Italy is a pre-eminent dubbing country, apparently the less incline to switch to the subtitling practice as other countries are doing. While this long-lasting tradition has produced one of the most accomplished group of talents in the trade, however many arbitrary interventions – both in dialogue adaptation and in title translation – have been occurring for a long time, causing incongruous results.
A Few Historical Remarks

In the silent era, exporting motion pictures was quite simple in terms of language transfer operations: since all the verbal information was now carried out by the title cards, it was a matter of cutting the English ones out of the film strip and replacing them with new ones in the target language. A major problem arose with the advent of the “talkies”. Sound films required much more complex language transfer practices than the previous “cut and paste”: now the verbal information was conveyed by sound, which was much more difficult to replace. Among the solutions that were devised to solve the problem, dubbing and subtitling proved to be the best choices. Subtitling was adopted by North-European countries because it was less expensive for those smaller markets. On the contrary, countries like France, Germany and Italy – which boasted important film schools willing to fight the Hollywood “invasion” – favoured dubbing because of protectionism policies. The costly dubbing process, financially depending on the American exporters, was a way to create entry barriers and to force American studios to invest money in the foreign markets. In the Italian case protectionism was surely a major reason. In 1932 the first dubbing facility was opened in Rome and soon after every Hollywood studio had either to outsource or to open their own Rome-based facilities in order not to lose the Italian market. Illiteracy may also have had some weight on turning down the subtitling option, since in 1931 21% of population was unable to read.
Though, the main reason was the “linguistic autarchy” pursued by the Fascism, with its aim to preserve the “pure” Italian language from foreign influence and hybridisation. In 1929 the Minister of Internal Affairs forbade the circulation of those films whose language was not Italian and a stricter law was approved in 1934 banning all foreign words. In the Thirties, Italian did not exist as a spoken language, but only as a written one. Regional dialects were used for everyday communication – even King Vittorio Emanuele III used Piemontese, the dialect of the Piedmont region. One of the ways of making Italy a truly unified nation was that of introducing a unified language in every layer of the population and this was something Fascism really strove to accomplish. Another reason why dubbing was convenient for the regime was that of “occult censorship”: by replacing the original lines with new ones it was possible to remove undesired references. An infamous instance is *The Adventures of Marco Polo* (Archie Mayo, 1938) which was considered disrespectful toward the Italian hero and thus distributed, oddly enough, as *Uno Scozzese alla corte del gran Khan* [*A Scotsman at the Gran Khan's Court*]. Still influenced by this policy is the 1947 adaptation of *Casablanca* (Michael Curtiz, 1943), where Rick Blaine is said to have sold weapons to help the Chinese and to have fought in Spain for democracy, while originally Rick is said to have helped the Ethiopians (against the Italian Army) and to have fought in Spain against the Fascists. Unlike direct censorship – i.e. cutting unwanted footage out of the film – this oc-
cult type is not directly noticeable since it does not compromise the film’s outer form: one needs to listen to the original to find out. Finally, dubbing was also favoured out of an aesthetic motivation. The tradition of “Bel canto” voice – rooted in 18th and 19th Century music theatre “melodramma” – had a strong influence on the tone, pitching and colour of the voices of actors and radio speakers in the first two decades of the 20th century. The realistic delivery and the unmusical sound of the Hollywood voices diverged drastically from the idealised artificial one to which the Italian audience was accustomed. Dubbing was a way of transforming those unfamiliar timbres into something more suitable for the ears of the “Bel canto” aficionados. Artificiality is indeed one of the characteristics of the early dubbing practice in Italy: the incongruous attempt of replacing a living verbal language (English) with an imposed feigned and literary one (“pure” Italian).12

Aesthetic Issues and Adaptation Oddities

The ideal situation would be that of viewing a film in its original language without any intervention, since both subtitling and dubbing cause some harm on the film form. Subtitling is definitely more economical.13 It does not manipulate the original sound track and from a learning point of view it promotes some phonetic familiarity with foreign
languages. No wonder that North Europe – where subtitling is in use – counts many more skilled foreign language speakers than the dubbing countries.14 The drawbacks, however, are the spoiling of the image with an intrusive text which can distract from the action, the necessarily condensed and simplified form in which the dialogue lines are rendered and the supposed difficulty in keeping the eyes both on the text and on the images. As to dubbing, its pros are that the image track is intact and the viewer's visual attention fully focused on the action. The cons are of economical and, first of all, aesthetic nature. The film form is an audiovisual whole – image and sound – and the sound track itself is a carefully balanced blend of dialogue, music and sound effects. Quite often this expressive mix is harmed in the dubbing process:

