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The Languages of Dubbing



Mainstream Audiovisual
Translation in Italy

Offprint



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How people greet each other in TV series and dubbing

1. Introduction

Previous studies on the language of films and dubbing have highlighted interesting trends in the use of phatic or nearly phatic talk, i.e. conversational routines (among many, cf. Coulmas 1981; Aijmer 1996; Wray/Perkins 2000; Wray 2005; Bardovi-Harlig 2012, 2013).¹ These often predictable formulae are granted space according to genre, so, for example, in costume dramas set in the past, at a time when social conversation had very rigid and pre-patterned rules, routines such as greetings and leave-takings are more frequent and extensive. Conversely, in action movies they are sparsely used and, when so, they are reduced to essential exchanges.

In this paper we intend to peruse the functions of greetings and leave-takings in a genre which shares many traits with films but which has its own distinctive features and has recently gained tremendous success by reaching millions of people: TV series.

More specifically, we mean to concentrate on greetings and leave-takings that open and close conversations, trying to highlight how much narrative space they are granted and how frequent they are in both original and dubbed dialogues.

1 The research was carried out by both authors together. Veronica Bonsignori wrote sections 1, 2, 4, 5.1 and 5.3, Silvia Bruti wrote sections 3, 5, 5.2, 5.4 and 6.

2. Linguistic categories and macro-functions

When analysing greetings and leave-takings in previous studies on conversational exchanges (see Bonsignori/Bruti/Masi 2011, 2012), we adopted a variety of intersecting parameters for their description: linguistic form, position in the exchange, and function (distinguishing between an interactional or a transactional purpose). In the present contribution, we only consider two functional-positional categories, i.e. openings and closings, which correlate with the initial and final moments of an exchange, respectively. In past works, we proposed a vast array of linguistic forms that might appear in these conversational routines (Bonsignori/Bruti/Masi 2012: 359-360), but here we would like to prioritise the most fixed and conventional expressions, that is greetings proper, indicated with the label *g* (e.g. *hello, hey, good morning*) and leave-takings with formulaic expressions, indicated with the label *ℓ1* (e.g. *good forms, bye bye, see you, farewell*). Apart from *g* and *ℓ1*, which have already been mentioned, it is also possible to find the following linguistic forms in the routines under investigation:

- *v* = vocatives, e.g. *darling, Mr. President, is that Joan?* (in phone calls);
- *i* = introductory formulae, e.g. *nice to meet you, how do you do, my name is ..., it's me* (in phone calls);
- *ℓ2* = leave-takings with slightly less formulaic expressions. These usually involve additions and/or variations, as well as more restricted applicability to situations of use (cf. *see you* or *see you later* vs. the more specific *see you at my wedding*); this category also covers expressions with motion verbs, which are rather fixed in their format, but manifest the intention of leaving rather than expressing a salutation, e.g. *I must go, I'm off*;
- *w* = good wishes, e.g. *good luck, have fun, cheers* (in toasts);
- *p* = more or less formulaic expressions of phatic communion (sometimes also called small talk), e.g. *How are you?, Good to see you!*, along with less formulaic speech acts, e.g. thanking,

apologising, and promising, which typically open or close the exchange and which may have, for example, the function of defusing the potential hostility of silence at the beginning of an exchange or that of mitigating and consolidating at the end (see Bonsignori/Bruti/Masi 2011);

- x = a hybrid category accommodating speech acts of various nature; even though they may represent either the very first turn of speech or the last one in a conversational exchange, they do not appear to fulfill any of the phatic functions associated with expressions that typically occur in the Opening or Closing phases of interaction. Examples from this category might be an Opening with a directive, an order issued by a boss towards his/her employee, or a Closing with an expressive act, such as a compliment or thanks.
- α = used for classifying expressive gestures in relevant positions (e.g. bowing, blowing a kiss, shaking hands).

As for the medium of communication, it is specified whether the exchange is: a telephone call (T) (including intercom and radio programmes), a letter or written message (L), an internet chat (C), an SMS (sms), an email (E), or a video call (V) (cf. Bonsignori/Bruti/Masi 2012: 359-360).

In the present work, we will be focusing on the very first and final stages of TV dialogue, with a view to ascertaining the presence of the most stereotyped routines in both original and dubbed dialogues.

