

MULTILINGUAL AND MULTI-GENERATIONAL ITALIAN IDENTITY IN A NETFLIX SERIES: SUBTITLING *GENERAZIONE 56K* (2021) INTO ENGLISH

IDENTIDAD MULTILINGÜE Y MULTIGENERACIONAL ITALIANA EN UNA SERIE DE NETFLIX: EL SUBTITULADO AL INGLÉS DE *GENERAZIONE 56K* (2021)

L'IDENTITÉ ITALIENNE MULTILINGUE ET MULTI-GÉNÉRATIONNELLE DANS UNE SÉRIE NETFLIX : LE SOUS-TITRAGE ANGLAIS DE *GENERAZIONE 56K* (2021)

IDENTIDADE ITALIANA MULTILÍNGUE E MULTIGERACIONAL EM UMA SÉRIE NETFLIX: A LEGENDAGEM EM INGLÊS DE *GENERAZIONE 56K* (2021)

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This paper is the fruit of constant collaboration. Nonetheless, Chiara Bartolini is responsible for "Introduction", "Background to the Study" (introductory part), "Multi-Generational Language in AVT" and "Method"; and Marina Manfredi is responsible for "Geographical Dialects in AVT", "Our integrated theoretical framework"; "Generazione 56k" and "Results". "Discussion and conclusions" were written up jointly.

ABSTRACT

This article reports on an investigation into the representation of "Italianness" in the recent Netflix Italian series *Generazione 56k*, which was exported to English-speaking countries. The series deals with characters from different generations and displays regional varieties. This qualitative study examined the macro- and micro-strategies used in the creation of English subtitles for the first season. The focus is on key functions of telecinematic discourse, i.e., characterisation, realism, and humour, which is realised through the use of (a) multilingualism in the broadest sense, including geographical dialects, and (b) multi-generational language (colloquialisms, "unconventional language", particularly, teenage and youth language, and taboo). Findings reveal a tendency towards neutralisation strategies in the English subtitles. Even considering the constraints inherent in the subtitling mode, these strategies do not successfully represent "Italianness" with its local geographical diversity, and only partially convey the representation of multi-generational language, also affecting humour. The themes which engage millennials, however, are expressed and might be appreciated by an international audience. Our analysis and conclusions suggest it may be interesting to understand whether younger generations, increasingly accustomed to "multilingualism" especially in Netflix programmes, would also envisage a different subtitling experience.

Keywords: AVT, English subtitling, Netflix, linguistic variation, Italian identity, representations of Italianness, multilingualism, multigenerational language, Italian series

RESUMEN

Este artículo reporta una investigación sobre la representación de la "italianidad" en la reciente serie italiana *Generazione 56k*, transmitida por Netflix, que se

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exportó a países de habla inglesa. Esta serie estudia personajes de diferentes generaciones y exhibe variedades regionales. El estudio de corte cualitativo analizó las micro y macro estrategias usadas en la creación de subtítulos en inglés para la primera temporada. Se enfoca en las funciones clave del discurso telecinemático, es decir, caracterización, realismo y humor, que se evidencian en el uso de a) el multilingüismo en su sentido más amplio, incluidos los dialectos geográficos, y b) lengua multigeneracional (coloquialismos, “lenguaje no convencional”, en especial, la jerga de adolescentes y jóvenes, y las expresiones tabú). Los hallazgos revelan una tendencia a las estrategias de neutralización en los subtítulos en inglés. Aun considerando las limitaciones inherentes al modo de subtitulado, dichas estrategias no representan a cabalidad la “italianidad” con su diversidad geográfica local y solo transmiten en parte la representación de la lengua multigeneracional, lo que también afecta el humor. Sí se expresan, por otro lado, los temas que interesan a los *millennials* y que podrían ser valorados por una audiencia internacional. Nuestro análisis y conclusiones indican que sería interesante entender si las generaciones más jóvenes, cada vez más acostumbradas al “multilingüismo” en especial en los programas de Netflix, también imaginarían una experiencia de subtitulado distinta.

Palabras clave: TAV, subtitulado en inglés, Netflix, variación lingüística, identidad italiana, representaciones de la italianidad, multilingüismo, lenguaje multigeneracional, series italianas