_Dubbed voices usually have a bland studio sound. Elimination of the original actors’ voices wipes out an important component of their performance. (Partisan of dubbing ought to look at dubbed versions of English-language films to see how a performance by Katharine Hepburn, Orson Welles, or John Wayne can be hurt by a voice that does not fit the body.) With dubbing, all of the usual problems of translation are multiplied by the need to synchronize specific words with specific lip movements. Most important, with subtitling, viewers still have access to the original sound track. By eliminating the original voice track, dubbing simply destroys part of the film._15
Concerning screen actors, dubbing creates problems in characterisation. The aforementioned artificiality of “doppiaggio” language suppresses such subtleties as accents and inflections that are central in the original actor's persona and contribute in building a full-bodied character. Older practice tended to elide the hues in favour of a pure single colour: the perfect voice of Gualtiero De Angelis was attached to both Cary Grant (British accent) and James Stewart (American accent and peculiar drawl). Italian has now acquired its own identity as a spoken language and therefore contemporary dubbing has more inflections and a more naturalistic delivery at its disposal. However, willingly or unwillingly, the dubbed voices always modify the screen characters more or less. In the TV series Bones (Hart Hanson, 2005 - ), FBI agent Sileey Booth (David Boreanaz) has a youthful, high-pitched voice which somehow contrasts with his rugged sturdy figure, revealing the sensitive and emotional man behind the rocky detective. On the other hand, the female lead, Dr. Temperance Brennan (Emily Deschanel), has a firm voice, much lower in comparison to Booth's. She is a strong woman, a very brainy, rational and cold scientist. In the Italian version, Booth is dubbed with a warm, lower-pitched voice which is more fitting to Boreanaz' very masculine look and Dr. Brennan with a beautiful not particularly low voice: the subtle characterisation provided by the original timbres is lost. Another problem is the overlapping of dubbing actor's voice to the
screen actor's image. It is sometimes so strong and prolonged that, in case of the un-
timely death of the dubbing actor, a serious problem arises with replacing him, since the 
audience may refuse the new voice. Instances occurred in 2001 with the departure of 
Ferruccio Amendola, who had been the voice of Dustin Hoffman, Robert De Niro and 
Sylvester Stallone for nearly 30 years and recently and even more traumatically with the 
passing away in 2009 of Oreste Lionello, the voice of Woody Allen since 1969. Allen 
has not appeared as an actor since 2006, but as soon as he does again a different voice 
will surely have a deep negative impact on the Italian reception of the new unrecognis-
able Woody Allen persona. Continuing with aesthetic issues a crucial problem is that of 
adaptation, i.e. making the original text fit the new context. The most common occur-
rence of such an operation is the semantic one urged by the linguistic necessity to render 
in the target language those puns, proverbs or idiomatic expressions that are not translat-
able verbatim. The good luck wish “Break a leg”, for instance, if translated as such into 
Italian, makes exactly the opposite sense, sounding like a jinx. The adaptation has to 
find a corresponding idiomatic expression which is semantically similar: for “break a 
leg”, the Italian “In bocca al lupo” [In the wolf's mouth] would be a correct choice. This 
substituting operation is particularly important in comedy. It is hard work converting all 
the puns and jokes in the target language and even with an accurate job something is in-
evitably lost in translation. Famous examples are the “Shirley/surely” pun in Airplane
(David Zucker, Jim Abrahams, Jerry Zucker, 1980) which could not find an Italian couple of phonetically equivalent words to recreate the effect, and the same can be said about “where wolf/werewolf” in Young Frankenstein (Mel Brooks, 1974) which is rendered with an unnatural accent-shift, transforming “ùlula”[3rd person singular of the verb “to howl”] into “ululà” and coupling it with “là” [there]. A deeper degree of adaptation is the modification of the socio-cultural context. It is much more arbitrary and not as necessary as the semantic adaptation since the film could be perfectly understandable even without the changes. The idea behind this choice is that the audience may enjoy the film more if they recognise familiar elements in the story. A good case study is the TV series The Nanny (Fran Drescher, Peter Mark Jacobson, 1993-1999). Fran Fine (Fran Drescher), the main character, is a working-class Jewish woman from Queens, NY, hired as a nanny by upper-class British Broadway producer Maxwell Sheffield (Charles Shaughnessy). The bulk of the comedy is based – apart from the obvious upper/lower class interactions – on the contrast between the extroverted and outspoken Fran and the bashful and inhibited Maxwell. The traditional cliché of the British as cold and emotionless and the Americans as expansive and resourceful is further reinforced by Maxwell's strongly British accent and Fran's strongly New York accent. Moreover, Jewish humour is a key element in most episodes and references to Jewish culture abound both in the setting and in the dialogue, with frequent spurts of Yiddish. As to the
Italian version, it is indisputable that such Jewish references are not as graspable to Italians as they are to Americans, since only a small percentage would know what “seder” or “kosher” mean. For this reason, the choice was quite radical: all the Fine family members were turned into Italian immigrants from Frosinone (Lazio) and renamed “Cacace”. The first consequence was that of deleting the accent characterisation that reinforced the portrayal of the clash of classes: now “Francesca” and Maxwell speak the same language. The second consequence was that of destroying a major element of actress Fran Drescher's persona, that being her funny nasal, strongly New York accented voice. The idea also caused many patently incongruous situations, as when the supposed Italian American family reunites for dinner. Oddly enough, a Menorah stands out at the centre of the table, a Rabbi walks in the room and “zio Antonio” [Italian for Morty Fine] is wearing a Kippah. To illustrate how the adaptation removed the Jewish characterisation, the following excerpt is provided. Yetta, Fran's eccentric senile grandmother, is mistakenly eating dog biscuits with her glass of milk:

*Yetta (complaining): “Wow! These triscuits are really stale!”*

*Dog Portraitist: “Yetta... You're eating liver snaps!”*

*Yetta (worried): “Oh my God! With milk! It's not kosher!”*
Here is the Italian adaptation:\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Yetta: “Questi biscottini sono un po' duri e amari”} [\textit{These biscuits are a bit stale and bitter}] \\

\textit{Dog Portraitist: “Yetta... Sono di fegato, per i cani lupo!”} [\textit{Yetta... They're made of liver. They're for German Shepherd dogs!}] \\

\textit{Yetta: “Questi biscottini sono di fegato? Non ne avresti di trippa?”} [\textit{They're made of liver?! Don't you have some with tripe?}]
\end{quote}

Another similarly incongruous case is \textit{Many Rivers to Cross} (Roy Rowland, 1955), a western comedy whose title was adapted into \textit{Un napoletano nel Far West} [A Neapolitan in the Far West] and whose Irish characters were renamed “Capasso” and given a dialectal accent. This Irish-to-Neapolitan switch leads us to the third and most invasive, arbitrary kind of adaptation: that driven principally by market-oriented reasons.\textsuperscript{19} Although seldom as radically disrupting as in \textit{Many Rivers to Cross} however, this inconsistent approach is quite usual when dealing with the translation of titles. The idea is
that of luring more people into theatres by putting a title that either alludes to other popular and successful films or that suggests a certain degree of erotic content, which is actually absent in most cases. Here is a brief list of some amusingly misleading titles:

- *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind* (Michel Gondry, 2004): this surrealist, pensive comedy about the painful attempts of forgetting and then retrieving one's memories of the former lover – the title of which is an elegant quotation from Alexander Pope – is translated into *Se mi lasci ti cancello* [If you leave me, I'll erase you], which clearly sounds like *Se scappi ti sposo* [If you run away, I'll marry you], the Italian title for the very successful Julia Roberts' vehicle *The Runaway Bride* (Garry Marshal, 1999), inducing the casual viewer to expect that kind of much more light-hearted comedy.

- *Leather Heads* (George Clooney, 2008) – basically a neo-screwball comedy about football – had its romantic sub-plot emphasised by coming to Italian theatres as *In amore niente regole* [No rules in love matters] and a similar case occurred with the classic comedy *Cluny Brown* (Ernst Lubitsch, 1946), turned into *Fra le tue braccia* [In your arms]

- Silent cinema is not exactly a very appealing and profitable product to sell. Audiences are thought to get bored just by the idea of it. Therefore it would have been a suicidal marketing strategy to translate *Silent Movie* (Mel Brooks, 1977) verbatim. The Italian title *L’ultima follia di Mel Brooks* [Mel Brooks' latest folly] carefully conceals the fact
that the film is indeed a silent film and hints at the entertaining nature of the story and at his author's "pedigree". *(Young Frankenstein* was a big hit in Italy and Brooks' name was quite known.)

- Here is a group of films where the word “scandalo” [scandal] was added to the title in order to make them more enticing: *The Philadelphia Story* (George Cukor, 1940) = *Scandalo a Filadelfia* [Scandal in Philadelphia]; *How to be very very popular* (Nunnally Johnson, 1955) = *Scandalo al collegio* [Scandal at the boarding school]; *Rancho Deluxe* (Frank Perry, 1975) = *Scandalo al Ranch* [Scandal at the ranch]; *A Summer Place* (Delmer Daves, 1959) = *Scandalo al sole* [Scandal under the sun]; *A foreign Affair* (Billy Wilder, 1948) = *Scandalo internazionale* [International scandal]...