3. TV series

As Italian TV critic Aldo Grasso has recently stated, TV series have replaced the so-called classic novel in the “sentimental education” of adolescents and youngsters (Grasso 2011). He claims that there is no pronounced difference between the classical novel and this new narrative text, the main divergences residing in the different medium and

language that is used. The result is a hybrid product, both in content and style. As for content, TV series may be thematic, but more often they can hardly be defined as belonging to only one genre, so much so that a term that is often used to classify some of them is *dramedy*. Even medical or legal series (e.g. *House, M.D.*, *Scrubs*, or *Law & Order, The Good Wife*) are mainly dramatic, but accommodate humorous elements (Bednarek 2010: 13-14).

The two main factors responsible for the differences between TV series and films are their broadcasting time and modality. Episodes last for approximately forty minutes, so dialogues have to be constructed with this time limit in mind as well as with twists and turns in the plot to keep the audience's attention alive. Even though stories in TV series are typically completed in one episode, series develop over the years and create a certain habit of dependence for their regular watchers. Occasional viewers, who are not so familiar with the minute details of the plot, might take advantage of recaps of past events in the lives of some of the characters in order to understand the narrative. To this end, TV series very often employ flashbacks and flashforwards which explain episodes in the lives of the characters.

Specific features of TV series also include more technical choices that affect editing and camera use: as Creeber (2004: 115) points out, close ups are very often used to convey confidential conversation, whereas quickly edited scenes serve the purpose of meshing different storylines together.

The dialogues of TV series are a subtype of "scripted/constructed dialogue" (Bednarek 2010: 63), similarly to film and dramatic dialogue, but with some specific features of their own, having to do with the above-described requirements and with genre constraints. The comparability of fictional (either film or television) dialogue with spontaneous conversation has been the object of debate, with more space granted until very recently to film products (Pavesi this volume). Specialised studies like Quaglio (2009a, 2009b) and Forchini (2012), both relying on Biber's (1988) multidimensional corpus methodology, highlight rather similar uses and patterning between fictional and spontaneous conversation, for example in dealing with the interpersonal dimension (Biber 1988). Analyses of some specific features of fictional dialogue, e.g. vague language in Quaglio (2009b), show however that differences

with spontaneous conversation may concern frequency but certainly go beyond it, as they intersect the need for comprehensibility of the show and its search for attractiveness.

Studies that rely on corpus methodology but that also advocate taking into account the conventions of audiovisual dialogues and of the specific genre the audiovisual product belongs to, like Baños and Chaume (2009) and Baños (2013), arrive at somewhat different conclusions. Scriptwriters purposely select features of spontaneous conversation that are recognised as such by the public, but struggle between the two opposite poles of creativity and standardisation and tend to conform to the rules of synchronism in dubbed products, to the norms imposed by dubbing studios (e.g. standardisation, self-censorship, patronage), and to the strong link that exists between image and word (Chaume 2012; Baños 2013).

As hinted at above, the majority of the studies on this topic analyse the language of films, so there is still much work to do on the language of TV series and their translation, following in the footsteps of illuminating works such as Quaglio (2009a), Romero-Fresco (2006, 2009), Bednarek (2010) and Baños (2013).

4. The corpus

The data were retrieved from a small self-compiled parallel corpus which comprises transcriptions of the original dialogues of two recent Anglo-American TV series, namely *Brothers & Sisters* and *Gilmore Girls*,² and their dubbed versions into Italian. Both series are mostly “conversational” (Freddi/Pavesi 2009: 98), as they are centred on the conversational exchanges between characters in their everyday life, a fact that potentially grants more space to the two types of conversational routines under investigation.

At this point, a brief introduction to the two TV series is in order. *Gilmore Girls* is an American comedy-drama TV series that debuted on

2 From now on referred to as *BS* and *GG*, respectively.

the WB television network in 2000 and ended in its seventh season in 2007. The show revolves around the lives of a single mother, Lorelai Gilmore (interpreted by Golden Globe nominee Lauren Graham) and her daughter Rory (played by Teen Choice Award winner Alexis Bledel) in the fictional town of Stars Hollow, Connecticut. The series is well-known for its fast-paced dialogue³ filled with pop-culture references and has earned several award nominations, among which, notably, one Emmy Award in 2004. *Brothers & Sisters* is an American family drama TV series that premiered on ABC in 2006 and ended in its fifth season in 2011. The show centres on the Walker family and their life in Pasadena, California, especially focussing on the relationships among five siblings (interpreted by Calista Flockhart and Rachel Griffith, among others) and their mother (played by Emmy Award winner Sally Field), their love lives and business fortunes. For this reason, the situations that are shown on-screen are everyday and familiar, like the language being used.

For the purposes of the present study, episodes from 1 to 11 of Season 3 of *GG* (2002-2003) and of Season 1 of *BS* (2006-2007) have been transcribed in their original and dubbed versions.

