho portato delle gelatine. Volete delle gelatine? Prendetene finché siete in tempo.	Ho portato gli M&Ms. Volete degli M&Ms? Prendeteli prima che scappino!

Table 5.5.4 – Substitution strategy used to keep the wordplay

The last set of subtitles in this section uses situational substitution, since their translation had to take into consideration the wordplay included in these lines. The reference to “Goober” jellies, which are not sold in Italy, has been changed to “M&M’s” chocolates in order to make it more familiar to the target audience and to recreate Shirley’s joke about making sure their friends got one while there still were some left. A few famous TV ads that aired in the 2010s showed personified M&M’s chocolates cartoons trying to

avoid being bought or eaten by humans¹⁰² and, by referring to them, Shirley’s communicative intent is kept in the retranslation.

2.6. Weights and measures

The next category concerns units of measurement, which can differ from culture to culture. When talking about the suitable solutions for this translation problem, Pedersen (2011:157) points out that “[t]he use of Official Equivalents in this domain normally entails conversion to the metric system”, which is the same instance that we encounter in the series.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
12	<i>Some of you will travel as far as three miles.</i>	<i>Alcuni di voi viaggeranno addirittura per tre miglia.</i>	<i>Alcuni di voi viaggeranno addirittura per cinque chilometri.</i>
24	<i>Veinte.</i> Oh, I know that one. She wants a large coffee.	Ah, questa la so. - Vuole un caffè da venti.	Ah, questa la so. - Dice che c’è troppo vento.

Table 6 – Units of measurement

As a matter of fact, in Table 6 we can see that the first subtitle, containing the distance covered in miles, has been retranslated by converting it into kilometres. Although it is true that nowadays the Italian audience is very much familiar with the fact that the United States have a different system of measurement from the metric one, they might still not be fully aware of the conversion between the two measurement systems. Therefore, the official equivalent in kilometres helps the irony of the line be received better by the target audience.

The second example plays on the misunderstanding of the Spanish word for “twenty” that makes Britta’s poor level of Spanish apparent to the audience. The student, in fact, mistakes the number for one of the cup sizes available at the Starbucks coffee shop chain, very popular in America but that does not have stores in Italy. For this reason, the Italian audience, although it might have heard of this term before, is not as familiar with it

¹⁰² Jmlab1. (2011, January 5). *pubblicità M&M's supermercato* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=20yDswx4bY4>

SpotLandiaWorld (2013, April 23). *M&M'S Spot 2013* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SKrQmFEHffY>

as the American audience. Thus, the retranslation uses situational substitution to offer a different kind of misunderstanding, using an Italian word that sound similar to “veinte”, “vento”, making it possible to keep the original intent of the line.

2.7. Other

In this last section we will see two categories of culture-specific items that did not fit in Pedersen’s classification.

2.7.1. Newspapers, comic strips, and slogans

When it comes to paper media, the most frequent translation strategies would be to find the official equivalent, if a specific publication is available worldwide, or to replace it through a cultural substitution that hold the same connotation for the target audience. These, however, are not the only possible cases.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
2	This is a real damn newspaper. There's a Marmaduke in here.	È un vero giornale. C'è un Marmaduke.	È un giornale vero. Ci sono le vignette satiriche!
11	Be right back. I have to make tinkles.	Torno subito. Devo fare pipì.	Torno subito. Devo fare plin plin.
13	As you can see, I am resurrecting the <i>Greendale Gazette Journal Mirror</i> .	Come puoi vedere, sto resuscitando il <i>Greendale Gazette Journal Mirror</i> .	Come puoi vedere, sto resuscitando la Gazzetta Resto Corriere di Greendale.
23	We don't want this to turn into a letter to <i>Penthouse</i> .	Sì, non vogliamo che diventi una lettera a <i>Penthouse</i> , vero?	Sì, non vogliamo che diventi ispirazione per un romanzo erotico.

Table 7 – Newspapers, comic strips, and slogans

The first example in Table 7 refers to a famous American newspaper comic strip starring the Winslow family and their dog, Marmaduke. Although this comic strip has been translated into Italian with the title “Sansone”, its connotation is different for the target audience since it was not printed on a newspaper but on digest-sized weekly comic series “Topolino”, reaching a completely different readership.¹⁰³ Therefore, Shirley stating that an article they found comes from a “real” newspaper because it features a “Marmaduke”

¹⁰³ Kelly, K. (2017, August 31). *Marmaduke: The Story*. American comes alive. <https://americacomesalive.com/marmaduke-the-story/>

La Stampa. (2015, September 9). *Addio a Brad Anderson, il papà di Sansone*. <https://www.lastampa.it/cultura/2015/09/09/news/addio-a-brad-anderson-il-papa-di-sansone-1.35222379>

comic strip would not make sense to the audience since it is not a distinctive feature of Italian newspapers. For this reason, the use of specification and cultural substitution strategy was necessary to justify the woman's statement by mentioning an element found in various Italian newspapers, that is satirical cartoons such as those made by Altan and Vauro.¹⁰⁴

The expression "to make tinkles" is often used in a cute way by children instead of the verb "to pee".¹⁰⁵ To recreate the same childish effect of the source text, situational substitution allowed me to use a different reference, mentioning a slogan made famous from a TV commercial for Rocchetta bottled water, which featured a woman highlighting the diuretic properties of this brand's product.¹⁰⁶

The next example features the name of Greendale's school newspaper, which is made up of various standard names of national newspapers, such as the "Pittsburg Post Gazette", the "Wall Street Journal" and the "Daily Mirror".¹⁰⁷ In this occasion, the retranslation uses cultural substitution to recreate the same effect taking inspiration from famous Italian newspapers: "La Gazzetta dello Sport", "Il Resto del Carlino" and "Il Corriere della Sera".¹⁰⁸

Finally, the last subtitle references the running section of the men's magazine "Penthouse" called "Penthouse forum",¹⁰⁹ which featured letters sent in by the readers recounting their (mostly fictional) stories, accompanied by photos of hardcore adult situations. Britta says this line to Jeff after the two of them had intercourse in the college study room during the paintball game that takes place on campus. The man tells her that they should get out quickly as not to be caught by the librarian and Britta agrees with him, saying that she does not want to risk become the object of someone's sexual fantasy in one

¹⁰⁴ Boschi, L. (2010, July 29). *Gli Stili della Satira: Staino, Vauro, Altan, Ellekappa... E John Callahan (Rip)*. Nova Il Sole 24 Ore. <https://lucaboschi.nova100.ilsole24ore.com/2010/07/29/gli-stili-della-satira-staino-vauro-altan-ellekappa/>

¹⁰⁵ Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Have/take a tinkle. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/have%2Ftake%20a%20tinkle>

¹⁰⁶ Rocchetta. (n.d.). *Parliamo di "plin plin"*. Retrieved December 3, 2012, from <https://www.rocchetta.it/parliamo-di-plin-plin-acqua-rocchetta-diuresi/>

¹⁰⁷ Paperboy. (n.d.). *List of the Most Popular and Influential Newspapers in the USA*. Retrieved December 7, 2012, from <https://www.thepaperboy.com/usa-top-100-newspapers.cfm>

Agility PR Solutions. (n.d.). *Top 10 U.K. Newspapers by Circulation*. Retrieved December 7, 2012, from <https://www.agilitypr.com/resources/top-media-outlets/top-10-uk-newspapers-by-circulation/>

¹⁰⁸ Giornalone. (n.d.). *Prime Pagine dei Quotidiani Nazionali*. Retrieved December 7, 2012, from <https://www.giornalone.it/quotidiani-italiani/>

¹⁰⁹ Grant, D. (2015, August 22). *10 Greatest Penthouse Letter Subjects Of All Time*. The Richest. <https://www.theRichest.com/most-popular/10-greatest-penthouse-letter-subjects-of-all-time/>

of the letters sent to “Penthouse”. Since the reference might be too obscure to the target audience, I chose to use generalisation strategy to make the reference explicit by changing from a specific magazine to a more general erotic novel.

2.7.2. Videogames, social media, and websites

The last category features references to names of videogames, websites, programs, and social networks which are not as widely known to an Italian audience or that have become more popular over time.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
1	The guy playing "Bejeweled" on his iPhone all class has a study group?	Giochi a "Bejeweled" sull'iPhone durante la lezione e hai un gruppo di studio?	Il tizio che giocava a “Candy Crush” a lezione ha un gruppo di studio?
1	Not mine. I think Abed took out a page on Craigslist.	Il gruppo non è mio. Mi sa che Abed ha messo un annuncio su Craigslist.	Non è il mio gruppo. Mi sa che Abed ha messo un annuncio su Facebook .
10	is going to create the next Napster for brownies.	...creerà il futuro Napster per le torte di cioccolato.	...creerà il futuro uTorrent per i brownie .
14	Pierce's Twitter account, in which he says he's 47,	...la pagina di Twitter di Pierce, in cui dice di avere 47 anni...	... nella bio di Twitter di Pierce c'è scritto che ha 47 anni...
19	I was gonna take a class to put together a dating profile.	Volevo iscrivermi alla classe in cui s'impara a fare un profile online.	Volevo seguire il corso dove crei il tuo profilo su Tinder .
15	I invited Señor Chang. We're Netflix friends.	Ho invitato Señor Chang, guardiamo film insieme.	Ho invitato Señor Chang, Condividiamo l'account di Netflix .
22	Guys, have you considered the new Pierce concept is stupid? Spoken like the new Pierce. You're right. I am not the new Pierce. You said “the world wide web”!	Ehi, non trovate che l'idea del nuovo Pierce sia davvero stupida? - Ha parlato come il nuovo Pierce. - Già. - Non sono il nuovo Pierce. - Lo sei-- Hai detto internet.	Ehi, non trovate che l'idea del nuovo Pierce sia davvero stupida? - È quello che avrebbe detto Pierce . - Già. - Non sono il nuovo Pierce. - Lo sei-- L'hai chiamato

			Arpanet!
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Table 8 – Videogames, social media, and websites

The first example in Table 8 mentions the videogame “Bejeweled”, which was launched in 2001 by PopCap Games and which was very popular in the United States. It is a puzzle game in which the player needs to line up gems of the same shape and colour to make them disappear.¹¹⁰ In order to make it more acceptable for the new audience, cultural substitution was used to replace the game with a similar one, much more popular among Gen Z: “Candy Crush”. This mobile game was the most downloaded game in the Apple App Store in 2013 and is popular with every age group (“bejeweled” = 72,200; “candy crush” = 113,000; “bejeweled app” = 2; “candy crush app” = 1,120).

The next translation problem comes from the reference to the advertisements website “Craigslist”, which is neither famous in Italy nor has a direct equivalent.¹¹¹ At first I considered using cultural substitution to translate it with a similar, more popular website, such as “subito.it”, “bakeka.it”, “kijiji.it”, and the listings section on “eBay”, however none of them fit the context. In this scene, in fact, Jeff refers to Abed having possibly put up a listing on the website to form a Spanish study group. Having decided not to replace the original reference with a more “old-school” one such as the college’s message board, I opted once again for cultural substitution, mentioning a popular social network used for similar purposes by Italian university students, that is, “Facebook”.

Another case in which cultural substitution was used was the mention of the peer-to-peer file sharing platform “Napster”, which was created in 1999 and went bankrupt in

¹¹⁰ Moby Games. (n.d.). *Bejeweled: Deluxe*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.mobygames.com/game/bejeweled-deluxe>

¹¹¹ LeandroRM71. (2012, March 6). *Come Usare Craigslist, Cosa Fare e Non Fare*. Made in Italy News. <https://madeinitalynews.wordpress.com/2012/03/06/come-usare-craigslist-cosa-fare-e-non-fare/> [u/baordog]. (2012, April 18). *Is there an Italian equivalent to Craigslist?* [Online forum post]. Reddit. https://www.reddit.com/r/italy/comments/sfod6/is_there_an_italian_equivalent_to_craigslist/

2001 to legal issues related to copyright law.¹¹² Since the target audience would have been too young to be aware of its existence, a program with the same functions was used. Among the two more popular ones, eMule and uTorrent,¹¹³ I chose the latter based on an advanced Google research limiting the results to those published in 2021: the number of occurrences for uTorrent (2,040) surpassed the occurrences for eMule (1,980), which can allow use to assume that the former is the most used one.

The retranslation of the expression “Pierce’s Twitter account” was updated to better fit the official equivalent used by Gen Z, who refers to the short caption at the top of a Twitter account page as “bio”. The following subtitle, on the other hand, is one of the cases in which cultural adaptation allowed for a reduction in the number of cpl by mentioning the name of a specific dating app, very popular in recent years, Tinder.

Next, for the translation of the expression “Netflix friends” complete retention strategy was adopted to keep the name of the streaming platform instead of the specification strategy that was used in the first translation. Specification was instead used to specify what Abed means by saying he is Netflix friends with someone else, that is that they share an account in order to pay a reduced monthly subscription.

Finally, in order to make Britta’s “insult” clearer to the target audience, the original expression was replaced through a situational substitution, which refers to the name of the experimental computer network that is considered the forerunner of today’s Internet.

3. Intertextual references

According to Kaźmierczak (2019:364), “intertextuality implies a dialogue and connections of a text with another text, other texts or types of texts — which is effected by means of quotations, allusions, by borrowing structure, etc.”. This category represents one of the most distinctive aspects of the series *Community*, together with its meta-humour. This show’s intertextual references involve mentioning and paying homage to titles or scenes from other forms of media, be it audiovisual products, music, or books.

¹¹² Bonfranceschi, A.L. (2014, June 3). *La storia di Napster*. Wired. <https://www.wired.it/play/musica/2014/06/03/la-storia-di-napster/>

¹¹³ Crea Gratis. (n.d.). *I 7 migliori programmi Peer-to-Peer (P2P) per File Sharing*. Retrieved December 1, 2021, from <https://www.creagratis.com/i-7-migliori-programmi-peer-to-peer-p2p-per-file-sharing/>

These elements have been analysed by Umberto Eco in his book “Dire quasi la stessa cosa” (2003), in which he foregrounds the importance of correctly translating these references in order to recreate the same experience the source text readers had in the target text. In order to do this, he worked closely with the translators of his books, helping them understand the motivation behind the reference to a specific piece of literature and matching it to a similar text already present in the target culture. For the same reason, subtitlers should investigate what each reference points to, especially in a text in which these elements are so crucial to its characterisation (Valentino 2017, Kaźmierczak 2019).

When the mentioned work does not exist in the target culture or it does not have the same cultural relevance as in the source culture, it should be adapted by finding a more suitable solution, depending on the characteristics of the single reference (Eco 2003). If this is not possible, another solution could be to resort to explicitation strategy to add a short explanation regarding why a certain reference was mentioned or what type of media it refers to. As Long and Yu (2020:1109) remark, “if the original text is translated into the target language, for readers who lack the background knowledge of the source culture or cultural pragmatic presupposition, they will be confused or misunderstood. Therefore, in the actual translation, the translator should add necessary preset information according to different situations to meet the understanding requirements of the target readers”. When, on the other hand, the reference in the target culture already matches the source reference, the translation is usually done by using the already established official version of the title or quote (Pedersen 2011). In this regard, however, Pedersen (2011:203) notes that “there is a general trend of not translating titles of film and TV titles these days”: this holds true in Italy as well because, thanks to globalisation, fans of a certain show might be used to referring to it with both the official translated title in Italian (e.g. “E alla fine arriva mamma”) and the original English title (“How I met your mother”) when talking about it online.

3.1. Films, series, TV shows

While references to other films and shows are made across the whole series by various characters, they are undoubtedly Abed’s most representative feature since he is a big fan of cinema and pop culture. As Jeff says in one of the episodes, the way Abed perceives the world around him is by relating it to similar situations he has seen on film and with which

he is more familiar. This was one of the main reasons why I chose to focus on the retranslation of this category of elements in the AV text, in order to cater them to the new audience although, in certain situation, the connection between what happens in the sitcom and the same situation in another film was too specific to be changed.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
1	It's <i>Stripes</i> or <i>Meatballs</i> . Anything with Bill Murray. (...) I thought you're like Bill Murray. But you're more like Michael Douglas.	Adesso è come <i>Stripes</i> o <i>Meatballs</i> . Qualsiasi cosa con Bill Murray. (...) Credevo che fossi come Bill Murray nei suoi film. Ma sei più come Michael Douglas nei suoi film.	Adesso è come <i>Stripes</i> o <i>Polpette</i> . Qualunque film con Bill Murray. (...) Credevo che fossi come Bill Murray nei suoi film. Ma sei più come Michael Douglas nei suoi film.
12	Jeff protected my honor. It was like <i>My Bodyguard</i> , but I was the kid from <i>Meatballs</i> , Jeff was from <i>Full Metal Jacket</i> , and mustache guy was the brother of the guy in <i>Entourage</i> .	Jeff ha protetto il mio onore. Era come <i>My Bodyguard</i> , ma io ero quello di <i>Meatballs</i> . Jeff era di <i>Full Metal Jacket</i> e il tipo baffuto era di <i>Entourage</i> .	Jeff ha protetto il mio onore. Era come <i>La mia guardia del corpo</i> , ma io ero quello di <i>Polpette</i> . Jeff era di <i>Full Metal Jacket</i> e il tipo baffuto era di <i>Entourage</i> .
3	Professor Whitman, he thinks he's in <i>Dead Poets Society</i> .	Il professor Whitman, crede di essere in <i>Dead Poets Society</i> .	Il professor Whitman. Crede di essere in <i>L'attimo fuggente</i> .
7	It's like <i>Grumpy Old Men</i> , but not hilarious.	È come <i>Grumpy Old Men</i> , ma non è buffo.	È come <i>Due irresistibili brontoloni</i> , ma non è buffo.
8	<i>Knight Rider</i> marathon.	Maratona di <i>Knight Rider</i> .	Maratona di <i>Supercar</i> .
21	I'll help you connect with people, and you help me do a better job with them. Like <i>Knight Rider</i> . Exactly.	Io ti aiuto a connettere con la gente e tu mi aiuti a fare meglio con loro. - Come in <i>Knight Rider</i> . - Esatto.	Io ti aiuto a connettere con la gente e tu mi aiuti a fare meglio con loro. - Come in <i>Supercar</i> . - Esatto.