- The following titles patently stress the supposed erotic elements in these films. *The Outlaw* (Howard Hughes, 1943) was indeed daring for its age in terms of sexual allusions and the Italian version *Il mio corpo ti scalderà* [My body will warm you up] chose to lean strongly on that reputation. On the contrary, there is nothing erotic in the musical comedy *The Unsinkable Molly Brown* (Charles Walters, 1964), but the alluring Italian title is the *Voglio essere amata in un letto di ottone* [I want to be loved in a brass bed]. Finally, the silent film classic *Long Pants* (Frank Capra, 1927), which has nothing to do with either sex or nudity, is translated into *Le sue ultime mutandine* [His/her last panties]. In the film, Harry Langdon's long pants (trousers) are a symbol of his acquired
adulthood. The clumsy translation was supposedly caused by the confusion on the meaning of “pants”: the word was translated as if it was British and not American English and thus interpreted as “underwear”. Moreover, the title is very equivocal to Italian ears, since “mutandine” is typically female underwear and the personal adjective “sue” is not gender specific and could refer either to a man or a woman. Of course, in the mind of the commoner, “sue” and “mutandine” are interpreted as feminine and the fact engenders some expectation for spicy scenes, which are unfulfilled in the film.

- The last group contains some French films (with verbatim translation of the original title in square brackets) that are useful to confront the Italian version titles with the English version titles.

- *La Peau Douce* [The sweet skin] (François Truffaut, 1964), English title: *The Soft Skin*; Italian Title: *La calda amante* [The warm lover]

- *Domicile conjugal* [Conjugal domicile] (François Truffaut, 1970), English Title: *Bed and Board*; Italian title: *Non drammatizziamo... è solo questione di corna* [Don't get dramatic: it’s just a matter of being cuckold]

- *La fiancée du pirate* [The pirate's fiancée] (Nelly Kaplan, 1969), English title: *A Very Curious Girl*; Italian title: *Alla bella serafina piaceva fare l'amore sera e mattina* [Beautiful Serafina liked to make love night and day];
- *La doubleur* [The double] (Francis Veber, 2006), English title: *The Valet*; Italian title: *Una top model nel mio letto* [A top model in my bed].

The English versions are more respectful both in terms of word fidelity and in terms of film theme. Italian versions make Truffaut's films sound like cheap raunchy comedies. Nelly Kaplan's film does tell a story of a young woman's mercenary sexual favours to her villagers, but the tawdry meetings are left off-screen and everything is much more suggested than showed. The English title puts it ironically while the Italian version sounds like a porn film. (also note the kitschy rhyme between “Serafina” and “mattina”.) As to Veber's *La doubleur*, the film is a sagacious comedy about marital fidelity and jealousy, with not even a shot of nudity. The English version simply focuses on the male lead, the valet, instead of the female lead, the *doubleur*, while Italian distribution tried once again to lure people into the theatres by promising juicy developments. A proper example to close this report on arbitrary adaptations is *Una storia vera* (*The Straight Story*, David Lynch, 1999). The film is about an elderly and mobility-impaired WWII veteran, Alvin Straight (Richard Farnsworth), who decides to get reconciled with his ill estranged brother and to do so he crosses two American states on his lawnmower, not having a driving licence any more. The film's explicit meaning is that of reconciling with the dear ones before it is too late. However, the narration insists quite strongly on Alvin's harsh frugality and on the privations and discomfort that he not
only accepts but even seeks along his long trip. During one of his laps he refuses a bed and a shelter and insists on sleeping outdoors. We are told that Alvin had been hounded by his war memories for a long time and his past alcoholism caused the breakaway from his brother, but we sense that there is something more concealed in his past. During a conversation on the importance of family, Alvin talks about his daughter Rose who has a mild mental disability and was previously shown in the film:

Alvin: “She was a real good mom. She had four kids. One night, somebody else was watching the kids... There was a fire... The second boy got burned real bad. Rosie had nothing to do with it, but on the account of the way Rosie is, the State figured she wasn't competent to take care of her kids and took them all away from her. There isn't a day goes by that she doesn’t cry for them kids.”