5. Analysis

As announced in section 2 above, in analysing our data we have focussed specifically on Openings and Closings, which ideally correlate with the two most routinised linguistic expressions of *g* and *ℓ1*. It is

3 Linguist Deborah Tannen published an article in *The Washington Post* (Jan. 5th, 2003) on fast-paced conversation, taking *GG* as an example and trying to motivate this feature with the fact that “the fast-forward speech of ‘Gilmore Girls’ helps characters sound like hip teenagers”. However, since apparently it also characterises TV series that are aimed at an adult audience, she also reports Hollywood producers’ preference for fast-paced speech as a way of sounding smart (<http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/tannend/catchthat.html>).

however possible, as will be shown, to have sequences with combinations of several forms in these positions. Consider the following Opening, in episode 9 of *BS*:

- (1) *Brothers & Sisters*, season 1, episode 9
 KITTY: Can I talk to you for a minute, please? Two hours? Two hours, and you have to go tattle to your little girlfriend? > O-p-x

Kitty arrives at the studio, enraged, and immediately faces her colleague Warren. She does not greet him, but ascertains whether he is available (the *p* in the first part of her turn) and then goes on to rebuke him for revealing parts of a confidential talk to a young and pretty trainee (the *x*).

Again, in the same episode, Kitty and Senator Robert McCallister are about to take leave after they have recorded an interview at the studio where she works:

- (2) *Brothers & Sisters*, season 1, episode 9
 SEN. ROBERT MCCALLISTER: So when does this air?
 KITTY (they shake hands): Tomorrow night. Don't worry. You were great. Thank you very much. > C-p- α

Here, the verbal leave-taking consists of an act of thanking, (*p*) but is accompanied by hand-shaking, which is signalled by the α (standing for expressive gestures).

5.1. Greetings

Generally, opening sequences are granted a lot of space in the eleven episodes of *GG* we analysed. At least two thirds of such sequences start with a greeting proper (213/371), which may be also followed by other elements. More specifically, the total number of greetings (*g*) is 252, 213 of which are used right at the beginning of the opening sequence (O-g). The remaining occurrences appear in other types of openings in which other elements occupy the first position, as in (3) below. Dean meets his girlfriend Rory and her mother Lorelai in the town centre and greets her with a vocative followed by the informal greeting *hey*, while

Rory answers back with a simple greeting and Lorelai does the same but adding a vocative.

- (3) *Gilmore Girls*, season 3, episode 1
 DEAN: Rory, *hey!* > IO-v-g
 RORY: *Hi.* > O-g
 LORELAI: *Hi, Dean.* > O-g-v

Of course, there is a certain number of opening sequences which are totally devoid of any greeting expressions, such as those cases where a simple vocative is employed or where the rapport between the speakers is close enough to justify an abrupt opening without small talk, as in (4) below:

- (4) *Gilmore Girls*, season 3, episode 1
 LORELAI: (answering the phone) Independence Inn, Lorelai speaking. > (T) IO-i
 EMILY: What day is this? > (T) O-x
 LORELAI: Mom?

In this last example, Lorelai introduces herself when answering the phone at the hotel where she works, while her mother Emily does not waste time with pleasantries and goes straight to the point asking her a precise question. However, since this is not a conventional behaviour, especially on the phone, Lorelai sounds surprised and is forced to check if she is really talking to her mother.

In *GG*, seven types of greetings are used. The most frequent are the informal *hi*, *hey* and *hello*, whose use reflects the typical relationship between the characters in this series. The remaining four types, whose frequency of occurrence is much lower (cf. Table 1), are the *good* forms *good evening* and *good morning*, as well as the more colloquial and shortened version *morning*, and *welcome*. The frequency of greetings ranges from a minimum of 12 occurrences in episode 4 to a maximum of 41 in episode 9, where Lorelai and Rory are invited to four different Thanksgiving celebrations, which explains the greater use of openings. However, it is worth pointing out that in all the analysed episodes at least half of the opening sequences are realised with a greeting proper as the first item.

As far as *BS* is concerned, this TV series displays a wider set of types of greetings proper, that is 10, with *hey* and *hi* as the most frequently occurring forms, appearing 79 and 74 times, respectively – exactly the reverse ranking compared to *GG*. There is a wide gap in the number of occurrences compared to the other types: for instance, *hello*, which ranks in third position, counts only 24 instances, not to mention *good morning*, which occurs only seven times and is ranked in fourth position (cf. Table 1). Despite the wider variety of forms, *BS* counts a lower number of occurrences of greetings with respect to *GG* – i.e. 198 vs. 252, respectively – and overall, half of the opening sequences start with a greeting proper, thus with a minor frequency compared to *GG*, as shown in Figure 1.