	<p>Like <i>Knight Rider</i>. Deal.</p> <p>I'll put on a leather jacket, make out with an aerobics instructor.</p> <p>Pull around front, startle passers-by with your ability to talk.</p>	<p>- Come in <i>Knight Rider</i>. - Affare fatto.</p> <p>Indosso la giacca di pelle, limono con l'insegnante.</p> <p>Tu arrivi e sorprendi la gente che passa con la tua abilità a parlare.</p>	<p>- Come in <i>Supercar</i>. - Affare fatto.</p> <p>Indosso la giacca di pelle, limono con l'insegnante.</p> <p>Tu arrivi e sorprendi la gente che passa con la tua abilità a parlare.</p>
8	<p>You're Goldie Hawn, Jeff.</p> <p>I'm sorry? You're Goldie Hawn.</p> <p>Is it the lips? No.</p> <p>In <i>Overboard</i>, she was just like you.</p> <p>Wealthy, assertive, arrogant, got manicures all the time.</p> <p>Then she fell off her boat and it was good for her.</p> <p>Ultimately, she realized she was happier poor, raising unruly boys with Kurt Russell.</p>	<p>Sei Goldie Hawn, Jeff.</p> <p>- Scusa? - Sei come Goldie Hawn.</p> <p>- Per le labbra? - No.</p> <p>In <i>Overboard</i> era come te.</p> <p>Ricca, assertiva, arrogante, sempre a fare manicure.</p> <p>Poi cade dalla barca ed è un bene.</p> <p>Capisce che non era felice crescendo i figli con Kurt Russell.</p>	<p>Sei Goldie Hawn, Jeff.</p> <p>- Scusa? - Sei come Goldie Hawn.</p> <p>- Per le labbra? - No.</p> <p>In <i>Una coppia alla deriva</i> era come te.</p> <p>Ricca, assertiva, arrogante, sempre a fare manicure.</p> <p>Poi cade dalla barca ed è un bene.</p> <p>Capisce che non era felice crescendo i figli con Kurt Russell.</p>
12	<p>And as much as I hate you and the cast of <i>Breakin'</i>,</p>	<p>E per quanto odi te e il cast di <i>Breakin'...</i></p>	<p>E per quanto odi te e il cast di <i>Breakdance...</i></p>
13	<p>You're like Hawkeye on <i>M*A*S*H</i>.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>That was all classic Hawkeye.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Slyly sidestepping the</p>	<p>- Sei come Hawkeye in <i>M*A*S*H</i>.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Sei un Hawkeye classico.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Evitando scaltramente le problematiche</p>	<p>- Sei come Occhio di falco in <i>M*A*S*H</i>.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Sei un vero Occhio di falco.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Evitando le</p>

	<p>problematic scrutiny of Annie "Hot Lips" Edison.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Jeff, what's your favorite episode of <i>M*A*S*H</i>?</p> <p>The one with, uh, the Army.</p>	<p>domande di Annie "Hot Lips" Edison.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Qual è la tua puntata preferita di <i>M*A*S*H</i>?</p> <p>Quella con... l'esercito.</p>	<p>problematiche domande di Annie "Labbra di fuoco" Edison.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Qual è la tua puntata preferita di <i>M*A*S*H</i>?</p> <p>Quella con... l'esercito.</p>
14	<p>I love misdirects.</p> <p>I love <i>The Big Lebowski</i>.</p>	<p>- Mi piace la confusione.</p> <p>- Mi piace <i>The Big Lebowski</i>.</p>	<p>- Mi piace la confusione.</p> <p>- Mi piace Il grande Lebowski.</p>
15	<p>When you guys first came in, we were as wholesome and healthy as the family in <i>Brady Bunch</i>.</p> <p>And now we're as dysfunctional and incestuous as the cast of <i>The Brady Bunch</i>.</p>	<p>Quando siete venuti eravamo integri e sani come la famiglia di <i>Brady Bunch</i>.</p> <p>Ora siamo disfunzionali e incestuosi come il cast di <i>The Brady Bunch</i>.</p>	<p>Quando siete venuti eravamo integri e sani come La famiglia Brady.</p> <p>Ora siamo disfunzionali e incestuosi come il cast di La famiglia Brady.</p>
17	<p>Okay. Cool. You guys are gonna <i>Can't Buy Me Love</i> me?</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Oh, he wants us to <i>Love Don't Cost a Thing</i> him.</p>	<p>Bene. Allora adesso mi farete alla <i>Can't Buy Me Love</i>?</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Oh, vuole che lo facciamo alla <i>Love Don't Cost a Thing</i>.</p>	<p>Figo. Allora faremo come in Playboy in prova, no?</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Oh, vuole che facciamo come in Fidanzata in prestito.</p>
17	<p>It's like <i>The Notebook</i>, except instead of Alzheimer's, Abed has--</p>	<p>È proprio come <i>The Notebook</i>, tranne che Abed non ha l'Alzheimer, ma ha--</p>	<p>È come Le pagine della nostra vita, solo che Abed non ha l'Alzheimer, ma ha--</p>
25	<p>How's it going? You look great.</p> <p>Very <i>Fatal Attraction</i>.</p>	<p>Ehi, come va? Stai benissimo.</p> <p>Un look da <i>Fatal Attraction</i>.</p>	<p>Ehi, come va? Stai benissimo.</p> <p>Un look da Attrazione fatale.</p>

25	<p>If you and I move in, we jump the shark. That will end it.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Oh, and for the record, there was an episode of <i>Happy Days</i></p> <p>where a guy literally jumped over a shark.</p> <p>And it was the best one.</p>	<p>Se viviamo insieme io e te, la serie diventa ridicola e poi finisce.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Ah, e per la cronaca, a <i>Happy Days</i>...</p> <p>...è successa una cosa simile...</p> <p>...ed era la puntata più bella.</p>	<p>Vivere insieme sarebbe come saltare lo squalo nelle serie tv. Rovinerebbe tutto.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Ah, e per la cronaca, in <i>Happy Days</i>...</p> <p>...un tizio è davvero saltato su uno squalo...</p> <p>...ed è stato fighissimo!</p>
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Table 9.1.1a – Official equivalent of the title in Italian – Kept because of contextual references

Table 9.1.1a contains all the subtitles in which the English titles of the films of TV series have been retranslated through equivalence strategy with their official Italian versions. The main reason why these references could not be changed is because they fit the context in which they are mentioned, for instance when something that happens on screen in the sitcom echoes a similar event that took place in a popular film, with which it is compared.

The first case we will analyse is that of the film “Meatballs”. In these scenes Abed compares Jeff’s attitude to that of the characters generally played by Bill Murray in his films but later he corrects himself when Jeff reveals his true intentions behind creating the study group by saying that he now seems more like one of the characters Michael Douglas would play. Given that Abed refers to these particular movies and actors as a parallel for Jeff’s characters, it was necessary to keep the original reference. These two actors are very famous even in Italy, therefore there was no need to change them or to adapt these lines by comparing Jeff with other Italian actors that played similar roles. As a matter of fact, the cognitive dissonance between the fact that an American character is comparing another person to characters portrayed in Italian films would be jarring to the target viewer. The title “Meatballs”, which in Italy is known as “Polpette”,¹¹⁴ is mentioned once again by Abed in a later episode. The show’s creator, in fact, has frequently reported that the surname of *Community*’s main character, Jeff Winger, was inspired by Bill Murray’s character in “Stripes”, John Winger. This homage was so important to Harmon that he has

¹¹⁴ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Polpette*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1979/polpette/>

even tried to contact Murray himself on various occasions to ask him to play Jeff's father in one of the episodes, without any luck.¹¹⁵ This further justifies using the official translation of this reference and not changing it.

In other cases, the references were to American films that are very popular in Italy, therefore it was just a matter of using the official Italian titles in order for the viewer to recognise them more quickly. If we look at the example of the mention of "Dead Poets Society", which was replaced with its official translation in Italian,¹¹⁶ we can also see how the whole episode this line is taken from pays an homage to the actor Robin Williams, whose other roles are reference also through Jeff's clothing and actions.

One retranslation worth discussing is the one related to the reference to the 70's TV show "M*A*S*H". Neither this series nor its characters are known by the younger generations. Moreover, because of the popularity of superhero films these past few years, the protagonist could risk being confused with one of Marvel Studios characters by the same name, Occhio di falco. However, in this case changing the reference was not possible because it is too relevant for the plot of the episode and because at one point Abed sings its soundtrack, an element which could only be adapted through dubbing. The only strategy that could be adopted was using the characters' nicknames in the Italian version of the show, Benjamin Franklin 'Occhio di falco' Pierce and Margaret 'Labbra di fuoco' Houlihan.¹¹⁷

The last example of this category involves a meta-reference to a particular TV trope used in various series and which is mentioned by Abed when Troy suggests that the two of them live together. The cliché was started in the 80's sitcom "Happy Days" when one of the characters, Fonzie, jumped over a shark while water-skiing. This over-the-top action did not fit the tone of the show and many viewers were worried that the series' writers had run out of ideas on how to make it interesting and that this would change the show for the worse. While this move benefitted Fonzie's character, who became very popular, the series

¹¹⁵ *Episode: 60 – Us Of The Dangling Wee-Wee.* (2013, June 17). Harmontown. <https://www.harmontown.com/2013/06/17>

Rowles, D. (2013, June 17). Dan Harmon Talks at Length About Season 4 of "Community": "It's Like Flipping Through Instagrams and Watching Your Girlfriend Just Blow Everyone.". *Pajiba*. https://www.pajiba.com/trade_news/dan-harmon-talks-at-length-about-season-4-of-community-its-like-flipping-through-instagram-and-watching-your-girlfriend-just-blow-everyone.php

¹¹⁶ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *L'attimo fuggente*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1989/lattimo-fuggente/>

¹¹⁷ Movieplayer.it. (n.d.). *M.A.S.H. - Cast*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from https://movieplayer.it/serietv/m-a-s-h_187/cast/

lost its focus and it was never the same again.¹¹⁸ Abed, as a film enthusiast, knows this trope very well and he is worried that living together might ruin both his friendship with Troy and, in a “meta” sense, the show *Community* itself. Since not everyone might be familiar with this trope nor, in the case of younger generations, with the sitcom itself, the first translation tried to reformulate the lines by explaining what the trope’s consequences are. However, when Troy storms out of the room because he does not agree with his friend, the statement “a *Happy Days* è successa una cosa simile” seems out of context since Abed’s previous line does not include what the “thing” that happened was. For this reason, I decided to keep my retranslation closer to the original dialogue, while also adding “nelle serie tv” through explicitation strategy to help the audience understand that Abed is referring to a TV trope and that he is not talking about literally jumping over a shark. This translation was possible because the name of the trope in Italian is a direct translation from English, “saltare lo squalo”.¹¹⁹

In all other cases featured in Table 9.1.1a, the strategy adopted was equivalence and the title used in the retranslation was the official Italian version.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ TV Tropes. (n.d.). *Jumping the Shark*. Retrieved December 11, 2021, from <https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/JumpingTheShark>

¹¹⁹ TV Tropes. (n.d.). *It / Saltare Lo Squalo*. Retrieved December 11, 2021, from <https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/It/SaltareLoSqualo>

¹²⁰ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *La mia guardia del corpo*. Retrieved December 3, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1980/la-mia-guardia-del-corpo/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Full Metal Jacket*. Retrieved December 3, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1987/fullmetaljacket/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Entourage*. Retrieved December 3, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2004/entourage/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Due irresistibili brontoloni*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1993/due-irresistibili-brontoloni/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Supercar*. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1982/supercar/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Una coppia alla deriva*. Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1987/unacoppiaalladeriva/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Breakdance*. Retrieved December 3, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1984/breakdance/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Il grande Lebowski*. Retrieved December 7, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1997/ilgrandelebowski/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *La famiglia Brady*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1969/la-famiglia-brady/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Playboy in prova*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1987/playboy-in-prova/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Fidanzata in prestito*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2003/fidanzata-in-prestito/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Le pagine della nostra vita*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2004/lepaginedellanostrovita/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Attrazione Fatale*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1987/attrazionefatale/>

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
3	[on screen] SIX CANDLES	Sei Candeline	SIX CANDLES
13	Did anyone see <i>Paul Blart: Marl Car--</i> <i>Paul Blart: Mall Cop.</i>	Qualcuno ha visto <i>Paul Blart: Marl Car...</i> <i>Paul Blart: Mall Cop.</i>	Qualcuno ha visto <i>Il supermercato del superpoliziotto ...</i> <i>Il superpoliziotto del supermercato.</i>

Table 9.1.1b – Official equivalent of the title in Italian – Kept with the corresponding changes

In addition to the use of equivalence strategy by itself in the retranslation, when necessary the official Italian title was adapted to fit the changes made in the English dialogue. The first example is a display that translates the name of Abed’s fictional production studio for his homemade documentary, whose name takes inspiration from the film “Sixteen Candles”, known in Italy as “Sixteen Candles - Un compleanno da ricordare”.¹²¹ In this video, Abed relives specific moments of his life that marked his relationship with his parents. The image on the screen initially features a birthday cake with one candle on it, which represents the moment he was born; then the candles become four, signalling that some time has passed and that Abed has grown up, revealing his eccentric personality that makes him weird and misunderstood. The last cake has six candles on it and it represents the moment in which his mother decided to abandon their family because of him. Since part of the Italian title of the film is kept in English, I decided to keep my retranslation in the original language to create the same reference, especially because the film is mentioned once again in a later episode. This solution works even if the new target audience does not recognise the homage because the words “six” and “candles” are easily understandable and they can be associated with the image on the screen.

In the second subtitle, the Italian version of the title allowed for a seamless adaptation of the miswording of the English title of the film because the presence of the prefix “super-” in the two nouns lends itself to this sort of switch in the retranslation.¹²²

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
3	Good morning, Professor Whitman	Buongiorno, professor Whitman.	Good morning , professor Whitman!
3	Shazbat!	---	Shazbat!

¹²¹ Coming Soon. (n.d.). *Sixteen Candles - Un compleanno da ricordare*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.comingsoon.it/film/sixteen-candles-un-compleanno-da-ricordare/45253/scheda/>

¹²² Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Il superpoliziotto del supermercato*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2009/ilsuperpoliziottodelsupermercato/>

23	Jeff Winger. You son of a bitch.	Jeff Winger. Vecchia canaglia.	Jeff Winger. Grandissimo figlio di puttana.
4	He's like Inspector Gadget. Yeah, go go gadget incontinence.	È come l'ispettore Gadget. Già, è pazzo per i gadget.	È come l'ispettore Gadget. Già, Hop-Hop, Gadget-Incontinenza.
10	Best closer to a presentation, a Nicholson quote. You take a phrase from one of his films and you tailor it to your product. You can't handle a moist towelette. (...) Here's Brownie!	Puoi concludere la presentazione con una frase di Nicholson. Prendi una frase da uno dei suoi film e la adatti al tuo prodotto. Non sai usare il fazzolettino umido. (...) Eccovi il cioccolato.	Puoi concludere la presentazione con una frase di Jack Nicholson. Prendi una frase da uno dei suoi film e la adatti al tuo prodotto. “Tu non puoi reggere le salviette umide.” (...) “Sono i brownie.”

Table 9.1.2 – Official equivalent of the quote

Table 9.1.2 features the official equivalents of the quotes the characters mention in reference to famous films or TV series. The first one is said by Jeff when greeting professor Whitman after he sees that – once again – his student is not taking his teaching about seizing the day seriously and decides to order a small black coffee. This greeting, along with many other references in this episode as mentioned previously, is an homage to one of the roles played by actor Robin Williams, in this case from the film “Good Morning, Vietnam”. For this reason, I chose to keep the famous original catchphrase in the retranslation, as featured in the Italian version of the film.¹²³ A few seconds later, when the professor tells Jeff that the effort he is putting into his assignment is not genuine, he shouts “Shazbat!”, which is an exclamation typical of a different Robin William character, Mork from the 70s TV show “Mork & Mindy”.¹²⁴ This quote was not included in the first subtitling of *Community*; however, I decided to add it because it is another one of the tributes paid to this famous actor in this episode. Although it is true that most of the new

¹²³ Salvatore maltese. (2009, June 23). *Goodmorning Vietnam* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-6Eul-6dBo&t=9s>

¹²⁴ Miyazaki78. (n.d.). *Mork & Mindy - Sigla d'apertura italiana* - [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O4QHx72F4-s>

audience's members will not get the reference, I felt that including it was necessary to recreate as much as possible the intention of the episode: having the written spelling of the quote might both aid the comprehension of what is being said and encourage the viewers to look up the reference on their own.

In the same way, the retranslation of the next subtitle features the official Italian quote, which is taken from a scene in the movie "Predator" where Carl Weathers' and Arnold Schwarzenegger's characters reunite on-screen.