The key element in the dialogue is that “somebody”. Who is the “somebody” that caused guiltless Rose to lose their children? Could he not be Alvin himself? We know about his past problem with alcohol and we know that Rose shares a home with him. What if the whole accident was due to the negligence of an alcoholic Alvin? The film does not answer the question but the enigmatic “somebody” prompts some interpretation in this sense – since it is by David Lynch it would not be inappropriate to expect a
more complex hidden layer in this unusually simple film of his. From this perspective Alvin’s journey is not only a path to reconciliation but also to atonement. This reading explains Alvin's aforementioned insistence on “punishing” himself with hardships. The Italian version completely destroys this important hint to the possible implicit meaning. The “somebody” line is translated this way:

Alvin: “Durante una sera in cui lei non c’era e aveva affidato i bambini ad un’amica, ci fu un incendio...” [One night, when she was not home and had entrusted her children to a female friend of hers, there was a fire...]

The “somebody” is replaced with “una sua amica [a female friend of hers]” with no reason at all. The overall dubbing is good and faithful, even the title is translated faithfully, but this inexplicably arbitrary substitution robs the unaware Italian viewers of a fundamental clue to an unsettling scenario. This case shows how even the smallest change risks to modify the film’s meaning. If a certain degree of damage and mutation on the film form is inevitable when dubbing, ulterior damage due solely to superficiality should be and could be strenuously avoided.


4) Muting was another, rather crude, early approach. Talkies were turned into silent films and sound was replaced with title cards. Famous films distributed in Italy in this mutilated form were *Hallelujah* (King Vidor, 1929) and *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*, Joseph Von Sternberg, 1930). A very expensive solution was that of multiple versions. The same story was reshoot many times in different languages with different casts. An enduring trace of the praxis is the funny American-accented Italian with which Stan Lauren and Oliver Hardy are dubbed. The trend was set by Lauren and Hardy themselves. Their Italian debut was *Muraglie* (*Pardon Us*, James Parrott, 1931) which was a multilingual version with the two comedians delivering their lines in a phonetically learned Italian. The resulting awkward accent proved, although unintentionally, to be a comic extra value and was adopted as a trademark of the duo. On the attempts to overcome language barriers in the early sound era, see Raffaeli, *La parola e la lingua*, cit., pp. 890-893; M. Paolinelli, E. Di Fortunato, *Tradurre per il doppiaggio. La trasposizione linguistica dell’audiovisivo: teoria e pratica di un’arte imperfetta*, Hoepli, Milano 2005, pp.3-8; Thompson, Bordwell, *Film History*, cit., p. 194. As to dubbing, for technical reasons it became a reliable choice only after 1931: see B. Salt, *Film Style and Technology. History and Analysis*, Starwood, London 1992, 2nd ed., pp. 187-189 and 212-214.

5) See Di Cola, *Le voci del tempo perduto*, cit., pp. 33-45. On February 5th 1934 law no. 320 stated that dubbing must be executed in Italy by all-Italian workforce, in order to get the screening permit: Raffaeli, *La lingua filmata*, cit. p. 193


9) The concern on “pure Italian” pre-dates the Fascism: in 1914 the decree no. 352, May 31th stated that all title cards must be verified and translated into a correct Italian prior to screening. A further step towards the linguistic unification was the 1934 “anti-dialect” norms of the National Board of Cinema, which forced dialects and regional influences to be removed from the dialogues. See Raffaeli, *La parola e la lingua*, cit., p. 879 and 888

10) On pre-fascist State control and later fascist occult censorship, see Raffaeli, *La lingua filmata*, cit. pp.163-216, which includes a list of such interventions from 1913 to 1945.

11) For a full analysis of the “corrections” on *Casablanca*, see Paolinelli, Di Fortunato, *Tradurre per il doppiaggio*, cit., pp.13-17

12) Raffaeli, *La parola e la lingua*, cit., p. 877

13) “[...subtitling represents just 10% of the cost of dubbing.”, Rinsche, Portera-Zanotti, *The Size of language Industry in Europe*, cit., p. 39

14) See Raffaeli, *La parola e la lingua*, cit., pp. 891-892


18) Italian title: *Disaccordo per l’accordo* [Disagreement on the the agreement]

19) The inconsistent renaming of the characters of *Star Wars* (George Lucas, 1977) are inexplicable even from a marketing-oriented perspective: Leia becomes Leila, Han Solo becomes Ian Solo, R2-D2 turns into C1-P8, and Darth Vader is known as Lord Fenner.

20) A. Pope, *Eloisa to Abelard*, 1717, verses 207-210. The excerpt is also quoted in the film dialogue.

21) The English pun between “straight” as an adjective and “Straight” as a surname is lost: it could be another clue pointing to the implicit meaning of a story that is not as “straight” (simple) as it appears.