<i>Gilmore Girls</i>		<i>Brothers & Sisters</i>	
1. hi	106	1. hey	79
2. hey	85	2. hi	72
3. hello	51	3. hello	24
4. welcome	4	4. good morning	7
5. morning	4	5. morning	4
6. good morning	1	6. oh	4
7. good evening	1	7. good evening	2
		8. welcome	2
		9. welcome back	1
		10. <i>hola</i>	1
Total	252	Total	198

Table 1. Greetings in *Gilmore Girls* and *Brothers & Sisters*

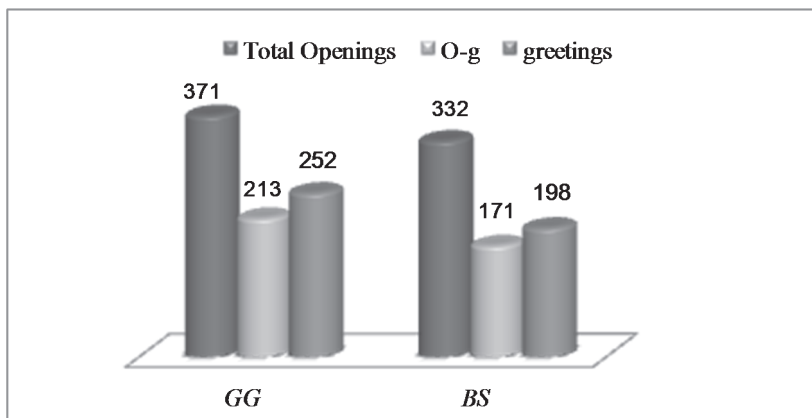


Figure 1. Openings in *Gilmore Girls* vs. *Brothers & Sisters*

5.2. Leave-takings

Concerning leave-takings, the first striking fact to be noticed is that closing sequences are definitely fewer than openings in both TV series, although with some differences. More specifically, *GG* counts 268 closings, of which 104 are expressed with a leave-taking proper, but only 95 are in first position. As a consequence, the distribution of these formulae in each episode is very low, even though the set of expressions employed is quite varied, and surely more varied than greetings: it counts 15 types, of which the most frequently used is *bye* (cf. Table 2).

Similar observations can be made for *BS*. Here, too, openings are granted much more space than closings, which in fact count only 221 cases. 38 out of 42 leave-takings proper are used to close conversation, while the rest occur in other types of closing sequences, as in example (5) below:

- (5) *Brothers & Sisters*, season 1, episode 1
 KITTY: [...] Tommy, thank you for the offer. > 1C-v-p
 Justin, I will see you at the airport. *Good-bye!* > 1C-v-ℓ2-ℓ1
 (to Jonathan) I'm sorry, it's my family. I'm sorry, it hasn't been a very romantic farewell.

JONATHAN: It's only a farewell for a few days... unless you get that TV job.

KITTY: I love you. > 1C-*p*

JONATHAN: I love you too. > C-*p*

As can be noticed, in this scene Kitty takes leave in various ways: with her two brothers Tommy and Justin, the closing sequence starts with a vocative which is then followed by an expressive, in the first case, and by a non-standard leave-taking accompanied by a leave-taking proper, in the second; when she addresses her fiancé, Jonathan, she simply uses the expressive 'I love you'. In this latter case, it is worth pointing out that the externalisation of feelings with the use of such a phrase as a way of taking the leave is apparently a common practice between Americans, thus being culture-specific.

With regard to the types of leave-takings proper, the number is the same as for greetings, namely 10; similarly to *GG*, the most recurring type is *bye*, followed by other more or less informal forms (see Table 2).

<i>Gilmore Girls</i>		<i>Brothers & Sisters</i>	
1. bye	58	1. bye	20
2. night	11	2. good night	6
3. goodbye	9	3. see ya	3
4. see ya	9	4. bye bye	2
5. (I'll) see you later	4	5. night	2
6. bye bye	3	6. goodbye	2
7. goodnight	2	7. take care	2
8. see you around	1	8. <i>namaste</i>	2
9. I'll see you then	1	9. I'll see you later	1
10. later	1	10. <i>ciao</i>	1
11. take care	1		
12. so long	1		
13. <i>au revoir</i>	1		
14. <i>Namaste</i>	1		
15. <i>adios</i>	1		
Total	104	Total	42