The other two examples include quotes that had been adapted in the original dialogue to fit the context. In the first one, Shirley and Jeff are bad-mouthing Pierce, who bought a futuristic gadget that lets him hear things from far away: for this reason, they compare him to the famous cartoon character Inspector Gadget. The reference was kept because, although the original series was aired in the 80s, more recently two films and an animated series have been produced, reaching a younger audience.¹²⁵ The name was already rendered in the first translation with its Italian equivalent, ispettore Gadget, but the original quote had been modified. In the retranslation I decided to keep the original phrase uttered by Jeff, "Go go gadget" in English and "Hop-Hop Gadget" in Italian, which summons Inspector Gadget's inventions, adapting it to fit the joke about Pierce's age.¹²⁶

The last set of subtitles feature references to famous quotes by characters played by Jack Nicholson in "A Few Good Men" and "The Shining". Pierce suggests that Shirley uses a quote from one of the actor's films to close her presentation. Since the actor is very famous even in Italy and since this episode features two of his quotes, the references were kept using their official translations into Italian – respectively "Tu non puoi reggere la verità" ("You can't handle the truth")¹²⁷ and "Sono il lupo cattivo" ("Here's Johnny")¹²⁸ –,

¹²⁵ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Inspector Gadget*. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1999/inspector-gadget/>
Film.it. (n.d.). *Ispettore gadget l'ultimo caso*. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://www.film.it/films/o/ispettore-gadget-lultimo-caso/>
Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Inspector Gadget*. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2015/inspectorgadget/>

¹²⁶ Playblog.it. (2021, June 28). *L'ispettore Gadget torna su Netflix con nuovi episodi*. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://www.playblog.it/lispettore-gadget-torna-su-netflix-con-nuovi-episodi/>

¹²⁷ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Frase celebri dal film Codice d'onore*. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1992/codicedonore/frasi/>

¹²⁸ Nepoti, R. (2020, May 28). 'Shining' dieci cose da sapere sul capolavoro di Stanley Kubrick. *La Repubblica*. https://www.repubblica.it/spettacoli/cinema/2020/05/28/news/shining_40_anni_capolavoro_di_stanley_kubrick-257833177/

modifying them according to their versions in the English dialogue. Moreover, the name of the actor was added to the mention of his surname to make the reference more explicit for the target audience.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
4	I can make them go quicker, like Benny Hill.	Posso accelerare la ripresa, come in Benny Hill.	Posso farli andare veloce, come su <i>Paperissima</i> .
4	Can't believe I showed that poem. Oh, my God, my life is <i>Degrassi High</i> .	Sono stato un idiota a mostrarti quella poesia. Oddio, la mia vita è come in <i>Degrassi High</i> .	Sono stato un idiota a mostrarti quella poesia. Oddio, la mia vita è come <i>Il mondo di Patty</i> .
6	Announcement number three, I am not Hadji from <i>Jonny Quest</i> , Jeff Winger.	Annuncio numero tre: non sono Hadji di <i>Jonny Quest</i> , Jeff Winger.	Annuncio numero tre: non sono Apu dei Simpson , Jeff Winger.
7	and I just rented <i>Van Wilder 2: the Rise of Taj</i> , and look.	...e ho noleggiato <i>Van Wilder 2: the Rise of Taj</i> e guardate.	...e ho noleggiato <i>American Pie 2</i> e guardate.
7	Oh. Thanks, Urkel. I'm Harry Potter.	Grazie, Urkel. - Sono Harry Potter.	Grazie, Welma . - Sono Harry Potter.
8	TV never abused and insulted me. Unless you count <i>Cop Rock</i> .	La TV non mi ha mai insultato. A parte il caso di <i>Cop Rock</i> .	La TV non mi ha mai insultato. A parte il caso di <i>Baby</i> .
8	I'm kind of the Hawkeye around here, so it's kind of a--	Sono una specie di <i>Hawkeye</i> , quindi sarà come--	Sono una sorta di Derek Shepherd, quello di Grey's Anatomy --
9	Nice work, <i>L.A. Law</i> .	Bravo, <i>L.A. Law</i> .	Bravo, Law and Order .
10	If he gets any nuttier, they'll put him on <i>The View</i> .	Se diventa più pazzo di così, lo manderanno alla TV.	Se diventa più pazzo di così, lo manderanno a Pomeriggio Cinque .
12	He's my bodyguard. You wanna dance? To some show tunes?	È il mio bodyguard. - Vuoi ballare? - Magari una canzone di Cher?	È la mia guardia del corpo . - Vuoi ballare? - Magari una canzone di Whitney Houston ?
12	I'm being punk'd, right?	Ma dai. Sono su <i>Paperissima</i> , vero?	Ma dai. Sono su Scherzi a parte , vero?
15	Oh, you're even hotter when you're angry. Let's do this.	Oh, sei anche più sexy quando ti arrabbi. Facciamolo.	Oh, sei anche più sexy quando ti arrabbi. Facciamolo.

	<i>Red Shoe Diaries.</i>	<i>Red Shoe Diaries.</i>	<i>Cinquanta Sfumature.</i>
17	Ten percent Dick Van Dyke, 20 percent Sam Malone, 40 percent Zach Braff in <i>Scrubs</i> , and 30 percent Hilary Swank in <i>Boys Don't Cry</i> .	Dieci percento Dick Van Dyke, 20 Sam Malone, 40 Zach Braff di <i>Scrubs</i>30 Hilary Swank in <i>Boys Don't Cry</i> .	Dieci percento Dick Van Dyke, 20 Barney Stinson , 40 Zach Braff di <i>Scrubs</i>30 Hilary Swank in <i>Boys Don't Cry</i> .
17	Be somebody nice like Mike Brady.	Fai qualcuno di gentile come Mike Brady.	Fai qualcuno di dolce , come Ted Mosby .
21	He's gone from lovable Johnny Five to evil HAL. Hal Holb-- Not Hal Holbrook.	È passato da ragazzo gentile a diavolo. - Lucif-- - Non Lucifero.	È passato da Wall-E a Megatron . - Megan F -- - No , non Megan Fox .

Table 9.2.1 – Situational adaptation of references to films, TV shows and characters

Table 9.2.1 refer to the cases in which films and TV shows and their characters have been changed in order to recreate the effect they had on the original viewers on the new target audience through more familiar references. The first subtitle, for example, shows the adaptation of the line that mentions the “Benny Hill Show” into “Paperissima”, which was motivated by the fact that both shows use the same type of music for their sped-up comical videos, even though they are two very different programme.¹²⁹ Mentioning this reference was necessary because in the *Community* episode the students are watching sped-up recordings of the subjects of their experiment running around the room, much like what happens in the show mentioned in the original dialogue.

Next, the Canadian TV series “Degrassi High”, which is not known in Italy, was adapted by changing the reference to an Argentinian telenovela, very popular between 2008 and 2010 in Italy, which used to air on the Disney Channel and Italia 1 networks, “Il mondo di Patty”.¹³⁰ The show’s dramatic and exaggerated tone is suitable for the context of this reference, where Jeff is complaining about the tragic things that have happened to him.

The following subtitle is an announcement done through the college’s PA system in which Abed asks Jeff to stop calling him by the name of the Indian character of the 60’s

¹²⁹ The Benny Hill Fan Consortium. (2016, October 21). *Benny Hill - Hospital Hi-Jinx w/Closing Chase (1986)* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zat9CRfUr-E>

¹³⁰ Serie Tv. (n.d.). *Il mondo di Patty*. La Repubblica. Retrieved November 24, 2021, from <https://www.repubblica.it/serietv/schede/il-mondo-di-patty/2812/>

animated show “Jonny Quest”. Since this reference is likely unknown by Gen Z, the name was replaced with a more popular but still Indian character, Apu from the cartoon series “The Simpsons”.¹³¹ For the same reasons, the reference to the comedy “Van Wilder 2: the Rise of Taj” was changed to “American Pie 2”.¹³² Although the film has been distributed in Italy with the title “Maial College 2”,¹³³ it did not garner much popularity; therefore, I opted for a similar comedy starring similar characters, but much more famous among the target audience.

The next example takes place during the Halloween episode of Season One of *Community*. Shirley, despite being dressed up as Harry Potter, has her costume mistaken various times for one of the characters of the 90’s TV series “Family Matters”, Steve Urkel.¹³⁴ Assuming that most of the target audience members would not have seen this show when it aired in Italy with the title “Otto sotto un tetto”, the reference was changed to another character who notoriously wears glasses, part of the cast of the animated series “Scooby-Doo”, Welma.¹³⁵ I shall note that, unfortunately, this translation solution does not take into consideration the fact that both Steve Urkel and Shirley are black people, while Welma is not.

In the next subtitle, Jeff says that TV series have always been his best companion, almost like a father figure who never disappointed him; however, there were some exceptions, as not every TV show was always as great as it first seemed. The example mentioned in the original dialogue is “Cop Rock”, a police procedural musical whose name heightened Jeff’s expectations for the series, only to then end up not being that exciting.¹³⁶ In my retranslation I used adaptation strategy to replace the original title with a series of a

¹³¹ Apu Nahasapeemapetilon. (n.d.). Simpsons Wiki. Retrieved November 28, 2021, from https://simpsons.fandom.com/it/wiki/Apu_Nahasapeemapetilon

¹³² Mymovies.it. (n.d.). American Pie 2. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2001/americanpie2>

¹³³ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). Maial College 2. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2006/maial-college-2/>

¹³⁴ Mauri, E. (2021, September 24). 1989. In tv c’è Steve Urkel nerd imbranato, geniale e fastidioso. Odiato dalla famiglia diventa la star di Otto sotto un tetto. 70-80.it. <https://www.70-80.it/1989-in-tv-ce-steve-urkel-nerd-imbranato-geniale-e-fastidioso-odiato-dalla-famiglia-diventa-la-star-di-otto-sotto-un-tetto/>

¹³⁵ Genna, A. (n.d.). "Le nuove avventure di Scooby Doo". Il mondo dei doppiatori. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.antoniogenna.net/doppiaggio/anim/lenuoveavvdiscoobydoo.htm>

¹³⁶ IMDb. (n.d.). Cop Rock. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0098772/>

different genre and more familiar to the Italian audience by which Jeff could be equally disappointed and feel betrayed, “Baby”.¹³⁷

The following line is uttered by the college nurse, who tells Annie that he will have to observe her overnight to make sure her alleged illness is not contagious, while also taking a chance and asking her if she is seeing anybody boasting his skills as a doctor by comparing himself to the army doctor Captain Benjamin “Hawkeye” Pierce from the TV series “M*A*S*H”. As we have seen, this show was also mentioned in a previous subtitle where adaptation strategy could not be adopted. Here, however, we can change the reference to one the target audience will be more familiar with, using Derek Shepherd’s character from the show “Grey’s Anatomy”.¹³⁸ This surgeon shares a couple of characteristics with Hawkeye’s character: his skills as a doctor and as a ladies’ man, earning him the nickname “McDreamy” (“Dottor Stranamore” in Italian).

The following two sets of subtitles have been changed for similar reasons. Both “L.A. Law” and “The View” are, respectively, a TV series and a morning talk show that are not popular in Italy. Therefore, they have been replaced by shows of a similar genre with which the target audience is more familiar, “Law & Order” and “Pomeriggio Cinque”.¹³⁹

The next reference is more subtle since the film it is taken from is not openly mentioned. The original line “He’s my bodyguard” and the following statement about wanting to dance to “some show tunes” likely refer to the musical “Bodyguard”, starring Whitney Houston.¹⁴⁰ For this reason, the first line was changed to fit the Italian version of the title and the second one, which in the first translation mentioned the singer Cher, was replaced with the name of the main actress of the film. Similarly, the next subtitle also refers to a specific MTV show, “Punk’d”, although in the form of a verb and not explicitly mentioned. In every episode of this show famous celebrities were pranked and filmed with

¹³⁷ Balmamori, C. (2021, June 4). *La classifica delle 10 Serie Tv più trash mai esistite*. Hall of series. <https://www.hallofseries.com/serie-tv/classifica-serie-tv-piu-trash-mai-esistite/>

¹³⁸ *Derek Shepherd*. (n.d.). Grey's Anatomy Universe Wiki. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from https://greysanatomy.fandom.com/wiki/Derek_Shepherd

¹³⁹ Genna, A. (n.d.). “*Law & Order*”. Il mondo dei doppiatori. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.antonigenna.net/doppiaggio/telegioco/law&order.htm>

IMDb. (n.d.). *Scherzi a parte*. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1755799/>

¹⁴⁰ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Guardia del corpo*. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1992/guardiadelcorpo/>

Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Whitney Houston*. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/persone/whitney-houston/37073/>

hidden cameras. Even though this programme was aired on MTV in Italy, there is a far more popular show with a similar premise, “Scherzi a parte”, which therefore replaced the original reference in my retranslation.¹⁴¹

Next, Troy, who has recently realised he has a crush on Annie, tells her that he wants the two of them to be together as seen on the erotic TV series “Red Shoes Diaries”. This show is not known by the target audience; therefore, it was replaced with a more popular and more recent erotic film trilogy, “Cinquanta Sfumature”.¹⁴²

The following subtitle features a list of the actors and characters Abed takes inspiration from to imitate Jeff. Most of them were already suitable for the target audience; however, Sam Malone from the TV show “Cheers” is not known by Italian Gen Z. To find the best translation solution I looked up his main characteristics and found that, apart from being the main character, former athlete, and owner of the bar “Cheers”, he is also a recovering alcoholic and a womanizer.¹⁴³ These features reminded me of another popular character in the recent TV series “How I met your mother”. For this reason, I chose to replace the original reference with Barney Stinson.¹⁴⁴ Another occasion in which a reference was replaced by a character of this same show happens in the same episode as the previous one, just a few lines after. Shirley tells Abed that to impress a girl he should be nice and romantic like Mike Brady from “The Brady Bunch”. Once again, the series “How I met your mother” provided a valid substitute in the form of the character of Ted Mosby, much more sentimental than his friend Barney.¹⁴⁵

The last example in Table 9.2.1 was quite challenging to translate. First of all, Abed is compared by Jeff first to a robot, Johnny Five from the 1986 film “Short Circuit”, and then to the evil artificial intelligence HAL from “2001: A Space Odyssey”. To replicate this comparison with characters that were more familiar to the target audience, I opted for Wall-E, the lovable robot from the Disney Pixar film by the same name,¹⁴⁶ and Megatron,

¹⁴¹ IMDb. (n.d.). *Scherzi a parte*. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0827106/>

¹⁴² Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Cinquanta sfumature di grigio, nero e rosso*. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/saga/cinquanta-sfumature/>

¹⁴³ *Sam Malone*. (n.d.). The Cheers & Frasier Wiki. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from https://thecheersfrasier.fandom.com/wiki/Sam_Malone

¹⁴⁴ *Barney Stinson*. (n.d.). How I Met Your Mother Wiki. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from https://how-i-met-your-mother.fandom.com/wiki/Barney_Stinson

¹⁴⁵ *Ted Mosby*. (n.d.). How I Met Your Mother Wiki. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from https://how-i-met-your-mother.fandom.com/wiki/Ted_Mosby

¹⁴⁶ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Wall•E*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2008/walle/>

the enemy of the Autobots in the Transformers saga.¹⁴⁷ The added challenge here was the presence of a wordplay made by Pierce misunderstanding what Jeff is referring to when he mentions HAL, thinking that he is talking about American actor Hal Holbrook. Since the A.I. and the actor share the same name, I had to find an evil robotic character whose name could also lend itself to a wordplay. In the end I chose to adapt the reference by mentioning actress Megan Fox, since her name is similar to Megatron's.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
3	It's not exactly <i>Citizen Kane</i> .	Non è proprio <i>Citizen Kane</i> .	Non è proprio da Oscar .
24	I faked my way into a job as a Spanish teacher at a community college, relying on phrases from <i>Sesame Street</i> .	Ho fatto finta di sapere lo spagnolo per insegnare al community college... ...basandomi sulle frasi di <i>Sesame Street</i> .	Ho fatto finta di sapere lo spagnolo per insegnare al community college... ...basandomi sulle frasi dei Muppet .

Table 9.3 – Modulation and cultural adaptation

The subtitles featured in Table 9.3 are the cases in which the original cinematic reference has been modified to be better understood by the target culture. In the first one, Jeff tells Abed that his homemade documentary is not bad, although it cannot be considered on par with the film “Citizen Kane”, which won Best Original Screenplay at the 1942 Academy Awards.¹⁴⁸ The most fitting translation solution in this case was to make the joke explicit for the audience: in fact, even if Jeff had mentioned the Italian version of the title (“Quarto Potere”)¹⁴⁹ the new target audience would likely not have gotten the comment on the bad quality of the documentary. Instead, since these awards, also known as Oscars, are very famous in Italy, through modulation I was able to perform a change in perspective from the film itself to the award it won, foregrounding the intent of Jeff's comment.

As for the last example in this section, cultural adaptation was needed because, although the characters of the show “Sesame Street” are known to the Italian audience, they usually mention them when referring to the show. For this reason, modulation strategy

¹⁴⁷ *Megatron (Cinema)*. (n.d.). Transformers Wiki. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from [https://transformers.fandom.com/it/wiki/Megatron_\(Cinema\)](https://transformers.fandom.com/it/wiki/Megatron_(Cinema))

¹⁴⁸ Coming Soon. (n.d.). *Quarto potere Premi vinti e nomination*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.comingsoon.it/film/quarto-potere/26227/premi/>

¹⁴⁹ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Quarto Potere*. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1941/quartopotere/>

was used once again to change perspective from the title of the show to the name of its characters, the Muppets.¹⁵⁰

3.2. Books

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
9	As Golding's <i>Lord of the Flies</i> demonstrates, man,	Come dimostra <i>Lord of the Flies</i> di Golding, l'uomo...	Come dimostra <i>Il Signore delle Mosche</i> di Golding, l'uomo...
13	Well, in <i>The Right Stuff</i> , the novel by Tom Wolfe--	- In <i>The Right Stuff</i> di Tom Wolfe...	- In <i>La stoffa giusta</i> di Tom Wolfe...
17	<i>Pride and Prejudice</i> .	<i>Pride and Prejudice</i> .	<i>Orgoglio e Pregiudizio</i> .

Table 10 – Official equivalent of the titles in Italian

In all three occasions in which a book title is mentioned in Season One of Community the novel has been replaced with its official Italian translation.¹⁵¹

3.3. Music

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
5	Greendale, Greendale Little star	<i>Greendale, Greendale, mia stellina</i>	<i>Greendale, Greendale Little star</i>
22	<i>No one to watch While we're kissing</i> <i>No one to see While we spoon</i> <i>Let's take a trip In my airship</i> <i>And we'll visit the man In the moon</i>	<i>Nessuno guarda mentre ci baciamo</i> <i>Nessuno in vista mentre flirtiamo</i> <i>Facciamo un viaggio sulla mia navicella</i> <i>E andiamo a far visita all'uomo sulla luna</i>	<i>No one to watch While we're kissing</i> <i>No one to see While we spoon</i> <i>Let's take a trip In my airship</i> <i>And we'll visit the man In the moon</i>
23	<i>Hit me with your best shot</i>	<i>Colpiscimi come meglio puoi</i>	<i>Hit me with your best shot</i> Oh, cielo.

¹⁵⁰ Torre, F. (2020, July 31). I Muppet: la storia e i personaggi prima dello show Disney +. *Stay Nerd*. <https://www.staynerd.com/muppet-disney-storia-personaggi/>

¹⁵¹ Ibs.it. (n.d.). *Il signore delle mosche*. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.ibs.it/signore-delle-mosche-libro-william-golding/e/9788804663065>

Mondadori. (n.d.). *Tom Wolfe La stoffa giusta*. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.mondadori.it/libri/la-stoffa-giusta-tom-wolfe/#close-modal>

Ibs.it. (n.d.). *Orgoglio e pregiudizio*. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.ibs.it/orgoglio-pregiudizio-libro-jane-austen/e/9788807900846>

	Oh, brother. That is so uninspired.	Oh, cielo. Per niente originale.	Per niente originale.
14	“Tea for two”? There— There’s five people.	“Té per due”? Sono in cinque.	Ballano “Tea for two”? Ma sono in cinque.
19	If you hum three notes of that Righteous Brothers song,	Quindi se canticchiate anche solo 3 note della canzone dei Righteous Brothers...	Quindi se canticchiate anche solo tre note della colonna sonora...

Table 11.1 – Songs – Borrowing and modulation

As for the songs featured in the script of Season One, three of them have been kept in English through the borrowing technique, either because they are very famous or because they can be recognized by their lyrics. In particular, “Hit me with your best shot” by Pat Benatar was not translated into Italian because the lyrics are easily understandable and can be connected to the situational context; in this moment, in fact, the college’s glee club is singing this song while shooting the study group with paintball guns.

In Episode 14, on the other hand, Britta and her dance class are doing a tap dance sequence on the song “Tea for two”.¹⁵² The English title was kept because it connects to Pierce’s later statement about the dancers being five and not two. Moreover, the verb “ballano” was added to Pierce’s question through explicitation strategy in order to make the viewers better understand what he is referring to, in case they were not familiar with the title of the song.

Lastly, the “Righteous Brothers song” reference made by the ceramics professor is clarified to the Italian audience. Most likely, the viewers are familiar with the film “Ghost” but not with the titles of its soundtrack. For this reason, the reference was retranslated through the modulation technique by using an hypernym.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
12	Joy to the world The Lord is come	<i>Gioia nel mondo, Il Signore è arrivato</i>	<i>Gioia nel mondo, è nato un re</i>
	The Lord, the Lord, the Lord	<i>Il Signore, il Signore, il Signore</i>	<i>Il re, il re, il re</i>
12	<i>Sensible night</i>	<i>Notte ragionevole</i>	<i>Stelle nel ciel</i>
	<i>Appropriate night</i>	<i>Notte adatta a un pubblico adulto</i>	<i>Pargol normal</i>

¹⁵² warholsoup100. (2020, February 15). *Marion Harris - Tea For Two 1925 From "No, No Nanette"* [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FmCFBHu3NYk>

	<p><i>Snow on ground</i></p> <p><i>Left and right</i></p> <p><i>Round yon purchase</i></p> <p><i>Of decorative things</i></p> <p><i>Tolerant rewrite</i></p> <p><i>Of carols to sing</i></p> <p><i>Function with relative</i></p> <p><i>Ease</i></p> <p><i>Function with relative</i></p> <p><i>Ease</i></p>	<p><i>Neve in terra</i></p> <p><i>Di qua e di là</i></p> <p><i>Che abbia inizio l'acquisto</i></p> <p><i>Delle varie decorative</i></p> <p><i>Versioni tolleranti</i></p> <p><i>Delle canzoni da cantar</i></p> <p><i>Passano con relativa</i></p> <p><i>Facilità</i></p> <p><i>Passano con relativa</i></p> <p><i>Facilità</i></p>	<p><i>Neve in terra</i></p> <p><i>Qua e là</i></p> <p><i>Tutti i regali van</i></p> <p><i>Presto a comprar,</i></p> <p><i>Canti profani</i></p> <p><i>Proviamo a cantar,</i></p> <p><i>E non sono</i></p> <p><i>niente male</i></p> <p><i>E non sono</i></p> <p><i>niente mal</i></p>
12	<p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>Thy candles shine</i></p> <p><i>So brightly</i></p> <p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>Much pleasure</i></p> <p><i>Thou canst give me</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>The sight of thee at</i></p> <p><i>Christmastide</i></p> <p><i>Spreads hope and</i></p> <p><i>gladness</i></p> <p><i>Far and wide</i></p> <p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>Thou tree most fair</i></p> <p><i>And lovely</i></p>	<p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>Le tue candele brillano</i></p> <p><i>così lucenti</i></p> <p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>Gran piacere puoi</i></p> <p><i>arrecarmi tu</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>La tua visione per Natale</i></p> <p><i>Sparge speranza e felicità</i></p> <p><i>In ogni dove</i></p> <p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>O Christmas Troy</i></p> <p><i>O albero tanto piacevole e</i></p> <p><i>bello</i></p>	<p><i>Si accendono</i></p> <p><i>e brillano</i></p> <p><i>I Troy di Natale</i></p> <p><i>S'accendono</i></p> <p><i>e radunano</i></p> <p><i>Grandi e bambini intorno</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>I rami si trasformano</i></p> <p><i>Con bacche rosse</i></p> <p><i>e fili d'or</i></p> <p><i>Risplendono,</i></p> <p><i>sfavillano</i></p> <p><i>I Troy di Natale!</i></p>

Table 11.2 – Songs translated with the official Italian lyrics and the necessary changes

The three songs shown in Table 11.2 are three classic Christmas carols. All of them have been replaced in the new subtitles with their official Italian translations and, where changes had been made, they were modified through adaptation strategy.

In the first one, “Joy to the World”,¹⁵³ Shirley sings “the Lord” three times instead of “Let earth receive her King”, therefore the retranslation keeps the repetition as “Il re, il re, il re”.

Then, Shirley sings a more secular version of the carol “Silent Night”¹⁵⁴ by changing most of its lyrics to make it less religious and acceptable for her diverse group of friends. This is mirrored in the retranslation, which keeps the rhyming scheme while also trying to replicate the intention behind the changes.

Lastly, Troy and Abed sing a modified version of “Oh, Christmas Tree”¹⁵⁵ where Troy’s name replaces the word “tree”. Once more, the retranslation changes the official Italian lyrics, mirroring the original dialogue. However, it has to be noted that the assonance between the words “tree” and “Troy” is inevitably lost in the Italian version, which is an example of resignation strategy.

4. Sensitive topics

As we have seen in Chapter 2, thanks to social media and the Internet, younger generations, and especially Gen Z, have become more aware than ever before about various issues concerning today’s society, namely inequality, discrimination, and social justice. As Rue (2018:7) states, “[t]he digital world [Gen Z] inhabit has provided many opportunities to connect with those who are different. [...] Their smartphones have allowed them to create diverse connections, and issues of language, race, or ethnicity aren’t limiting factors in the virtual world”. They strive to create a more equitable society by actively participating in trying to change the status quo, educating others on important

¹⁵³ Rockol. (n.d.). *Gioia nel mondo - Piccolo Coro Mariele Ventre dell'Antoniano*. Retrieved November 26, 2021, from <https://testicanzoni.rockol.it/testi/piccolo-coro-mariele-ventre-dell-antoniano-gioia-nel-mondo-70028224>

¹⁵⁴ Angolo Testi. (n.d.). *Testo Astro Del Ciel*. Retrieved November 26, 2021, from https://www.angolotesti.it/D/testi_canzoni_di_natale_10575/testo_canzone_astro_del_ciel_360911.html

¹⁵⁵ Mama Lisa’s World International Music & Culture. (n.d.). *O Christmas Tree*. Retrieved November 26, 2021, from <https://www.mamalisa.com/?t=es&p=2764>

Filastrocche.it. (2001, November 19). *L'albero di Natale*. Retrieved November 26, 2021, from <https://www.filastrocche.it/contenuti/lalbero-di-natale/>

social issues such as the modern perception of women’s role in the society and the tragic history of discrimination against ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities.

This level of awareness is the reason why so much of what people used to say without much thought, even how they expressed concepts and the vocabulary they used, has become outdated and disrespectful, and now it is not accepted by young people because of its connotation. In order to adapt the original subtitles concerning these sensitive topics, namely sexism, homophobia, and racism, the wording for certain lines has been modified to suit a more socially aware language.

4.1. LGBTQ+ and sexism

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
4	I never knew what asexual meant.	Non sapevo che vi fosse un fine sessuale.	Non sapevo il significato di “asessuale” .
14	And I fell in love with it, in a very straight way.	E me ne sono innamorato, in modo molto maschile.	E me ne sono innamorato, in modo molto etero .
18	As happy as a clam? What a gay guess. Idiot.	Sorriso a 32 denti? Che fortuna sfacciata. - Idiota.	Sorriso a 32 denti? Che risposta gay. - Idiota.

Table 12.1.1 – LGBTQ+

Table 12.1.1 shows examples of subtitles where the original translation did not take into consideration the social awareness of the new target audience, how it is more versed in LGTBQ+ issues and acceptable vocabulary. In the first line, we can see how the retranslation takes into consideration the fact that the “asexual” sexual orientation has become a more common concept among younger generations in Italy, whereas before the name might have confused the audience because they would not have known would it meant. Now, the word “asessuale” is even included in Italian dictionaries.¹⁵⁶

The other two subtitles deal with homophobia. The first one is taken from a scene in which the study group finds out that Troy has been taking dance lessons, so he tries to tell them that he likes it in a way heterosexual people would. This utterance implies that dancing is seen as a feminine activity and, therefore, if a man were to enjoy it, it would mean that he was gay, based on the stereotype that all men who dance are homosexual. The

¹⁵⁶ Treccani. (n.d.). Aessuale. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/asessuale_res-434cf5a0-000f-11de-9d89-0016357eee51/

aim of my retranslation, in this case, is not to avoid this cliché, but rather to express it more clearly, since it has to convey exactly what the character is thinking while also correcting another false stereotype present in the first translation. The *Netflix* subtitle, in fact, uses the adjective “maschile”, which is wrongfully associated with being straight based on the previously mentioned stereotype that gay men are considered less masculine. By translating the source text literally using the adjective “etero”, we simultaneously break the cliché and offer a more accurate translation.

The last subtitle simply translates the original dialogue literally, once again, in order not to lose the original intention of this line said by Pierce, which is known for not being sensitive to issues relating race, religion and sexuality and who, therefore, uses “gay” as an insult.

Ep.	Original dialogue	<i>Netflix</i> subtitles	Translation proposal
7	We should go find that bitch's car and snap off her antenna.	Dovremmo andare a cercare la macchina di quella puttanella e staccarle l'antenna.	Dovremmo andare a cercare la macchina di quella stronza e staccarle l'antenna.

Table 12.1.2 – Sexism

In this subtitle, I decided to change this slur because of the awareness new generations have towards the feminist movement and the slut-shaming phenomenon. According to Cambridge Dictionary (n.d.), slut-shaming consists in “talk[ing] about a woman’s sexual behaviour in order to embarrass her and make people disapprove of her”.¹⁵⁷ This sort of behaviour is now very frowned upon, and new generations tend to be more careful about avoiding such insults. Therefore, my retranslation keeps the same emphatic intent as the original dialogue, without resorting to sexist language.

4.2. Racism

The younger generation’s fight against racism has found its peak after the cruel murder of George Floyd in May 2020: the protests against police brutality and racial discrimination have been a catalyst of change in the past two years and they have opened up a lot of discussion on this matter. Gen Z does not only fight for social justice – “with 91% [of them] believing that everyone is equal and should be treated that way” (Schroth 2019:9) – but also aim to achieve big changes in the society starting from daily actions that can affect

¹⁵⁷ Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Slut-shame. In *Cambridge Dictionary online*. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/slut-shame>

their local communities. According to a Forbes article, in fact, “[s]ix in 10 Gen Zs [...] say that systemic racism is fairly or very widespread throughout society” and that, after the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement, “more than half of millennials and Gen Zs believe that society may be on the precipice of real change when it comes to systemic racism” (Deloitte 2021).

One of the ways in which they can accomplish this is by educating themselves on the correct language to use when referring to other ethnicities; in particular, the discussion about removing racial slurs from the slang has focused on the difference between words like “person of colour”, “black” and “nigger/nigga”. The same discussion has made its way into the Italian society and even the Accademia della Crusca has contributed to explaining the importance of distinguishing the use and connotation of the words “persona di colore”, “nero” and “negro”, the latter having – just as it is the case in English – a racist and negative connotation and it should therefore be avoided.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
14	Can-- Can I just ask, as a divorced, black housewife, what part of being a single, white slacker makes you people so jaded? Ooh. "You people"? What do you mean, "you people"?	Posso chiederti, in qualità di casalinga di colore divorziata... ...quale parte dell'essere single, bianchi e fannulloni vi rende così cinici? "Ci rende"? Che cosa vuoi dire con: "ci rende"?	In qualità di casalinga nera divorziata... ... posso chiederti perché voi bianchi, single e fannulloni siete così cinici? “ Voi ”? Cosa intendi con “ voi ”?
22	You are pathological, and you will never change. That is the pot calling the kettle... A kettle, okay? Oh, you can say black, Pierce. I'm a black woman. The cat is out the bag. You have literally	Sei un caso patologico e non cambierai mai. Senti da che pulpito viene la predica, okay? Oh, puoi chiamarmi nera, Pierce. Sono una donna di colore. Non c'è bisogno di nascondersi. Hai parlato di me con sconosciuti	Sei un caso patologico e non cambierai mai. Come se tu in questo gruppo fossi l'unica pecora... che bela. Oh, puoi dire “nera” , Pierce. Sono una donna nera. Non c'è bisogno di nascondersi. Hai parlato di me con

	identified me as "the black woman."	definendomi "la donna nera".	sconosciuti definendomi "la donna nera".
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Table 12.2 – Racism

As we can see in Table 12.2, in both subtitles the translation of the word “black” has been replaced with the more accurate and socially conscious “nera”. Regardless of the fact that Shirley is referring to herself as a black woman, not implying a negative connotation, the correct way to address a person of African American background in Italian would be indeed “nero” or “nera”. In fact, the expression “of colour”¹⁵⁸ does not explicitly state which skin colour we are referring to and it highlights the fact that this term has been used to stress the difference dictated by white supremacists (purely based on physical appearance) between white Caucasian people and all the other ethnicities.

To quote an article published on the Accademia della Crusca website concerning this topic: “L’espressione *di colore* – da molti ritenuta neutra e priva di connotazione negativa – è stata in anni recenti messa sotto accusa. [...] In attesa di uno studio che dell’espressione ci fornisca, tanto in diacronia quanto in sincronia, contesti, occorrenze e co-occorrenze, frequenze d’uso, si fa strada la sensazione che il significato di *di colore* – eufemismo adottato per sostituire l’offensivo *negro* – invece di essere percepito come neutro, metta l’accento proprio sulla caratteristica (il colore della pelle) che si vorrebbe non evidenziare e non discriminare. E quindi si tende a preferire *nero*, in generale, per indicare tutte le gradazioni più scure del colore della pelle” (Faloppa 2012).

The second change that was made to the original translation involves the expression “you people” in this context. Shirley comments on white people’s cynicism and she distances herself from them by referring to herself as a “divorced, black housewife”; then, Britta jokingly responds to her by pretending to be offended by the term “you people” as a generalisation. Here the joke lies in the fact that white people would usually be the ones commenting something similar to a black person, who would rightfully be offended because of the constant perception of all black people as being the same. In order to emphasise the intent of Britta’s reaction, I translated “you people” with “voi”, which in this context highlights the contrast Shirley perceives between her and her white friends.

¹⁵⁸ “The umbrella term “person of colour” (POC) was first used in the USA, but it is increasingly used by activists in the UK. It essentially refers to anybody who is not white. Many believe it is more empowering than the term “non-white” and “minority” (in BME and BAME) because it does not revolve around whiteness.” – The anti-racist educator. (n.d.). *Person of colour*. Retrieved January 4, 2022, from <https://www.theantiracisteducator.com/person-of-colour>

Another suitable solution would have been “voialtri”, which can be perceived as more denigrating and offensive; however, it was deemed not colloquial enough and therefore not appropriate for the new target audience.

The last example of retranslation in this section deals with a punchline created by changing the ending of the English idiomatic expression “the pot calling the kettle black”, whose Italian equivalent should be “il bue che dice cornuto all’asino”. This translation, however, does not set up the following response. After Pierce stops himself from saying the word “black” because he is afraid that he might be discriminating against or offending Shirley, the woman says that there is no reason why he should not say it, given that it is exactly what she is, and adding that Pierce would refer to her like that either way. To recreate this exchange, I had to find an equivalent expression that included a reference to the colour “black”: although it exists in Italian,¹⁵⁹ such idiom is not very common and its use depends on the region which the speaker comes from, therefore it was rejected. The only possible solution, then, was to focus on other expressions that did not directly translate the original idiom, but that would fit in this context and that would justify Shirley’s reaction. Eventually, I opted for the expression “pecora nera” and, by modifying it through adaptation strategy, I managed to recreate a similar effect to that of the source text. In this case Pierce replies to Shirley, who is accusing him of being “pathological”, by telling her that she is not the only sane person in the group – which would make her a “pecora nera” – but, just like he does in the original dialogue, he then stops and changes the end before he can say the adjective for the previously explained reasons.

5. Wordplay

Despite using different terminology, most scholars agree on what the concept of wordplay entails (Schauffler 2012). Delabastita defines it as “the general name for the various textual phenomena in which structural features of the language(s) are exploited in order to bring about a communicatively significant confrontation of two (or more) linguistic structures with more or less similar forms and more or less different meanings” (1996:128 in Vandaele 2011:180). This means that its main characteristic is ambiguity, which allows a word with more than one meaning to be used for humorous effects by working in conjunction with the context, the audience’s linguistic and shared knowledge and, in the

¹⁵⁹ “Il corvo che dice al merlo nero”.

case of audiovisual text, the image (Schauffler 2012). Wordplay is particularly present in genres that are characterised by the use of irony, humour and double entendre to capture the audience's attention, such as sitcoms and comedies.

There can be various types of wordplay depending on what signifiers (i.e. words, phrases, syntactic structures, or idiomatic expressions) and strategies are used. Gottlieb and Delabastita (Schauffler 2012, Vandaele 2011) identify four formal categories of wordplay:

- Based on homophony, which involves words with the same sound that, however, have different meanings.
- Based on homography, that is words with the same spelling but pronounced differently, which creates graphemic ambiguity.
- Based on homonymy, the phenomenon according to which two words or phrases sound and are spelled the same but they carry entirely unrelated meanings, which are discernible only through the context.
- Based on paronymy, according to which two words or phrases that have a similar phonemic or graphemic form, and are therefore pronounced almost in almost the same way, create a comedic effect.