Table 2. Leave-takings in *Gilmore Girls* and *Brothers & Sisters*

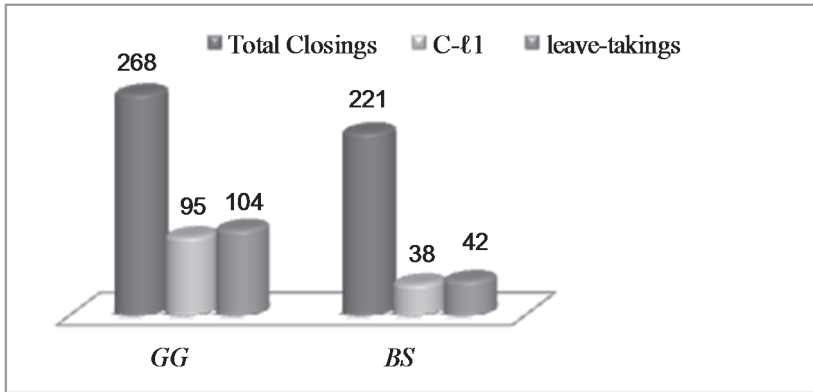


Figure 2. Closings in *Gilmore Girls* vs. *Brothers & Sisters*

5.3. Greetings in dubbing

As previously observed, the majority of greeting expressions used in both TV series is informal, mirroring the close and familiar relationship that generally exists among the characters. As a consequence, a high number of informal greetings is present in the dubbed version as well, in order to convey the same level of intimacy. The most recurring form is *ciao*. Interestingly, it can be observed as a general trend that *good* forms such as *good morning* and *good evening* are usually rendered with their most common equivalent in Italian, namely *buongiorno* and *buonasera*. Instead, a wider set of translating options is employed to render the three most informal and most frequently used greetings, namely *hi*, *hey* and *hello*, thus showing a preference for variation in the target text. See the two examples below:

(6) *Brothers & Sisters*, season 1, episode 8

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
KITTY	Aw, aw, aw. What the hell? Ouch.	Oh, ahi, ahi, ahi, accidenti! <i>Buongiorno</i> .	Oh, uh, uh, uh, damn it!
	<i>Hello.</i> > O-g		Good morning.
NORA	<i>Hi.</i> > O-g	<i>Ciao.</i>	Hi.

(7) *Gilmore Girls*, season 3, episode 4

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
RORY (answering the phone)	<i>Hello?</i> > (T) O-g	<i>Pronto?</i>	Hello?
DEBBIE	<i>Hi, Rory?</i> > (T) O-g-p	<i>Ciao, Rory!</i>	Hi, Rory?
RORY	Yes.	Chi parla?	Who's speaking?
DEBBIE	This is Debbie Fincher, Kathy's mom from Stars Hollow High.	Sono Debbie Fin- cher, la mamma di Kathy, la tua compa- gna di liceo.	It's Debbie Fincher, Kathy's mum, your highschool mate.
RORY	Oh, <i>hi</i> , Mrs Fincher. > (T) O-g-v	Ah, <i>buongiorno</i> , si- gnora Fincher.	Oh, good morning, Mrs Fincher.
DEBBIE	Well, <i>hi</i> right back to you! [...] > (T) O-g-v	<i>Buongiorno</i> anche a te, mia cara. [...]	Good morning to you, my dear.

In both (6) and (7), *hello* and *hi* are translated in various ways, from the more natural *ciao* to the marked form *buongiorno*, which is more formal in Italian, thus indicating a shift in register from the source to the target text. This choice sometimes produces unnatural effects, as in (6), where *buongiorno* is uttered by Kitty to greet her mother Nora, making her sound too formal or detached. Conversely, in the dubbed version in (7) Rory chooses to switch to the more formal greeting *buongiorno* as soon as she realises she is talking on the phone to one of her friends' mother, which is in line with her extremely polite character. Table 3 below provides a detailed overview of all the translating options for *hi*, *hey* and *hello* in the two TV series under investigation.

Greeting forms	<i>Gilmore Girls</i>		<i>Brothers & Sisters</i>	
<i>Hi</i>	<i>ciao</i>	77	Ciao	49
	<i>salve</i>	11	Salve	12
	<i>buongiorno</i>	2	Ehi	1
	∅	16	∅	10
<i>Hey</i>	<i>ciao</i>	59	Ciao	38
	<i>ehi</i>	8	Ehi	25
	<i>salve</i>	3	Si	1
	<i>pronto</i>	1	Salve	2
	∅	17	∅	13

<i>Hello</i>				
	ciao	16	pronto (T)	9
	pronto (T)	13	Ciao	6
	salve (1T) ⁴	8	Salve	6
	sì (T)	4	buongiorno	1
	sì, pronto (T)	1	Ø	2
	hello (T)	1		
	ehi, salve	1		
	buonasera	1		
	buongiorno	1		
	Ø	5		