Delabastita also adds two more textual categories: vertical puns, where the components of the wordplay are connected on a paradigmatic level, meaning that they are represented in the same portion of text, and horizontal puns, where the components are connected on a syntagmatic level, therefore appearing lineally within the pun (Schauffler 2012).

Since wordplay is closely related to the language and culture from which it originates and since every language has its own way of playing with words, “[p]uns are at the same time a pleasure and a torture for the translator, for they challenge them to create with the language and study its potential: most of the time such challenge is lost, which is why winning is so much more satisfying” (Fois 2012:11). According to Delabastita (1994), the translation strategies that should be employed when dealing with wordplay depend on various factors, the most important being the way it was constructed in the source language (Valentino 2017). The scholar quotes Landheer and Ballard, who argue that “excellent translation solutions can be found for many puns, if only the translators use to the full the linguistic resources and textual leeway available to them in recreating the *pragmatic*

function of the original wordplay” (Delabastita 1994:226, emphasis added). This is the key element to bear in mind when formulating a translation for this type of linguistic items, since their final effect on the audience is what should be kept in the target text. To do so, Delabastita identifies eight translation strategies focused on the rendition of wordplay depending on the situation and context (2004:604 in Manfredi 2016:28):

- Pun → pun, when the source text pun is recreated in the target language with different referents.
- Pun → non-pun, when the wordplay is not recreated exactly as it was in the source text, losing a certain level of connotation.
- Pun → related rhetorical device, such as repetition, alliteration, rhyme, irony, etc.
- Pun → zero, when the wordplay is completely omitted from the target text.
- Pun ST = pun TT, when the pun of the source text is completely transferred into the target text, adding the necessary modification in cases where, for example, spelling and pronunciation change between the two languages.
- Non-pun → pun, which entails the addition of a pun even though it did not feature in the source text.
- Zero → pun, where, much like in the previous strategy, a new wordplay is added in a different point in the text as a means of compensation for an earlier loss.
- Editorial techniques, which involve including a gloss or translator’s note to explain a wordplay that might not be clear in the target language.

Verbally expressed humour in AV texts has been defined one of the most challenging aspects in AVT, especially when it does not depend on visual elements (Chiaro 2004 in Schauffler 2012). Although dubbing has been proven to be the most suitable translation method in this case, subtitling wordplay is still possible. Gottlieb (1997 in Schauffler 2012) remarks how there is a dual gap, both between the linguistic and cultural systems of the source and target audiences and because of the presence of the original soundtrack to which the target audience is exposed while reading the translation, a phenomenon called intersemiotic feedback. Since the audience of subtitled AV text can compare the original dialogue and the translated version on the spot, there is a certain level

of accountability that translators do not have to take into consideration in any other translation mode.

Table 13 features the examples of wordplay that have been retranslated for the new target audience of these subtitles. Each change was motivated by Gen Z's higher level of knowledge of the source language, which both allowed to render the puns more easily but, on the other hand, at times was also an added hinderance to the translation process. Finally, many of the changes were also justified by the fact that some of the references used to create the jokes were not known by the target audience because they do not exist in Italy or because they are not recent enough to be familiar to Gen Z.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
1	Yeah? Well, you have Asperger's. What does that mean? Ha, ha. Ass burger. It's a serious disorder. It really is. If it's so serious, why don't they call it meningitis? Yeah. Ass burger. Burger for your ass.	Ah sì? Beh, tu hai il Morbo di Asperger. Che significa? "Ass burger". - È un grave disturbo. - È proprio vero. Se è così grave, perché non lo chiamano "meningite"? Già. - "Ass burger". - Un burger per il culo.	Ah sì? Beh, tu hai il Morbo di Asperger. Che significa? "Ass-parago" . - È un grave disturbo. - È proprio vero. Se è così grave, perché non lo chiamano "meningite"? Già. - "Ass-parago" . - "Ass" come "culo" in inglese.
2	To the empowerment of words. To the irony of that sentence.	Al potenziamento delle parole. All'ironia di quella frase.	Al potare delle parole. All'ironia di quella frase.
3	But I'm getting a major B-word vibe from you.	Ma lei mi dà la sensazione che ho davanti una parola-che-inizia-per-S.	Ma lei mi dà una vibe da nome-che-inizia-per-B.
4	How's it going? No worries. (...)	- Vaughn, come stai? - Tutto bene. (...)	- Vaughn, come va? - No worries. (...)

	<p>Sorry, dudes.</p> <p>No worries, man.</p> <p>Uh-- some worries, man.</p> <p>Some worries.</p>	<p>Scusate, ragazzi.</p> <p>Non c'è problema, amico.</p> <p>Qualche problema c'è amico.</p> <p>Qualcuno c'è.</p>	<p>Scusate, belli.</p> <p><i>No worries</i>, amico.</p> <p>Mmmh-- Some worries, amico. Some worries.</p>
5	<p>Message received. I'll just wait for you to finish striking out.</p> <p>Cheers.</p> <p><i>M*A*S*H.</i></p> <p><i>Fawlty Towers</i>, game over. Have a nice day.</p>	<p>Messaggio ricevuto. Aspetterò che lei ti dia il due di picche.</p> <p>- Scopa.</p> <p>- <i>Briscola</i>.</p> <p>Ho il Sette Bello, vinco io. Ciao.</p>	<p>Messaggio ricevuto. Aspetterò che lei ti dia il due di picche.</p> <p>- Allora chiudo.</p> <p>- Poker d'assi?</p> <p>Scala reale, vinco io. Ciao.</p>
5	<p>you may represent her. Dean you later.</p>	<p>...può rappresentarla. Arrivedorci.</p>	<p>...può rappresentarla.</p> <p>A presi-to.</p>
6	<p>If you said jump, he'd say, "How high?"</p> <p>If you said stop, he'd say "Hammer time."</p>	<p>Se tu gli dicessi di buttarsi dalla finestra, obbedirebbe.</p> <p>Se gli dicessi di darsi una martellata in faccia, lo farebbe.</p>	<p>Se tu gli dicessi "Buttati" ti direbbe "Da che piano?".</p> <p>Se gli dicessi "Dimmi", ti risponderebbe "Quando tu verrai".</p>
7	<p>Most of you responded to my e-vite,</p> <p>but some of you remain evasive, so...</p>	<p>La maggior parte di voi ha risposto al mio Evite...</p> <p>...ma altri sono stati evasivi, quindi...</p>	<p>La maggior parte di voi ha risposto alla mia e-mail...</p> <p>...ma altri sono stati "e-vasivi", quindi...</p>
8	<p>My room has a bunk bed. A misnomer, because it's the real deal.</p>	<p>Ho un letto libero non assegnato.</p> <p>È un affare.</p>	<p>Ho un letto a castello.</p> <p>Termine azzecato perché è degno di un re.</p>
8	<p><i>Saying goodbye to Britta.</i></p> <p><i>Was the hardest thing to do</i></p> <p><i>But when someone's a bitch</i></p> <p><i>And a liar</i></p> <p><i>There ain't nothing left to woo</i></p>	<p><i>Dire addio a Britta</i></p> <p><i>È stato difficile</i></p> <p><i>Ma quando una è stronza</i></p> <p><i>E bugiarda</i></p> <p><i>Non c'è molto altro da fare</i></p> <p><i>Mi sto purificando da</i></p>	<p><i>Dire addio a Britta</i></p> <p><i>È stato difficile</i></p> <p><i>Ma quando una è bastarda</i></p> <p><i>E bugiarda</i></p> <p><i>Non c'è molto altro da fare</i></p> <p><i>Mi sto purificando da Britta</i></p> <p>(...)</p>

	<p><i>I'm getting rid of Britta</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>I'm getting rid of the B</i> <i>She's a no-good B</i></p> <p><i>I'm getting rid of Britta</i></p> <p><i>I'm getting rid of the B</i></p> <p><i>She's a GDB</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Pierce, I don't need you</i> <i>In my band</i></p> <p><i>I don't need your heart</i> <i>Or your hand</i></p> <p><i>I am my own person</i></p> <p><i>And, Pierce, you're a B</i></p>	<p><i>Britta</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p>- <i>Mi purifico da B</i> - <i>Non è una brava B</i></p> <p><i>Mi sto purificando da Britta</i></p> <p><i>Mi purifico da B</i></p> <p><i>Lei è una grande P</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Pierce, non mi servi</i> <i>Nella band</i></p> <p><i>Pierce, non mi servi</i> <i>Nella band</i></p> <p><i>Non mi serve né il tuo cuore</i> <i>Né la tua mano</i></p> <p><i>Basto solo io</i></p> <p><i>Basto solo io</i></p> <p><i>E Pierce, sei un B</i></p>	<p>- <i>Mi purifico da B</i> - <i>È una brutta B</i></p> <p><i>Mi sto purificando da Britta</i></p> <p><i>Mi purifico da B</i></p> <p><i>È una C-D-B</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p><i>Pierce, non mi servi</i> <i>Nella band</i></p> <p><i>Non mi serve né il tuo cuore</i> <i>Né la tua mano</i></p> <p><i>Basto solo io</i></p> <p><i>E Pierce, sei un B</i></p>
8	<p>Think how much happier the Jeffersons were than that family on <i>Good Times</i>.</p> <p>Yeah, but they had good times.</p>	<p>I <i>Jefferson</i> sono più felici di quelli di <i>Good Times</i>.</p> <p>- Sì, ma loro si divertivano.</p>	<p>I <i>Jefferson</i> sono più felici di quelli di <i>Modern Family</i>.</p> <p>- Sì, ma loro sono più moderni.</p>
10	<p>by a certain band called Green Day.</p>	<p>...di una band che si chiama Green Day, ovvero "giorno verde".</p>	<p>...di una band che si chiama Green Day.</p>
12	<p>No. Only macadamia nut cookies. I have a tree-nut allergy.</p> <p>Stay away from Christmas-tree-shaped cookies.</p> <p>Ha-ha-ha! That did not even make allergic sense. What are you, an idiot?</p>	<p>No. Solo quelli alla noce. Io sono allergico alle noci.</p> <p>Allora stai lontano da quelli a forma d'albero.</p> <p>Quello che hai detto non ha senso. Cosa sei, un idiota?</p>	<p>No. Solo quelli alle noci. Sono allergico alla frutta secca.</p> <p>Allora prova a bagnarla un po'.</p> <p>Ma non ha nessun senso! Cosa sei, un idiota?</p>

14	<p>Who is the lucky brunette?</p> <p>Last name Beeswax, first name Nunnuyuh.</p> <p>Oh, my third wife was biracial.</p>	<p>Chi è la fortunata mora?</p> <p>Cognome Beeswax, nome Nunnuyuh.</p> <p>Oh, la mia terza moglie era birazziale.</p>	<p>Chi è la fortunata mora?</p> <p>Cognome Miey, nome Aff'hari.</p> <p>Oh, la mia terza moglie era birazziale.</p>
14	<p>Five letters, Broadway musical. <i>Annie</i>.</p> <p>Uh, six letters, to puncture. Pierce.</p> <p>Um, a water filter that starts with B.</p> <p>Brita. Okay. Here's a tough one, though.</p> <p>Um, Helen of-- Troy.</p> <p>Oh, damn, you're good. Thank you.</p> <p>I never even heard of that last one.</p> <p>All right, one of the two brother actors, Bridges, four letters.</p> <p>Hmm. I know. Bridges. I don't know.</p> <p>Come on, guys, can't you see the pattern there?</p> <p>Can you see it? It's Beau, Beau Bridges.</p> <p>These are all things you can see on TV.</p>	<p>- Cinque lettere, musical di Broadway. -<i>Annie</i>.</p> <p>- Sei lettere, forare. - Bucare.</p> <p>Un filtro dell'acqua che comincia con la B.</p> <p>- Brita. - Okay. Eccone una difficile.</p> <p>- Elena di-- - Troia.</p> <p>- Accipicchia, sei bravo. - Grazie.</p> <p>Io non ne avevo mai sentito parlare.</p> <p>Uno dei due fratelli attori, Bridges, quattro lettere.</p> <p>- Lo so. Bridges. - Non lo so.</p> <p>E dai, ragazzi, non vedete lo schema?</p> <p>Non lo vedete? È Beau. Beau Bridges.</p> <p>Sono tutti riferimenti televisivi.</p> <p>Tranne per "bucare".</p>	<p>- Cinque lettere, musical di Broadway. -<i>Annie</i>.</p> <p>- “Forare” in inglese. - <i>Pierce</i>.</p> <p>Un filtro dell'acqua che comincia con la B.</p> <p>- Brita. - Okay. Eccone una difficile.</p> <p>- Colossal epico sull’Iliade. - <i>Troy</i>.</p> <p>- Accipicchia, sei bravo. - Grazie.</p> <p>Io non ne avevo mai sentito parlare.</p> <p>Uno dei due fratelli attori, Bridges, quattro lettere.</p> <p>- Lo so. Bridges. - Non lo so.</p> <p>E dai, ragazzi, non vedete lo schema?</p> <p>Non lo vedete? È Beau. Beau Bridges.</p> <p>Sono tutti riferimenti televisivi.</p> <p>Tranne “pierce”. Crea confusione.</p>

	Except for "pierce," That's a misdirect.	Crea confusione.	
15	To Annie's inevitable breakup with Grodie J. McConaughey.	All'inevitabile rottura di Annie con Grodie J. McConaughey.	All'inevitabile rottura di Annie con Schifo J. McConaughey.
16	Michelle, um, I was trying to call Britain to order you toffees.	...volevo chiamare la Gran Bretagna per ordinarti le caramelle al mou.	... stavo cercando di ordinare i filtri Brita per l'acqua.
17	You should be like Calvin. His best friend was a tiger, he went on dope adventures. Anything stood in his way, he just peed on it. Calvin Coolidge?	Dovresti fare Calvin. Aveva come migliore amica una tigre, ha avuto molte avventure. Se qualcosa gli intralciava il cammino, ci faceva la pipì sopra. - Calvin Coolidge?	Dovresti fare Calvin. Aveva come migliore amica una tigre, ha avuto molte avventure. Se qualcosa gli intralciava il cammino, ci faceva la pipì sopra. - Calvin Klein?

Table 13 – Wordplay

The first wordplay is based on the assonance between the American pronunciation of the name of Abed's illness, Asperger's, and the words "ass" and "burger". The main challenge in this translation is the difference between the American and the Italian pronunciation of Asperger, which does not allow to keep the same exact wordplay with "burger". For this reason, I chose to change the second word to one more similar to the Italian pronunciation of the illness: I looked up every word starting with "asp-" in the Italian dictionary and I found the most fitting solution was "asparago", which also manages to keep the same semantic category as the original wordplay, food. The word "ass" was kept in English since the target audience would be familiar with the meaning of the word and, in any case, it is later explained in the last subtitle of this first set.

The irony that Jeff refers to in the second example stems from the fact that Pierce is toasting to "the empowerment of words" instead of using the correct word, "empowerment", contradicting his own intention. The retranslation reflects the original dialogue better by recreating the miswording by changing the correct spelling of "potere" to "potare", which has a different meaning in Italian.

The third example is taken from the scene in which Abed's father meets his friends for the first time and he disapproved of them because they have encouraged him to pursue a career in film making against. Mr Nadir says that Britta gives him "major B-word vibe", referring to both the first letter of her name and of the word "bitch", creating a pun. My retranslation kept the reference to Britta's name and to an insult, which however had to change in order to fit in Italian: in fact, the "nome-che-inizia-per-B" in the target text refers to the slur "bastarda" and not to "stronza", which would be the direct translation of "bitch" in Italian but would also lose the reference to the girl's name.

Vaughn is one of the hippies that attend Greendale Community College: his relaxed personality is reflected in the way he speaks, peaceful and at times bizarre. His catchphrase "no worries" could be easily translated with "tutto bene"; however, at the end of the episode he changes it to "some worries" to signal the change in his attitude. To make this translation more challenging, Vaughn uses this new expression as his band name a few episodes later. A first translation proposal could involve replacing the initial "No worries" with the similar expression "No problem", which is completely accessible to an Italian audience: following this reasoning, the new catchphrase and the name of the band would be "Qualche problem", in order to contrast the initial expression by using the same syntactic structure. Nevertheless, I thought it would be much easier and it would sound more natural if we were to keep the two expressions in English, since they do not pose any comprehension problem for the new target audience and would still feel like a peculiarity of Vaughn's way of talking.

The next set of subtitles was definitely one of the most challenging to translate. In this scene professor Duncan tells Jeff that he is interested in Britta and that he would have waited until Jeff did not have any more chances with her to try to pursue her himself. At this point Jeff replies with "cheers", an informal British English expression that ironically means "thank you" or "be my guest",¹⁶⁰ hinting that he does not care about Duncan pursuing Britta because he is not interested in her. Right at that moment, Abed happens to pass by them, replying to Jeff's "cheers" with con "M*A*S*H": since he is a film fanatic, he thought the two were talking about TV show titles, as "Cheers" is the name of an

¹⁶⁰ Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Cheers. In *Cambridge Dictionary online*. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/cheers>

American sitcom from the 1980s, whose Italian title is “Cin cin”,¹⁶¹ and he wanted to contribute to the conversation by citing another series from that era.¹⁶² Professor Duncan counters that by mentioning a British sitcom from the 70s, “Fawlty Towers” – “Basil e Sybil” in Italian –,¹⁶³ declaring that he had the best answer to the debate. This exchange of references is not directly translatable to Italian and it needs a drastic reformulation since using the respective Italian versions of the titles of the shows would not create the same effect of the misunderstanding between the two meanings of “Cheers”. Therefore, the basis of the misunderstanding was card games lingo, first from “Scala 40”, then from “poker”, since depending on the cards in one’s hand a winner can be declared, justifying Duncan’s final statement. My resubtitling exploits the same idiomatic expression used in the first translation, “dare il due di picche”, referred to Britta stopping giving chances to Jeff. The man, then, replies by saying “Allora chiudo”, meaning that he would have quit whatever was going on between the two of them to let Duncan flirt with her. This expression can be interpreted also as a move in the game of “Scala 40” with which a player finishes all the cards in his hand.¹⁶⁴ We can interpret Jeff’s reply as him using Britta’s figurative “due di picche” to finish the card game; Abed, however, might not have caught the first part of the exchange and the fact that the two are not playing an actual game, so he asks Jeff if he has a “poker d’assi” in his hand which would win him the game, given that the move “chiudere” works for both card games.¹⁶⁵ Professor Duncan then replies by stating that he has a stronger hand, “scala reale”, with which he can claim to be the winner of this imaginary game. Unfortunately, the change in reference does not convey Abed’s passion for film, making his contribution to the conversation between Jeff and Duncan less natural; nevertheless, the original effect was at least partly kept in Italian.

The following subtitle features an example of “Dean-otation” (dean Pelton’s wordplays) for the first time in the series. Here, the verb “see” was replaced with the word “dean” since they sound similar. In order to keep the same effect, I chose a form of

¹⁶¹ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Cin cin*. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1982/cin-cin/>

¹⁶² Genna, A. (n.d.). “M*A*S*H”. Il mondo dei doppiatori. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.antoniogenna.net/doppiaggio/televisione/mash.htm>

¹⁶³ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Basil e Sybil*. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/1975/basil-e-sybil/>

¹⁶⁴ Berra, V. (2018, September 17). *Scala 40: sapete le vere regole? Lo avete chiesto a Google, ve lo spieghiamo noi*. Corriere della sera. <https://www.corriere.it/tecnologia/cards/scala-40-sapete-vere-regole-avete-chiesto-google-ve-spieghiamo-noi/chiusura-nessuna-carta-mano.shtml>

¹⁶⁵ *Mani di poker*. (n.d.). Pokerstars. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.pokerstars.it/poker/games/rules/hand-rankings/>

greeting (“a presto”) that could lend itself to a wordplay with the Italian word for dean, “preside”.

Another one of dean Pelton’s line involves a joke about a famous American song. When he tells Jeff that Troy will do anything Jeff tells him to do regardless of the consequences, he says that, if Jeff were to tell him “stop”, Troy would misinterpret this order and would instead start dancing to MC Hammer’s song “U Can’t Touch This”, referencing a famous part of the lyrics.¹⁶⁶ This song does not produce the same effect in Italian, therefore in the retranslation the reference was changed by recreating the same “order-reply” structure of the original dialogue with a different song, better-known by the target audience, “Quando, Quando, Quando”.¹⁶⁷ It should be noted that other translation solutions that kept the same verb in the second order (“stop”) have been discarded because the songs were less recognisable by Gen Z: one of them was taken from Tiziano Ferro’s “Stop! Dimentica”, in which the singer says “Stop! Dimentica perché...”;¹⁶⁸ another one would have been “C’era un ragazzo che come me amava i Beatles e i Rolling Stones” by Gianni Morandi, where he says “Stop coi Rolling Stones!”.¹⁶⁹ “Quando, Quando, Quando”, on the other hand, is a more popular song world-wide, it is not too recent, and it does not risk being too domesticating.

In this scene, Annie encourages her classmates to reply to her invite to the Halloween party by making a pun between the name of the digital platform used to send e-vites¹⁷⁰ and the word “evasive”. This website is not used in Italy, therefore it was adapted using the word “e-mail”, which is one of the ways in which Evites are delivered to their recipients. In doing so, the wordplay is kept at least partly given that both “e-mail” and “evasivi” start with “e”. To accentuate this correlation, I added a hyphen after the first letter in “evasivi”, copying the structure of the word “e-mail”.

¹⁶⁶ Musixmatch. (n.d.). *Lyrics U Can’t Touch This*. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/MC-Hammer/U-Can-t-Touch-This>

¹⁶⁷ Musixmatch. (n.d.). *Lyrics Quando, Quando, Quando - with....* Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Michael-Bubl%C3%A9-feat-Nelly-Furtado/Quando-Quando-Quando>

¹⁶⁸ Musixmatch. (n.d.). *Lyrics Stop! Dimentica*. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Tiziano-Ferro/Stop-Dimentica>

¹⁶⁹ Musixmatch. (n.d.). *Lyrics C’era un ragazzo che come me....* Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Gianni-Morandi/C-era-un-ragazzo-che-come-me-amava-i-Beatles-e-i-Rolling-Stones>

¹⁷⁰ *Welcome to Evite*. (n.d.). Evite. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://www.evite.com/c/evite-about-us/>

Abed's joke about the word "bunk bed" being a misnomer refers to one of the meanings of the word "bunk" in American English, which is "nonsense".¹⁷¹ The same wordplay cannot be kept in Italian; therefore, adaptation was needed. In the retranslation, rather than Abed defining it as a misnomer, he says that "letto a castello" is a great term for it because it makes you feel like a king who, obviously, would live in a castle.

The next subtitles are the lyrics from Vaughn and Pierce's song about "getting rid of Britta". Vaughn had just broken up with her, so in this song he calls her a "B", which stands for the word "bitch". Using the same strategy of a previous subtitle, the reference to both the word "bitch" and the name Britta has been kept by changing the translation of the slur from "stronza" to "bastarda". When it came to translating "She's a GDB", which stands for "God damn bitch", I opted to render it in Italian with "è una C-D-B", which could stand for "è una cazzo di bastarda". It should be noted that the first translation rendered "GDB" as "una grande P", hinting at the word "puttana", a slut-shaming episode which, as we have seen in the previous section, would not be tolerated by Gen Z. Finally, this solution works well also when, at the end of the episode, Vaughn calls Pierce a "B" after fighting with him.

The wordplay between the title of the TV series "Good Times" and the expression "to have a good time" was recreated in Italian by changing the show mentioned with a newer series. The sitcom "Modern Family" is, indeed, more recent and it allows for a wordplay between the words "modern" and "moderna". Moreover, since the extended family which this show is based on is quite unconventional, it fits the comparison Britta makes between them and the Jeffersons.¹⁷²

As we will see in section 7. English loanword, this retranslation was able to keep many English words because of the new target audience's familiarity with the language. This is what led to the omission of the explanatory addition in the first translation about the reason why the band Green Day was invited to Greendale's "Green Week", focused on raising awareness towards climate change: because they both share the word "green" in their names. This translation solution also manages to decrease the number of cpl.

¹⁷¹ Collins Dictionary. (n.d.). Bunk. In *Collins Dictionary online*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/bunk>

¹⁷² Pezzo, E. (2021, April 18). *Genesis delle famiglie disfunzionali nelle Serie Tv: trend topic o stanco revival?*. Hall of series. <https://www.hallofseries.com/modern-family/modern-family-famiglie-disfunzionali/>

The next set of subtitles features an exchange between Abed and the school bully about the lack of Christmas cookies in the cafeteria. After the bully accuses him of stealing all of them, Abed suggests that he eats the others that are left; these ones, however, are made with macadamia nut, which the bully is allergic to. At this point Abed makes a joke about him having to stay away from tree-shaped cookies because of the name of his allergy, even though they do not have anything to do with it. The wordplay was recreated in Italian by mentioning that the bully is allergic to “frutta secca” and basing the pun on the fact that Abed tells him to “wet” it in order not to have an allergic reaction, which of course is not how it would actually work.

Another wordplay based on assonance occurs when Jeff replies to Britta asking him the name of the girl he is dating by saying – in a creative way – that it is none of her business. Since the way he says it is not conventional, Pierce misinterprets it and thinks he is actually telling the study group her name and, since it sounds exotic, he thinks she is biracial. The retranslation makes the wordplay accessible to the target audience by changing the spelling of the expression “affari miei” to make it sound more exotic.

In the following scene Troy and Abed are working on a crossword puzzle in which all the answers are connected to the names of the members of the study group. In order to recreate the same solutions in Italian, some definitions needed to be changed. The first translation did not exploit the fact that the target audience has a higher level of knowledge of the English language and, therefore, the reference to Pierce’s name was lost. In my retranslation, however, I managed to keep it by changing the definition to “‘Forare’ in inglese”, making the solution the same English word used in the original dialogue. I also modified another definition going from asking the full name of Helen of Troy to the name of the blockbuster film about that war, which keeps the English spelling of the character’s name, Troy.¹⁷³

In the following scene Jeff and Britta toast to the success of their mission regarding making Annie and Vaughn break up by calling him Grodie J. McConaughey, based on the name of actor Matthew McConaughey. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “grody” in American slang means disgusting;¹⁷⁴ for this reason, I decided to adapt the

¹⁷³ Mymovies.it. (n.d.). *Troy*. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.mymovies.it/film/2004/troy/>

¹⁷⁴ Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Grody. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/grody>

Italian translation by replacing “Grodie” – which is a respelling of the adjective” – with “Schifo”. The last name did not need to be adapted as the actor is well-known in Italy.

The penultimate wordplay refers to the time Jeff called professor Slater while being drunk thinking he was calling Britta so, when Slater confronts him about it, he tries to come up with an excuse about why he was asking to talk to Britta. The English dialogue plays on the assonance between the words “Britta” and “Britain” which cannot be maintained by using the Italian translation “Gran Bretagna”. For this reason, Jeff’s reply was completely changed in the retranslation and the wordplay was change to one frequently used in the show, since Britta and the water filter brand name Brita are practically identical.

In the last set of subtitles Troy suggests that Abed behaves more like Calvin from the comic strip “Calvin and Hobbes”, in which the boy goes on adventures with his plush tiger. This reference is misunderstood by Pierce, who asks if Troy is talking about the former President of the United States Calvin Coolidge who, coincidentally, had a cat named Tiger. The target audience would not be familiar with Coolidge nor with its pet cat; therefore, the reference was changed to the name of the brand “Calvin Klein”, which shares the same name, although the underlying reference is lost.

6. Catchphrases

A catchphrase, as defined in Collins Dictionary, is “a sentence or phrase which becomes popular or well-known, often because it is frequently used by a famous person”.¹⁷⁵ They are frequently used in TV series, especially sitcoms, to make a character more memorable and recognizable within the cast of the show; sometimes they even become pop culture phenomena.

The prime characteristic of catchphrases is that they are always delivered with the same exact wording or with small changes. Therefore, their translation needs to mirror this effect of continuity among all the episodes, especially in the case of subtitling, where the target audience is exposed to the original audio track. This might be more challenging

¹⁷⁵ Collins Dictionary. (n.d.). Catchphrase. In *Collins Dictionary online*. Retrieved January 4, 2022, from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/it/dizionario/inglese/catchphrase>

depending on what is being said and if the phrase can acquire other meanings depending on the context, as most English expressions do.

The writers of the show *Community* do not miss out on the opportunity to include this trope in their scripts, giving the characters of Abed and Shirley two catchphrases, mainly consisting of one specific word: “cool” for the former and “nice” for the latter. In Tables 14.1 and 14.2 we will see how their translation has been adapted to keep the continuity in each case. It has to be noted, however, that it was not possible to keep the continuity in all of the occasions in which these catchphrases are used, namely in three subtitles from Episodes 19, 21 and 23.

6.1. Abed Nadir

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
1	Cool, cool, cool. Cool, cool, cool.	- Ottimo, ottimo, ottimo.	- Figo, figo, figo.
3	How's your film class, buddy? It's cool. Our first assignment is a documentary.	Come va il corso di cinema, amico? Bene. Il primo compito è un documentario.	Come va il corso di cinema, amico? È figo . Il primo compito è un documentario.
3	Cool tie, Jeff. Are you wearing that because you're playing the role of my dad, or is it really Christmas?	Bella cravatta. È per somigliare a mio padre, o è davvero Natale?	Figa la cravatta. È per somigliare a mio padre, o è davvero Natale?
4	Go home! Cool. See you.	Vai a casa! Bene. <i>Ci vediamo.</i>	Vai a casa! Figo. <i>Ci vediamo.</i>
4	Indiana Jones, cool.	- <i>Indiana Jones</i> , bello.	- <i>Indiana Jones</i> , figo .
4	We're cool.	Siamo amici.	Figo , amici come prima.
5	From now on, Abed, friends don't mess with each other. Okay, cool? Cool, cool. Bang-bang.	D'ora in poi, Abed, gli amici non si prendono più in giro. - D'accordo? - D'accordo.	D'ora in poi, Abed, gli amici non si prendono più in giro. - Ok. Figo? - Figo, figo.
8	Can I live with you? Yeah, cool.	- Posso vivere da te? - Sì, certo.	- Posso vivere da te? - Sì, figo .
8	I don't think so.	- Non mi sembra.	- Non mi sembra.

	Cool. Cool, cool, cool.	- Bene. Bene, bene, bene.	- Figo. Figo, figo, figo.
8	<i>Cop Rock</i> . That sounds cool. Doesn't it?	- <i>Cop Rock</i> . Suona bene. - Vero?	- Baby. Sembra figo. - Vero?
8	Excuse me. I have a future murder victim to visit. Cool. Cool. Cool. Cool.	Scusate. Vado a trovare la futura vittima di un omicidio. - Bello. - Bello. - Bello, bello, bello.	Scusate. Vado a trovare la futura vittima di un omicidio. - Figo. - Figo. - Figo, figo, figo.
13	I'm gonna talk it over with the others. Cool. Thanks for your time.	Ne parlo con gli altri. - Ottimo, grazie per l'opportunità.	Ne parlo con gli altri. - Figo , grazie per l'opportunità.
14	Hi, guys. That was really cool. I wish I knew how to tap dance.	Ciao, ragazzi. Siete stati davvero bravi. Vorrei sapere anch'io fare il tip tap.	Ciao, ragazzi. Eravate proprio fighi . Vorrei sapere anch'io fare il tip tap.
15	That sounds awful. I'll bring the popcorn Cool.	- Sembra terribile. - Porto i popcorn. - Bene.	- Sembra terribile. - Porto i popcorn. - Figo.
17	So we have a name. Jenny Adams. Cool.	Allora, abbiamo un nome. - Jenny Adams. - Bene.	Allora, abbiamo un nome. - Jenny Adams. - Figo.
17	Britta knows all about it. Okay. Cool. You guys are gonna <i>Can't Buy Me Love</i> me?	Britta lo sa bene. Bene. Allora adesso mi farete alla <i>Can't Buy Me Love</i> ?	Britta lo sa bene. Figo . Allora faremo come in <i>Playboy in prova</i> , no?
17	Remember, be yourself. Got it. Cool. Great.	- Sii te stesso. - Capito. Bene. - Bene.	- Sii te stesso. - Capito. Figo . - Bene.
19	You're usually the cool one.	Beh, tu di solito sei quello forte.	Beh, tu di solito sei quello figo .
20	For example, who wants some of these? Cool, yeah.	Per esempio, chi ne vuole un po'? Bene, sì.	Per esempio, chi ne vuole un po'? Figo! Sì!

21	It's like a mafia movie. <i>As far back as I can remember, I always wanted to be in a mafia movie.</i> Cool.	- Sembra un film di mafia. <i>Ho sempre sognato di essere in un film mafioso.</i> - Bene.	- Sembra un film di mafia. <i>Ho sempre sognato di essere in un film mafioso.</i> - Figo.
21	Six fingers every Wednesday. Cool. And what can you offer? I have a bicycle. And I teach beginner's tennis. Cool, okay.	- Sei pezzi ogni mercoledì. - Bene. - Cosa puoi offrire? - Ho una bicicletta. - E insegno tennis ai principianti. - Bene.	- Sei pezzi ogni mercoledì. - Figo. - Cosa puoi offrire? - Ho una bicicletta. - E insegno tennis ai principianti. - Figo, ok.
21	Maybe we just stay here and have a plate of chicken fingers. Cool.	Forse ci conviene restare qui a mangiare pollo. Va bene.	Forse ci conviene restare qui a mangiare pollo. Figo.
22	What? That was awesome! All right, I am back in. Cool. All right.	Che cosa? Bravissimo. - Okay, ci sto. - Bene. Okay.	Che cosa? Bravissimo. - Okay, ci sto. - Figo. Okay.
24	Got it. Cool.	Capito. Bene.	Capito. Figo.

Table 14.1 – *Abed's catchphrases*

For the retranslation of *Abed's* catchphrase, I opted for “figo”, an Italian slang word common among young people that – similarly to “cool”¹⁷⁶ in English – is used as an adjective or as a noun to describe something or someone that is trendy and popular.¹⁷⁷ This translation solution is optimal because the term is general enough to fit into all the contexts in which it is used – at least in Season One of *Community*. Moreover, since it is a short word made up of two syllables, it appropriately mirrors the source text, and it might also work in the context of dubbing.

¹⁷⁶ Collins Dictionary. (n.d.). Cool. In *Collins Dictionary online*. Retrieved January 4, 2022, from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/cool>

¹⁷⁷ Treccani. (n.d.). Fico. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved January 4, 2022, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/fico1/>

Treccani. (n.d.). Figo. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved January 4, 2022, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/figo/>

6.2. Shirley Bennet

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
1	Oh, that's nice. I like that.	Oh, che bello. Questo mi piace.	Oh, che dolce . Questo mi piace.
3	Thanks for the pizza, Abed, I was starving. Yeah, it's nice, like a picnic. Or a family dinner.	Grazie per la pizza, Abed, stavo morendo di fame. - Sì, è bello, come un picnic. - O una cena di famiglia.	Grazie per la pizza, Abed, stavo morendo di fame. - Che dolce! È come fare un picnic. - O una cena di famiglia.
4	We both have a class across campus and I can't go that distance with "Oh, that's nice." That's mean. No, that's not nice.	Abbiamo una lezione dall'altra parte del campus e non voglio sorbirmi di continuo... ..."Oh, che carino!" - Sei perfido. - No. non è carino.	Abbiamo una lezione dall'altra parte del campus e non voglio sorbirmi di continuo... ..."Oh, che dolce! " - Sei perfido. - No. Non è dolce .
4	Oh, that's nice.	- Oh, che carina.	- Oh, che dolce .
6	I'm going to the bathroom. Would you like to come with me? Well, yes. Yes, I would. Oh, that's nice.	Vado in bagno. Vuoi venire con me? Sì, con piacere. Che bello.	Vado in bagno. Vuoi venire con me? Sì, con piacere. Che dolce.
7	Look at all these awards, I bet she's nice. Yeah. Nice and pretentious.	Guarda tutti questi premi, scommetto che è simpatica. Sì. Simpatica e presuntuosa.	Guarda tutti questi premi, scommetto che è dolce . Sì. Dolce e presuntuosa.
8	I couldn't have done this without your help. You're really nice.	Non ce l'avrei fatta senza il tuo aiuto. Sei davvero carina.	Non ce l'avrei fatta senza il tuo aiuto. Sei molto dolce .
9	Oh, that's nice. Oh, that's nice.	- Oh, che carino. - Oh, che carino.	- Oh, che dolce . - Oh, che dolce .
9	Mine was just from a simple desert handyman named Jesus.	Io cito un semplice falegname del deserto... ...Gesù.	Io cito un semplice falegname del deserto... ...Gesù.