Table 3. Translating options of the most frequent greeting forms in the Italian dub of *Gilmore Girls* and *Brothers & Sisters*

Among the varied set of expressions employed in the Italian dub for these three greeting forms, there is one which particularly stands out, especially because it is used to render all three interchangeably: *salve*. This formula is often employed in Italian dubbing in semi-formal contexts (Bonsignori/Bruti/Masi 2011, 2012), as happens in examples (8) and (9) below:

(8) *Brothers & Sisters*, season 1, episode 1

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
WARREN	Nice to meet you. > I-i	Piacere di conoscerla.	Pleased to meet you.
KITTY	Hi, nice to meet you. > I-g-i	Salve, piacere mio.	Hello, my pleasure.

(9) *Gilmore Girls*, season 3, episode 3

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
DARREN (opens the door)	<i>Hello there!</i> > O-g	<i>Ehi, salve!</i>	Hey, hello!
LORELAI (hand- shake)	<i>Hello, I'm Lorelai Gilmore.</i> > O-g-i-α	<i>Salve! Lorelai Gil- more.</i>	Hello! Lorelai Gil- more.
DARREN to Rory	Darren Springsteen, nice to meet you.	Darren Springsteen, molto piacere.	Darren Springsteen, very pleased.

4 When T (standing for 'telephone') is preceded by a number as in "(1T)" in the case of the Italian greeting *salve*, this means that out of the total number of occurrences, only one is uttered on the phone.

	And this is must be the reason why we're all here.	E lei deve essere la piccola Rory.	And she must be little Rory.
RORY	Yes, <i>hello</i> , I hope we're not putting you out. > O-g-p	Si, <i>salve</i> , ci scusi il di- sturbo.	Yes, hello, excuse us for the inconvenience.

More specifically, in (8) Kitty is introduced to her new colleague Warren, and (9) Rory and Lorelai go visit Darren Springsteen, a Harvard alumnus, in order to collect enough information for Rory to choose at which university to apply – either Harvard or Yale. Both situations, although potentially formal, allow for a downgrade in register, since on the one hand Kitty meets a peer and, on the other, Darren's attitude is very amicable and aims at putting Rory at ease. Therefore, in the Italian dub, the use of a more neutral and *passé-partout* expression like *salve* strategically records a change in the ongoing situation.

It is also noteworthy that *ciao* is the most frequent translating option for both *hi* and *hey* in both TV series, whereas the same cannot be said for *hello*, since in this case *pronto* ranks in first position in BS. Certainly, the fact that *hello* is typically used in the English language when someone answers the phone is crucial in the translation choices – *pronto* is in fact the second most frequent translating option after *ciao* in *GG*. Indeed, the cases in which *hello* appears in phone calls are quite high in number, that is 9/24 in *BS* and 20/50 in *GG*, and if we compare its translations in the two TV series, the result is quite surprising. If in *BS* *pronto* seems to be the only solution, in *GG* variation is preferred: along with *pronto*, the dub provides alternatives such as *sì* (see (10)), a calque from English (Rossi 2007: 95), which also occurs in combination with *pronto* in *sì, pronto?*, and *salve*.

(10) *Gilmore Girls*, season 3, episode 5

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
LORELAI	<i>Hello?</i> > (T) O-g	<i>Sì?</i>	Yes?
RICHARD	Lorelai, good! I'm glad I got you. [...] > (T) O-v-p	Lorelai! Sono con- tento di averti trovata. [...]	Lorelai! I'm happy to have found you.

Finally, both in *BS* and *GG* there are cases in which the greeting expression is either totally deleted or replaced by a different linguistic item –

25/198 in *BS* and 39/252 in *GG* – as in the two examples below: in (11), the omission of *hey* turns the original opening, which features a greeting in first position, into an opening with a vocative in the Italian dub, while in (12) the greeting is replaced by an expressive (roughly corresponding to ‘what a wonderful thing!’), thus totally changing the opening sequence from O-g-p in the original version to O-p in dubbing.

(11) *Brothers & Sisters*, season 1, episode 4

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
TYLER	Scrub harder, boy! > O-x-v	Pulisci bene, amico!	Tidy up thoroughly, mate.
JUSTIN	Hey, boss! I-- uh-- I thought our first meeting went great downstairs. > O-g-v	[Ø] Grande capo! Il nostro primo incontro di sotto è andato fortissimo!	Big boss! Our first meeting downstairs was brilliant.