	Oh, that's nice.	Oh, che bello.	Oh, che dolce .
10	No more 20-page essays due on Monday. Oh, that's nice. Thank you.	Niente più 20 pagine di tema per lunedì. - Che bello. - Grazie.	Niente più 20 pagine di tema per lunedì. - Che dolce . - Grazie.
12	We'll just, uh-- Let's just put it here. There we go. That's nice.	Beh, lo-- Lo metto qui. Ecco fatto. Che bello.	Beh, lo-- Lo metto qui. Ecco fatto. Che dolce .
12	Oh, hash browns and applesauce, that's nice.	Oh, cotoletta e mela grattugiata, che bello.	Oh, cotolette e salsa al marsala , che dolce .
13	Greendale is where I am and I am gonna make the best of it. Oh, that's nice.	La Greendale è la mia scuola, e ho intenzione di viverla al meglio. - Oh, che bello.	La Greendale è la mia scuola, e ho intenzione di viverla al meglio. - Oh, che dolce .
16	The bad news is that it makes it our manly duty to protect them tonight. Oh! That's nice, but we really can't let you do that.	Ma la brutta notizia è che come uomini ora abbiamo il dovere di proteggerle. Molto bello, ma non è proprio il caso che lo facciate.	Ma la brutta notizia è che come uomini ora abbiamo il dovere di proteggerle. Oh, che dolce , ma non è proprio il caso che lo facciate.
17	Be somebody nice like Mike Brady.	Fai qualcuno di gentile come Mike Brady.	Fai qualcuno di dolce , come Ted Mosby .
18	It's going to be nice spending time with them.	Sarà bello stare con loro.	Sarà dolce passare del tempo con loro.
21	As for Abed, for his sake, I guess I'll have to take him out. Poor little guy. Oh, good, that's nice.	Per il bene di Abed dovrò eliminarlo. - Poverino. - Bene, che bello.	Per il bene di Abed dovrò eliminarlo. - Poverino. - Bene, che dolce .
21	Ready? Oh, that's nice. Never been done.	Pronti? - Bello. - Molto originale.	Pronti? - Oh, che dolci . - Molto originale.
23	Shirley, I'm gonna win for you and your boys. That's nice.	Shirley, vincerò per te e i ragazzi. Sei gentile.	Shirley, vincerò per te e i ragazzi. Come sei dolce .

	I'm gonna win that prize but not for you and your boys. That's less nice.	Shirley, vincerò ma non per te e i ragazzi. Per niente gentile.	Shirley, vincerò ma non per te e i ragazzi. Così sei meno dolce.
25	More importantly, our very own Britta Perry, it turns out, has been nominated for transfer queen. Oh, that's nice.	Ma cosa più importante, la nostra Britta Perry... ...a quanto pare, è stata candidata reginetta dei transfer. Oh, che bello.	Ma cosa più importante, la nostra Britta Perry... ...a quanto pare, è stata candidata reginetta dei transfer. Oh, che dolce .
25	So, uh, isn't it nice that Jeff and Slater are getting back together?	Non è bello che Jeff e la Slater si stanno rimettendo insieme?	Non è dolce che Jeff e la Slater si stanno rimettendo insieme?

Table 14.2 – Shirley's catchphrases

Finding a suitable retranslation for Shirley's catchphrase that could fit in every context without needing to be changed was very challenging.

The word “nice” in English can have different meanings based on how it is used. When used to describe people, it can mean that they are polite and thoughtful, whereas when it describes an object or a situation it can mean that it is pleasant and enjoyable.¹⁷⁸ In Episode 9, Abed even gives an explanation as to how he figured out that “Oh, that's nice” was Shirley's most likely response to everything: when she accuses him of being a witch because, he seems to be predicting the future through his short films, he says that he is just “a student of human character” and he states “I know you guys all so well I can predict your behavior. Like, Shirley, I know you're a sweet, Christian, generous person.”.

Through this characterisation, we can try to look for a suitable equivalent expression in Italian. “Dolce” is an Italian adjective that is used to describe sweet food or, used figuratively, it can identify someone or something pleasant, meek or which we feel affection towards.¹⁷⁹ For these reasons, “Oh, che dolce” was chosen as the final translation, since it fits well with the character's motherly and lovingly nature, and it works even in situations in which it is used as a punchline for a joke.

¹⁷⁸ Collins Dictionary. (n.d.). Nice. In *Collins Dictionary online*. Retrieved January 4, 2022, from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/nice>

¹⁷⁹ Treccani. (n.d.). Dolce. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved January 4, 2022, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/dolce1/>

7. English loanwords

Ever since the Italian nobility started taking their first trips to England in the 18th century, the *anglomania* phenomenon led to the rapid spread of English culture and literature in our country because of the prestige connected to it (Sokolova 2020). Excluding the periods of time in which French was the most influential language in Italy and when the use of all foreign languages was prohibited during the fascist regime, over time the process of cultural internalisation focused on the American pole meant that Italian people became more and more familiar with the English language because of the importation both of consumer items and of the language itself (Aixela 1996). In this way, not only did the world become more accepting of the American world view, but also of its values and specific cultural reality.

As previously said, Gen Z is also considered the generation of the “digital natives”. This means that they grew up in a globalised society, where every corner of the planet is connected through the Internet, where information spreads faster than ever before, and where the primary language used for communication on an international level is English. These conditions, in conjunction with the changes in the educational system that promoted the teaching of foreign languages, allowed Gen Z to become the generation that is most comfortable using English (Vesperini 2022).

For these reasons, in my retranslation I was able to make ample use of the borrowing strategy, keeping certain expressions in English since they can be understood by the new target audience or, in some cases, because they are now more frequently used than their Italian equivalent.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
1	Golf cart.	Macchinina da golf.	Golf cart.
2	The worst part of it is, when it's all over... Spoilers! ...it's as if it never happened.	Il peggio è che quando sarà finita... - Finale. - ...sarà come se non fosse successo.	Il peggio è che quando sarà finita... - Spoiler! - ...sarà come se non fosse mai successo.
17	I don't wanna spoil the ending but, uh, pride ends up with prejudice.	Non voglio rovinarti il finale ma l'orgoglio finisce con il pregiudizio.	Non voglio spoilerarti il finale ma Orgoglio e Pregiudizio si sposano.
14	Oh, plot twist.	Oh, colpo di scena.	Oh, plot twist.

25	I'm gonna go with him for the summer. A classic last-day-of-school plot twist.	- Io vado con lui. - Classica svolta da ultimo giorno.	- Io vado con lui. - Classico plot-twist da ultimo giorno di scuola.
3	But I'm getting a major B-word vibe from you.	Ma lei mi dà la sensazione che ho davanti una parola-che-inizia-per-S.	Ma lei mi dà una vibe da nome-che-inizia-per-B.
25	More of a spin-off vibe, but you should do it.	Più atmosfera da spin-off, ma dovresti farlo.	Ha più un vibe da spin-off, ma dovresti farlo.
20	Nice frame job, Britta-dict Arnold. Oh, colonial burn.	Ma che bel lavoretto, Britta-dict Arnold. Oh, guarda chi c'è.	Grazie per avermi incastrata, Br-uda Iscariota. Oh, dissing biblico.
22	Why do I feel like I'm being dissed?	- Perché mi sento preso di mira?	Perché sento che mi state dissando?
6	I'm willing to try some more mainstream feminine stuff. Then you should know nothing says, "I'm a woman" like doing it with me.	Sono disposta a provare delle cose femminili più nazionali popolari. Allora dovresti sapere che niente fa più "donna moderna"... ...di andare a letto con me.	Sono disposta a provare delle cose femminili più mainstream. Allora dovresti sapere che niente fa più " donna "... ...di andare a letto con me.
7	This party is a second chance at being hip, cool, laid-back.	Questa festa è la mia seconda possibilità... ...per piacere, per essere forte... ...spensierata.	Questa festa è la mia seconda possibilità... ...per essere trendy, cool... ...per essere chill.
9	Zero for Winger (...) Was a big shot lawyer Now he's a loser	<i>Zero per Winger</i> (...) <i>Era un grande avvocato</i> <i>Ora è un perdente</i>	<i>Zero per Winger</i> (...) <i>Degli avvocati era il leader</i> <i>Ora è un loser</i>
8	In fashion, I'm what's known as a tastemaker.	Nella moda, mi definirebbero un "crea tendenze".	Nella moda, mi definirebbero un " trend setter ".
8	No, your incredulity	No, è la tua [<i>sic</i>]	No, è la tua incredulità

	perplexes me, nerd.	a lasciarmi perplesso, secchione.	a lasciarmi perplesso, nerd .
15	Look, this isn't about you, you groovy hipster	Senti, qui non si tratta di te, lui è un belloccio trendy.	Senti, qui non si tratta di te, belloccio hipster .
3	When I was a CEO, I had an array of masculine sneezes	Quando ero presidente della ditta, avevo una vasta gamma di starnuti virili...	Quando ero il CEO dell'azienda avevo una vasta gamma di starnuti virili...
24	I can maybe make it until then, but not by building my schedule around BFFs.	Ma non ce la farò se devo basare i corsi sui miei amichetti.	Ma non ce la farò se devo coordinare i corsi con i miei BFF .
3	Jackpot.	Tombola.	Jackpot .
10	It's the Tsunami 3000 Anniversary Edition. You?	Lo Tsunami 3000. Serie Limitata. Tu?	Lo Tsunami 3000. Anniversary Edition . Tu?
6	You're plastered with glitter and goo from head to toe like the rest of us."	Sei ricoperta di brillantini e creme dalla testa ai piedi come tutte noi".	Sei ricoperta di glitter e lacca dalla testa ai piedi come tutte noi".
6	Sorry to disturb you guys. Who are looking at a naked drawing of Pierce doing jumping jacks.	- Scusate il disturbo. Visto che state guardando un disegno di Pierce nudo e a gambe aperte.	- Scusate il disturbo. Visto che state guardando un disegno di Pierce nudo che fa i jumping jack .
11	I was voted "most likely to succeed" at my rehab clinic.	Alla clinica disintossicante dicevano che avrei avuto successo.	Al rehab dicevano che avrei avuto successo.
13	Nobody will care about my time in rehab if they think I'm a writer.	Nessuno baderà al fatto che sono stata in clinica, se sono una giornalista.	Nessuno baderà al fatto che sono stata in rehab , se sono una giornalista.
25	And keep up whatever it is you're doing, Garrett. It's called chillaxing.	E tu continua a fare quello che stai facendo, Garrett. Si chiama "rilassamento".	E tu continua a fare quello che stai facendo, Garrett. Si chiama chillaxing .
25	Who is it here who has a Dalmatian fetish?	Chi è, tra i presenti, che ha il feticcio dei dalmata?	Chi è, tra i presenti, che ha un fetish per i dalmata?
2	My lady. My lord.	- Signora. - Signore.	- Milady . - Milord .
10	Okay. Um, good morning. I'm here to kick off the first day of	Buongiorno. Sono qui per dare il via a una nuova tradizione...	Buongiorno. Sono qui per dare il via a una nuova tradizione...

	<p>a new tradition</p> <p>at our school called Green Week.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>All this week, Greendale College is becoming so Earth-smart</p> <p>that we're changing our name to Envirodale.</p> <p>But we were already called Greendale.</p>	<p>...della scuola che si chiama Settimana Verde.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Questa settimana la Greendale diventerà così pro-ambiente...</p> <p>...che la chiameremo: "Ambientedale".</p> <p>Ma ci chiamiamo già Greendale, "green" come verde.</p>	<p>...della scuola che si chiama Green Week.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Questa settimana la Greendale diventerà così pro-ambiente...</p> <p>...che la chiameremo: "Ambientedale".</p> <p>Ma ci chiamiamo già "Green"-dale.</p>
10	First, a month to black history, now, seven days on the Irish.	Un mese era per la storia dei neri e ora sette giorni per gli irlandesi.	Prima il Black History Month , ora sette giorni per gli irlandesi.
13	Pizza wars. Who's got the best slice in town?	La guerra della pizza. Chi fa la pizza più buona della città?	Pizza Wars. Chi fa la pizza più buona della città?
20	<i>Troy and Abed in the morning</i>	- Troy e Abed al mattino. - Troy e Abed al mattino.	- <i>Troy and Abed in the morning.</i> - <i>Troy and Abed in the morning.</i>

Table 15 – English loanwords

Let us take the term “golf cart” in Table 15 as an example. The loanword was chosen for the retranslation to replace the original solution “macchinina da golf”. This choice is supported by both the presence of the English term in the Treccani encyclopaedia entry for the word “golf”¹⁸⁰ and the number of occurrences given by the Google search of the term “golf cart” (“macchinina da golf” = 330; “golf cart” = 993,000).

The term “spoiler” was kept in English because it has entered informal Italian, influenced by its usage on the Internet. The same borrowing strategy was used with other words such as “plot twist”, “diss”, “vibe”, and others listed in the table. The meaning of all

¹⁸⁰ Campana, E. and Civitelli, S. (2005). Golf. In *Enciclopedia dello Sport Treccani*. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/golf_%28Enciclopedia-dello-Sport%29/

these words is clear to the target audience, and many of them are also present in Italian dictionaries.¹⁸¹

In the case of “Milord” and “Milady”, other than the fact that they are acceptable terms in Italian,¹⁸² what motivated the use of the English titles was to make them stand out and be more memorable for the audience. In fact, they are Jeff and Annie’s nicknames for one another, and they often use them throughout the series to hint at their complicated romantic relationship.

The event created by the dean to raise awareness for climate change in Episode 10 has been kept in its original name, “Green Week”, because it is made up of two words belonging to basic English vocabulary. This retranslation also allows the viewers to draw a parallel more easily between the name of the event and the failed attempt at changing the school’s name for this occasion, which is already called “Green”-dale.

¹⁸¹ Treccani. (n.d.). Spoiler. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/spoiler/>

Treccani. (n.d.). Dissing. In *Neologismi (2018)*. Retrieved December 3, 2021, from https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/dissing_res-5a9cc2ef-8997-11e8-a7cb-00271042e8d9_%28Neologismi%29/

Dizionario di italiano. (n.d.). Mainstream. In *La Repubblica Dizionari*. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://dizionari.repubblica.it/Italiano/M/mainstream.html>

Treccani. (n.d.). Trendy. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/trendy/>

Treccani. (n.d.). Cool. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/cool/>

Treccani. (n.d.). Leader. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/leader/>

Dizionario di italiano. (n.d.). Loser. In *La Repubblica Dizionari*. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://dizionari.repubblica.it/Italiano/L/loser.html>

Garzanti Linguistica. (n.d.). Trend setter. In *Garzanti Linguistica*. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.garzantilinguistica.it/ricerca/?q=trend%20setter>

Garzanti Linguistica. (n.d.). Nerd. In *Garzanti Linguistica*. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.garzantilinguistica.it/ricerca/?q=nerd>

Dizionario di italiano. (n.d.). Hipster. In *La Repubblica Dizionari*. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://dizionari.repubblica.it/Italiano/H/hipster.html>

Treccani. (n.d.). Jackpot. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/jackpot/>

Garzanti Linguistica. (n.d.). Glitter. In *Garzanti Linguistica*. Retrieved November 22, 2021, from <https://www.garzantilinguistica.it/ricerca/?q=glitter>

Treccani. (n.d.). Rehab. In *Neologismi (2008)*. Retrieved December 3, 2021, from https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/rehab_%28Neologismi%29/

Treccani. (n.d.). Fetish. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/fetish/>

¹⁸² Treccani. (n.d.). Milady. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/milady/>

Treccani. (n.d.). Milord. In *Vocabolario on line Treccani*. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/milord/>

Pierce's response to this idea was also modified in the retranslation. He complains that recently more and more events have been created to educate our society on the issues regarding discrimination and racism. In this regard, he mentions "Black History Month", which takes place every February and is dedicated to raising awareness towards African American history. This event is better known in the United States given its larger Black population; however, the younger, socially conscious generation in Italy is aware of its existence thanks to its promotion on social media.¹⁸³ Furthermore, a Google search showed that the number of occurrences for "black history month" (155,000) was much higher than that of the Italian translation "mese della storia dei neri" (854). Maintaining the name of the event in English also allows us to connect it with the previously mentioned "Green Week".

When Jeff is temporarily given the director position for the college newspaper, he suggests "Pizza Wars" as a possible headline for the new issue. Although we do not know for sure, this might be a reference to the film saga "Star Wars". In any case, it was kept in English both because it is easily understandable and because many Italian newspapers tend to use English words in their headlines to attract the reader's attention.

Finally, the opening jingle for Troy and Abed's morning show, which is meant to reference the "Good Morning America" talk show, was kept in the original version because, once again, it did not pose any interpretation issue for the target audience.

8. Miscellaneous

In this last section I compiled all the changes made in the *Netflix* subtitles that did not belong in any of the previously analysed categories. We will see examples of the retranslation of slang words, onomatopoeia, nicknames, songs, and elements that help maintain the continuity within the episodes.

¹⁸³ Blakemore, E. (2020, February 6). *Da quando e perché si celebra il Black History Month?*. National Geographic. <https://www.nationalgeographic.it/storia-e-civiltà/2020/02/da-quando-e-perche-si-celebra-il-black-history-month>
Ministero della Cultura. (n.d.). *Black History Month 2021*. Retrieved December 3, 2021, from <https://www.beniculturali.it/evento/black-history-month-2021-6>

8.1. Slang

In their paper, Mashhady and Pourgalavi (2013:1004) define slang as a hybrid language, often permeated with foreign lexical material, that is regarded as taboo in formal speech because it is informal and deviates from standard speech. It is usually used by people within a specific social group who share age and experiences since it serves as a form of identification and separation from other groups, in order not to be understood by others.

Slang expressions vary greatly, not just from country to country, but also between different regions, sometimes even within them. Their translation can be influenced by censorship and linguistic and cultural distance, either easing or complicating the rendering process (Istiqomah et al. 2019). Thus, the translators “should have a good sense of the language in which [they] translate the text” to convey its intended meaning and they also “should be aware of the cultural values included in the language”, since the target text could be unacceptable for the new audience because of differences in social reality and culture (Istiqomah et al. 2019:154).

The retranslation solutions I opted for consist in expressions that are equivalent to the slang words, modified sayings, filler words and nicknames used in the original dialogue. Under Table 16 we will analyse the most interesting changes made to the *Netflix* subtitles.

Ep.	Original dialogue	<i>Netflix</i> subtitles	Translation proposal
1	Abed. In the house.	Abed! Nella casa!	Abed! Bellalì!
15	Shirley's in the house.	- E brava la nostra Shirley.	- Shirley è carica!
2	What? It's 2009. Word.	- Cosa. È il 2009. - Serio.	- Cosa? È il 2009. - Bella!
4	It's pretty tight. Tight. Yes, I've heard that about green tea. (...) This is the least tight thing that's ever happened to me.	È molto equilibrato. Equilibrato. Sì, avevo sentito parlare del tè verde. (...) È la situazione più imbarazzante in cui mi sia mai trovato.	È uno sballo . Uno sballo? Sì, mi avevano detto che è una delle sue caratteristiche. (...) È la cosa meno da sballo che mi sia mai successa.
10	I mean, nobody wants to buy brownies	Nessuno comprerà torte...	Nessuno comprerà brownie...

	from somebody that says "um" and "like."	...da una che dice... e "come".	...da una che dice “ uhm ” e “ tipo ”.
20	Drop them if you smoke them.	Muoviamoci.	Ciancio alle bande.
2	It says I'm sorry about crashing your protest with that drunken, self-immolating baby boomer.	Mi dispiace di aver rovinato la protesta... ...con quel vecchio ubriaco auto immolato.	Mi dispiace di aver rovinato la protesta... ...con quel boomer suicida ubriaco.
22	Hey. Looks like you'll be calling somebody daddy soon. Or at least your mom will be. Tonight.	Ehi, a quanto pare chiamerai presto qualcuno papà. O perlomeno lo farà tua mamma questa sera.	Ehi, a quanto pare chiamerai presto qualcuno papi . O perlomeno lo farà tua mamma questa sera.
25	I assumed your whole posse would be coming, having heard the exciting news about Britta.	Suppongo che la tua posse verrà... ...avendo sentito la notizia entusiasmante su Britta.	Suppongo che la tua gang verrà... ...avendo sentito la notizia entusiasmante su Britta.
22	Mom, I've been pwning this loser all week. (...) What? "Powning"? Pwning! He doesn't even know what that means?	Mamma, ho preso di mira questo perdente. (...) - Che cosa, preso di mira? - Sì, preso di mira. Non sa nemmeno cosa significa?	Mamma, ho ownato questo perdente. (...) - Che cosa, ownato ? - Esatto . Non sa nemmeno cosa significa?

Table 16 – Slang

The expression “in the house” (also in the alternative spelling of “in da house”) is mainly used when announcing someone’s presence or entrance in a place.¹⁸⁴ When considering a possible retranslation for this subtitle, I initially considered keeping it in

¹⁸⁴ Powell, A. (2013, January 25). *Why “Brick House” Didn’t Become A Widely Accepted Slang Term*. Pancocojams. <http://pancocojams.blogspot.com/2013/01/why-brick-house-didnt-become-widely.html>
Urban Dictionary. (n.d.). *In da house*. Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=In%20da%20house>
[Tom Robinson]. (n.d.). *Does anyone know the origin for the phrase “in da house”?* [Online forum post]. Reddit. <https://www.quora.com/Does-anyone-know-the-origin-for-the-phrase-in-da-house>

English using borrowing strategy; however, it was not the best solution since, although the Google search gave a high number of occurrences (“in the house” = 10,400,000; “in da house” = 23,100), the results were not relevant to the context. Therefore, I used an equivalent Italian slang term used in similar situations, “bellali”.

As opposed to the previous subtitle, even though the expression is the same, in the second instance it was not possible to use the same translation as before because of the new context. In this case, in fact, Abed is complimenting Shirley for the joke she just said. For this reason, a more accurate translation is an expression that states that Shirley is ready to keep making witty comments about the movie they are watching.

The word “tight”, other than for its common meanings, is used to refer to something “cool”.¹⁸⁵ In this case, Vaughn uses it to describe green tea, although Jeff does not think it is the best adjective to pair with it, especially because he does not find the beverage very exciting. In addition to this, the same word is used later in the episode when Vaughn finds out that his poem for Britta has been read by her friends and he feels embarrassed because of it, describing his situation as “not tight”. In order to keep all these meanings and connotations, I opted for the expression “da sballo”, which has a similar meaning in informal Italian.

Finding a suitable translation for “drop them if you smoke them” was quite challenging. This saying is the opposite of the expression “smoke ‘em if you got ‘em”,¹⁸⁶ which is used with the intention of telling people to take a break to smoke because something will take longer than expected. In this scene, instead, Annie is telling Shirley to start driving the golf cart because they are resuming their chase after the campus thief, encouraging her to put out the metaphorical cigarette she was smoking while waiting for more leads. Such expression does not exist in Italy; therefore, I decided to use a modified version of another common saying, “bando alle ciance”, which has a similar meaning.

Lastly, we come across a slang that originates in the videogame community. According to an article in the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary website, “[p]wn is a lot like own [...] in the sense of [...] ‘to have power or mastery over (someone)’.” (Merriam-Webster n.d.). It is often used by gamers to declare that they have defeated their enemy and

¹⁸⁵ Urban Dictionary. (n.d.). *Tight*. Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Tight>

¹⁸⁶ Urban Dictionary. (n.d.). *Smoke em if you got em*. Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Smoke%20em%20if%20you%20got%20em>

it is derived from a frequent spelling mistake in videogame chats caused by the placement of the “o” and “p” letters on the keyboard. English game lingo has reached Italian audiences as well, which is why the expression was kept in English, although with an Italian conjugative suffix and in the original verb, “own”.¹⁸⁷ This choice was dictated by the fact that, after a Google search, “ownato” had more occurrences (8,620) than “pwnato” (1,280).

8.2. Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeias are “expressive words which can evoke images and arouse feelings in the reader”, usually by imitating natural sounds, and whose connection between form and meaning is non-arbitrary (Azari and Sharififar 2017:72). They are found in all languages of the world and each of them expresses them and uses them in its own way.

By analysing some of the studies that have been published on the topic of the translation of onomatopoeia (Flyxe 2002, Inose 2008, Muhaidat 2009, Casa-Tost 2012 in Azari and Sharififar 2017), we can conclude that the five most common strategies employed by translators are:

- using the equivalent target language onomatopoeia,
- using another type of word, be it adjectives, adverbs, verbs, nouns, idiom, or a combination of them,
- paraphrasing what it refers to,
- using a pronoun, in the rare case where an onomatopoeia refers to a noun and it can therefore be first replaced by another type of word and then substituted with a pronoun,
- not translating it, therefore using omission strategy, both because of its untranslatability in the target language and because of the style of the text (Azari and Sharififar 2017:77).

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
1	So either I'm God or truth is relative, and in either case, booyah. Oh. Interesting. It's just,	Dunque o sono Dio, o la verità è relativa. E in entrambi i casi, sono un grande.	Dunque o sono Dio, o la verità è relativa. E in entrambi i casi: sbam! Interessante. Solo che per

¹⁸⁷ GamesVillage.it. (n.d.). *Discussione: Pwnare o Ownare*. Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <https://www.gamesvillage.it/forum/showthread.php?367706-Pwnare-o-Ownare>

the average person has harder time saying booyah to moral relativism. (...) Even, fairness, right, wrong. There is no God. Booyah, booyah.	Interessante. È solo che la persona media ha più difficoltà ad accettare... ...il relativismo morale. (...) Sdebitarsi, giusto, sbagliato. Non c'è alcun Dio.	una persona comune è difficile dire <i>sbam</i>... ... in faccia al relativismo morale. (...) Sdebitarsi, giusto, sbagliato. Non c'è alcun Dio. <i>Sba-bam.</i>
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Table 17 – Onomatopoeia

In the case shown in Table 17, we deal with sounds that represent ways to express one's thoughts without using a coded language.

The expression we are faced with in the source text is “booyah”: it can be used by young people as a cheer, with a meaning similar to “take that” or “suck it”, especially in the case of an unexpected victory or when you manage to prove the other person wrong.¹⁸⁸ The closest translation in Italian for the first two times it is said is the exclamation “sbam”, which is used by young people in the same context, that is when something good happens to them or when they want to rub their success in someone else's face.

Later in the episode, the same exclamation is said once again in an exaggerated and ironic way by professor Duncan as he is making fun of Jeff because he was shameless enough to ask for the answers for all the tests in the first semester without offering anything in exchange. To mirror his tone, the Italian retranslation doubles the same exclamation used previously.

8.3. Rhymes and songs

When translating songs that written or modified specifically for the show, the goal should be to keep both the rhyming scheme and the meaning of the lyrics (Gritsenko and Aleshinskaya 2016). In Table 18 we can see some examples taken from the first season of *Community*.

Ep.	Original dialogue	Netflix subtitles	Translation proposal
5	Greendale, Greendale	<i>Greendale, Greendale</i>	<i>Greendale, Greendale</i>

¹⁸⁸ Urban Dictionary. (n.d.). *Booyah*. Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Booyah>

	Slop pail— Oh, man. Green, green, green. Greendale isn't a slop pail	<i>Sbobba e mela—</i> Oh, diavolo. Green, Green, Green. <i>Greendale ragnatela</i>	<i>Mette il rimmel—</i> Oh, diavolo. Green, Green, Green. <i>Greendale toglie il rimmel</i>
5	Standing in the bookstore line Waiting for the bell to chime So you can go to class Dancing in your underwear Taking air conditioner repair (...) Greendale's the way it goes Some things are still the same Slop pails and pantyhose Oh, Annie believes in me	<i>Sono in coda in libreria Finché la campana suona il via</i> <i>E si va tutti in classe</i> <i>In mutande puoi ballare Quando hai finito di studiare</i> (...) <i>È così che funziona alla Greendale</i> <i>Alcune cose non cambiano mai</i> <i>Sbobba alla mensa e compiti</i> <i>Oh, Annie crede in me</i>	<i>Sono in coda in libreria Finché la campana suona il via</i> <i>E si va tutti in classe</i> <i>Dopo un mese in mutande riaffiori al corso di Riparo condizionatori</i> (...) <i>È così che funziona alla Greendale</i> <i>Alcune cose non cambiano mai</i> <i>Collant e rimmel</i> <i>Oh, Annie crede in me</i>

Table 18 – Rhyme adaptation

In this episode, Pierce is tasked with composing the school song for Greendale College, but he struggles to do so. In the first set of subtitles, we see that he tries to find a fitting word that rhymes with “Greendale”, but the only thing he comes up with is “slop pail”. During the retranslation process, I had to find a suitable rhyme in Italian that took into consideration the foreignised pronunciation of the name of the college. After looking at the various options offered in an online rhyming dictionary,¹⁸⁹ I tried to find the one that better fit with Pierce’s failed attempt at writing the lyrics, keeping the same rhyme both times. Later in the episode, the same rhyme comes back in the final rendition of the school song, although it has been slightly altered.

¹⁸⁹ V:Sapere. (n.d.). *Rimario*. Retrieved November 28, 2021, from <https://sapere.virgilio.it/parole/rimario/>

The second set of subtitles is, in fact, the full school song sung by Pierce. As Jeff and Abed point out, the song is not new, but it is instead Bruce Honsby’s song “The Way It Is”, whose lyrics have been modified to fit the message. One notable change is the addition, compared to the *Netflix* subtitles, of the mention of the air conditioner repair class, which becomes a major plot point in Season Three.

8.4. Continuity

The following changes to the original *Netflix* subtitles, shown in Table 20, have been made to keep certain elements of the storyline continuity within all the episodes. As Cordeiro-Campos and de Assis-Azevedo (2020) remark, tighter deadlines have brought subtitling companies to divide the episodes of a single TV show among various translators who work on them at the same time without having the chance to discuss with one another matters such as keeping the same translation for recurring names and expressions in the series, which is the same problem we encountered in the catchphrases section. In this regard, the authors believe that “a more structured review process is necessary to account for the variety of different translation possibilities produced by different translators. In addition, closer dialogue between translators and proofreaders, as well as more specific instructions regarding a particular series or production are required” (Cordeiro-Campos and de Assis-Azevedo 2020:228).

Ep.	Original dialogue	<i>Netflix</i> subtitles	Translation proposal
3	Crap.	- Oh, cacca.	- Oh, merda .
8	I mean, don't you ever want anything more out of life than cereal? Sometimes I pour hot cocoa mix into cold milk and drink it like a cold hot chocolate. I call it special drink.	Non vuoi qualcosa di più dei cereali? Del cioccolato da mettere nel latte freddo... ...e da bere come se fosse caldo. Una bevanda speciale.	Non vuoi qualcosa di più dei cereali? Della cioccolata da mettere nel latte freddo... ...e da bere come se fosse calda . Una Bevanda Speciale.
12	This nose smells like special drink.	Questo naso puzza di Special Drink.	Questo naso puzza di Bevanda Speciale .
20	and I will be becoming a level-six laser lotus.	...e io diventerò un loto laser di sesto livello.	...e io diventerò un Laser Lotus di sesto livello.
22	Or what, schmitty?	Se no cosa mi fai, sfigata?	Se no cosa mi fai, sfigatella?

	(...) There's a grandpa schlip-schlap. Have you seen my schmitty? (...) And hangs with schlip-schlap and schlap-skank. (...) Sassy black schmitty's out of the group. (...) Did someone just take a schmitty?	(...) Il nonno è arrabbiato. Qualcuno ha visto la mia nipotina? (...) Ora ti ritrovi insieme a questi— (...) La sfigata nera ha lasciato il gruppo. (...) Che diavolo abbiamo qua?	(...) C'è anche un boomerone . Dov'è la mia piccola sfigatella ? (...) E ora sei amico di boomerone e sfigatella . (...) La sfigatella nera ha lasciato il gruppo. (...) Guardate, c'è la sfigatella
23	Hey. What the hell?	Ciao. - Ma che diavolo?	Ehi! - Ma che diavolo?

Table 20 – Continuity

In order to maintain the same personality traits during the whole season, Jeff's swearword was made stronger, in concordance with the Italian translations of other episodes by *Netflix* subtitlers. Jeff's character would not abstain himself from swearing; therefore, a more vulgar translation for "crap" was used.

The first time Abed introduced the audience to it, "Special Drink" was translated as "Bevanda Speciale". For this reason and to underline the reference to the same beverage, upper case was added to the name in the first subtitle – even though it is not present in the original captions – and the translation was then replaced in the second subtitle. For the same reason, Pierce's level at his cult was retranslated with the same expression used when he first told the study group about it, that is "Laser Lotus".

In Episode 22, a group of high schoolers spend the whole week mocking the members of the group with the neologism "schmitty" which, as explained by the characters, means "someone worthy of contempt, a loser". To keep the novelty of this word, I chose to use the expression "sfigatella". When they were referring to Pierce as "grandpa schlip-

schlap”, instead, I used “boomerone” and I repeated these two nicknames in every subtitle to keep the coherence with the rest of the episode.

Finally, when Pierce sees that the other members of the group have shot him during the paintball war while he had his guard down, his first reaction is to say “Hey” angrily, surprised by the fact that they had betrayed him: this is why in the retranslation I kept the same tone by using the exclamation “Ehi!”.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to propose a retranslation targeted to an Italian Gen Z audience for the subtitles of the first season of *Community*, an American sitcom created by Dan Harmon and centred around the adventures of seven students from Greendale Community College. The new target audience was chosen because the show was added to the international *Netflix* catalogue in April 2020, garnering new viewers who might have benefitted from an adaptation of the first translation based on their specific characteristics. The main elements that were changed in the resubtitling process were justified by Gen Z's increased knowledge of the English language, their higher level of awareness regarding social issues such as racism and sexism, and the unfamiliarity with the original pop culture and intertextual references in the show.

Considering that the audiovisual translation mode used was subtitling, Chapter 1 offered an overview of AVT in general and listed its main modes; then, subtitling was dealt with in more detail by discussing its technical characteristics in a separate section. I also presented some of the most useful translation strategies as defined by Vinay and Darbelnet, Gottlieb, and Lomheim and I proposed my own taxonomy, which I then used for the discussion of the retranslation solutions. Finally, I reflected on the most recent studies on subtitling.

In Chapter 2, I introduced the series and its creator and the reasons that led to its retranslation. To this end, I offered a definition of what a retranslation entails and what makes it necessary in certain situations. The last section described the main features of the new target audience, foregrounding how their perception of the world has changed compared to previous generations and how it defines which changes should be made to the first translation.

Chapter 3 was dedicated to the resubtitling proposal and commentary of the adopted translation solutions, which were divided into seven categories based on their type and specific characteristics. The changes made to the original subtitles were justified and explained according to the previously defined strategies. During the analysis, I found that

the most used translation procedures in the case of this research were official equivalent, cultural and situational adaptation, explicitation and borrowing, all motivated by the chosen target audience. In fact, most of the references to famous actors and celebrities and to some TV programmes and films had to be changed because they would not have been familiar to Gen Z, failing at recreating the effect the AV product had on its original viewers. It should be noted that some of the translation problems present in the English dialogue could not be changed or adapted, either because the first translation's solutions were already acceptable or because an updated retranslation would have been too domesticating. In the case of the catchphrases, for instance, three of them – from Episodes 19, 21 and 23 – could not be adapted because of the linguistic differences between English and Italian.

Future research in this field could be targeted to a redubbing of this series to cater to a similar audience, or to a comparison between the subtitled and dubbed versions of *Community*, which would have to take into consideration aspects such as lip-synchronisation, limiting the possible translation solution. Otherwise, a study could be carried out to compare the differences and similarities between the “official” subtitles by *Netflix* or other streaming platforms and the fansubs made by various online communities to analyse the strategies used in each of them.

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