(12) *Gilmore Girls*, season 3, episode 1

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
RORY	Hi, you're back! > O-g-p	[Ø] <i>Che bello</i> , sei tornato!	How nice, you're back!
DEAN	Yeah, I'm back, and I'm glad to find you not blond.	Sì, e sono molto felice che tu non sia bionda.	Yes, and I'm very happy that you're not blond.

Conversely, there are also a few cases of additions, that is cases in which a greeting expression has been added in the dubbed version even though a corresponding form was not present in the original text – 22 cases in *BS* and nine in *GG*. See the two examples below:

(13) *Gilmore Girls*, season 3, episode 6

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
LORELAI	<i>Hello!</i> > O-g	<i>Ciao!</i>	Hi!
RORY	[Ø] I'm in here! > O-x	<i>Ciao</i> , sono qui!	Hi, I'm here!

(14) *Brothers & Sisters*, season 1, episode 3

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
SAUL	Justin, [Ø] <i>sweet-heart!</i> > O-v-v	Justin, <i>ciao!</i>	Justin, hi!

JUSTIN	You took mom over to that woman's house?!	Hai portato la mamma da quella donna?!	Did you take mom to that woman?
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The addition of the greeting *ciao* to the informational statement in (13) was possible because Rory's turn is only heard, as she is in her room when her mother arrives, so the camera does not frame her at all, thus avoiding any lip sync problem. Instead, in (14) *ciao* replaces the vocative rendered with the endearment *sweetheart*.

5.4. Leave-takings in dubbing

Even though closing sequences are granted much less space than openings (cf. 5.2.), leave-takings are almost always translated. In fact, their overall number in the target text is higher than in the original version, counting 46 occurrences vs. 42 in *BS* and 110 vs. 104 in *GG*.

The most frequent type of leave-taking in both series is *bye*, which is translated in various ways (cf. Table 4), from the most recurring form *ciao* to more formal options like *arrivederci* and *addio*, as well as the quite unusual *ti saluto* in example (15), where it is effectively used by school bully Francie at the end of her threatening monologue to close off debate.

(15) *Gilmore Girls*, season 3, episode 2

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
RORY	I am not conferring with you. A hand came out of the bathroom and pulled me in!	Io non sto conferendo con te, mi avete afferrata e tirata dentro di sorpresa!	I'm not conferring with you, you grabbed me and pulled me in by surprise!
FRANCIE	What are you talking about? You sought me out because you thought Paris was a little out of line today and you wanted to make sure my very delicate feelings weren't hurt. You are so sweet to think of me. I	Ma di che stai parlando? Tu sei venuta a cercarmi, perché pensavi che Paris avesse un po' esagerato oggi, e volevi assicurarti che non avesse urtato i miei sentimenti. Sei stata carina a preoccuparti di me, e mi sento	What are you talking about? You came looking for me, because you thought that Paris exaggerated a bit today, and you wanted to make sure that she hadn't hurt my feelings. You were nice to think of me, and I feel

feel much better now that I have you on my side. <i>Bye</i> now, see you at the hamster. >	meglio, ora che ti ho dalla mia parte. <i>Ti</i> <i>saluto</i> . Ci vediamo fuori.	better now that you're on my side. I say goodbye. See you out- side.
C-ℓ1-ℓ2		

Variation appears to be a characterising trait of *GG*, which displays a wider set of leave-taking expressions in its original version and of translating options in the Italian dub with respect to *BS*. For instance, the nine cases of *goodbye* in *GG* are rendered in six different ways in the Italian dub, while for the two occurrences in *BS* there is only one translating option, namely *addio* (cf. Table 4). Apart from *ciao* and *arrivederci*, which are usually used as its more or less formal correspondents, the other variants are *a stasera* (roughly 'see you tonight') (16), *a presto* ('see you soon'), and *buonanotte*. There is only one case in which *goodbye* is omitted and replaced by a statement, that is in example (17), where Mrs Kim sees her guests out at the end of the Thanksgiving dinner, dismissing them with a sequence of phatic expressions.

(16) *Gilmore Girls*, season 3, episode 1

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
LUKE	[...] I'll be home early. Anything besides the Q-Tips?	[...] Ti devo portare qualcos'altro, cotone a parte?	Do I need to bring you something else, apart from cotton?
LORELAI	Um, cotton balls, world peace, Connie Chung's original face back.	Ah-- il dentifricio, la pace nel mondo, Connie Chung che mi vuole intervistare...	Ah, toothpaste, world peace, Connie Chung wanting to interview me...
LUKE	<i>Goodbye</i> , crazy lady. > C-ℓ1-v	<i>A stasera</i> , matta!	See you tonight, crazy woman!

(17) *Gilmore Girls*, season 3, episode 9

	Original	Dubbing	Back-translation
MRS KIM	<i>Goodbye</i> , drive safe. > C-ℓ1-p	[Ø] <i>Vi accompagno</i> . Guidate piano.	I'll see you out. Drive safely.
WOMAN	Thank you. > C-p	Grazie.	Thank you.

Another interesting fact about leave-takings in the dubbed version is related to the translation for *goodnight* and its informal counterpart *night*. As can be noted in detail in Table 4, in both series *goodnight* is

always translated with its more natural form in Italian, namely *buonanotte*; however, in *GG* its alternative informal version is also employed, namely the abbreviated *notte*. Conversely, *night* is almost always rendered with *notte* in *GG*, except in one case, in which the formal version is preferred. Differently, in *BS* *notte* is never used, and *ciao* or the more formal *buonanotte* are preferred.

Leave-takings	<i>Gilmore Girls</i>		<i>Brothers & Sisters</i>	
<i>Bye</i>	Ciao	45	ciao	14
	arrivederci	4	arrivederci	4
	Addio	2	a più tardi	1
	ci vediamo	1	a dopo	1
	a domani	1	Ø	1
	ti saluto	1		
	Ø	4		
<i>Goodbye</i>	ciao	2	addio	2
	a stasera	2		
	a presto	1		
	arrivederci	1		
	addio	1		
	buonanotte	1		
	Ø	1		
<i>good night</i>	buonanotte	1	buonanotte	6
	notte	1		
<i>Night</i>	notte	10	buonanotte	1
	buonanotte	1	ciao	1

Table 4. Translating options of some leave-taking expressions in the Italian dub of *Gilmore Girls* and *Brothers & Sisters*

As far as translating options in general are concerned, a final remark is in order. The Italian leave-taking expression *ci vediamo* – roughly corresponding to the English ‘see you’ – is extensively employed, especially in *GG*, to render a wide set of leave-takings, ranging from the most common *see ya* to its variants such as (*I’ll see you later*, *see you around*, *I’ll see you then*, as well as *bye bye* and *bye*. Last but not least, it is also one of the expressions most commonly used as additions, that is when a leave-taking not originally present in the source text is nonetheless used in the Italian dubbing, as in the following example, where

the phatic expression constituting the closing sequence is replaced in its entirety by the leave-taking:

- (18) *Gilmore Girls*, season 3, episode 6
- | | Original | Dubbing | Back-translation |
|------|---|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| LUKE | Thanks. [Ø] <i>I'm glad we had this talk.</i> | Grazie. <i>Ci vediamo</i> , eh? | Thank you. See you, right? |
| | > C-p | | |
| JESS | Yeah, [Ø] <i>same here.</i> | Sì, <i>ci vediamo.</i> | Yes, see you. |
| | > C-p | | |

6. Conclusions

The two series under investigation are quite similar in genre and in the sociolinguistic configurations they portray, at least as far as the analysed seasons are concerned, but *GG* presents a significantly higher rhythm and density of speech compared to *BS*. This, in turn, determines a higher frequency of the phenomena under investigation and also a wider range of translating options in the dubbed dialogues.

On the whole, we can say that Openings appear to be more numerous than Closings, in line with the results we obtained for films (Bonsignori/Bruti/Masi 2012). Sociological studies (Fox 2004) have registered a cultural preference in British speakers of English for very articulated ways of closing a conversation, with several attempts, often featuring reiterated formulae, in order to build the parting slowly. However, this tendency might be essentially less relevant for American speakers such as the protagonists of both *BS* and *GG*.

Strictly formulaic language thrives in Openings more than in Closings, where more deviant patterns (e.g. containing instances of *p* and *x*) are often found. This might be partly ascribed to economy in TV series, where not much time is wasted on phatic talk, and partly also to the fact that people who know each other very well and are intimate do not need to express in words what may be communicated nonverbally, with a glance or a pat on the shoulder.

Finally, in the dubbed version some expressions have emerged as preferred translating options: *salve* in Openings, possibly because this greeting obliterates class, gender, age, and formality differences, acting as a kind of *passe-partout* form; and *ci vediamo* in Closings, for very similar reasons. We have also observed that the number of greetings is lower in the dubbed version than in the original, whereas the number of leave-takings is higher. Much work remains to be done on this subject, especially in the interesting direction of comparing the translation trends observed here with the use of the same routine expressions in Italian TV language (e.g. Italian TV productions) and in spontaneous language.

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