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente une enquête sur la représentation de l'« italianité » dans la récente série italienne *Generazione 56k*, diffusée sur Netflix et exportée dans les pays anglophones. Cette série étudie des personnages de différentes générations et met en scène des variétés régionales. L'étude qualitative a analysé les micro et macro stratégies utilisées dans la création de sous-titres anglais pour la première saison. Elle se concentre sur les fonctions clés du discours télé cinématographique, à savoir, la caractérisation, le réalisme et l'humour, qui se manifestent par l'utilisation a) du multilinguisme au sens large, y compris les dialectes géographiques, et b) du langage multigénérationnel (expressions familières, « argot », en particulier l'argot des adolescents et des jeunes, et expressions taboues). Les résultats révèlent une tendance aux stratégies de neutralisation dans les sous-titres anglais. Même en tenant compte des limites inhérentes au mode de sous-titrage, ces stratégies ne représentent pas entièrement l'« italianité » avec sa diversité géographique locale et ne transmettent que partiellement la représentation de la langue multigénérationnelle, ce qui affecte également l'humour. D'un autre côté, elles expriment des questions intéressantes aux milléniaux, lesquelles pourraient être appréciées par un public international. Nos conclusions et résultats suggèrent qu'il serait intéressant de comprendre si les jeunes générations, de plus en plus habituées au « multilinguisme », notamment dans les programmes Netflix, imaginaient également une autre expérience de sous-titrage.

Mots-clé : TAV, sous-titrage en anglais, Netflix, variation linguistique, identité italienne, représentations de l'italianité, multilinguisme, langage multigénérationnel, séries italiennes

RESUMO

Este artigo relata uma investigação sobre a representação da “italianidade” na recente série italiana *Generazione 56k*, transmitida pela Netflix, que foi exportada para paí-

ses de língua inglesa. Essa série estuda personagens de diferentes gerações e mostra variedades regionais. O estudo qualitativo analisou as estratégias micro e macro usadas na criação de legendas em inglês para a primeira temporada. Ele se concentra nas principais funções do discurso telecinematográfico, ou seja, caracterização, realismo e humor, que são evidenciados no uso de a) multilinguismo em seu sentido mais amplo, incluindo dialetos geográficos, e b) linguagem multigeracional (coloquialismos, “gírias”, especialmente gírias de adolescentes e jovens, e expressões tabu). Os resultados revelam uma tendência às estratégias de neutralização nas legendas em inglês. Mesmo considerando as limitações inerentes ao modo de legendagem, essas estratégias não representam totalmente a “italianidade” com sua diversidade geográfica local e transmitem apenas parcialmente a representação da linguagem multigeracional, o que também afeta o humor. Por outro lado, elas expressam as questões que interessam aos millenials e que poderiam ser apreciadas por um público internacional. Nossas descobertas e resultados sugerem que seria interessante entender se as gerações mais jovens, cada vez mais acostumadas ao “multilinguismo”, especialmente nos programas da Netflix, também imaginariam uma experiência de legendagem diferente.

Palavras chave: TAV, legendagem no inglês, Netflix, variação linguística, identidade italiana, representações da italianidade, multilinguismo, linguagem multigeracional, séries italianas

Introduction

In the last decade, a new tendency has emerged in contrast with prevalent “downstream translation” (Gottlieb, 2009, p. 40) practises, one which has seen European TV series being exported into the Anglosphere and achieving remarkable international success, particularly on video-on-demand platforms. Italy has certainly been no exception as new films and TV series have been increasingly produced and exported in the past few years. Some examples include *Il commissario De Luca* (Frazzi, 2008), *Romanzo Criminale – La Serie* (Sollima, 2008–2010), *Suburra – La Serie* (Cesarano & Petronio, 2017–2020), *L'amica geniale* (Costanzo, Rohrwacher & Luchetti, 2018–present), *Summertime* (Lagi & Sportiello, 2020–present), and *Fedeltà* (Molaioli & Cipani, 2022–present). This shift has prompted a growing need for the English dubbing and subtitling of Italian TV series.

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Despite this evolution, audiovisual translation (AVT) practises from Italian into English still seem to be under-researched with a few exceptions (Balirano & Fruttaldo, 2021; Bruti & Ranzato, 2019; Cavaliere, 2008, 2019; De Meo, 2012, 2019; Dore, 2017a, 2017b; Magazzù, 2018; Sandrelli, 2018). Still, there is a gap in the literature regarding the translation strategies employed in adapting Italian series that feature geographical dialects and youth slang.

This paper reports a study on the representation of “Italianness” in a recent Netflix Italian series exported to English-speaking countries, i.e., *Generazione 56k* (Ebbasta & Federici, 2021), which displays a strong geographical identity and deals with characters from different generations. This TV series has thus been selected for representing “Neapolitaness” and being aimed at young adults, specifically the so-called “millennials”. Furthermore, although Italian is not a minor speech community, the subtitling of this series into English may be seen as an example of “upstream translation” (Gottlieb, 2009, p. 28). Gottlieb’s (2009) hypothesis, according to which

the translation “up the river” does not entail the need for domesticating the dialogue and hence allows for a higher degree of adherence (p. 41), shall be tested here to prove its validity as far as this TV production is concerned.

Background to the Study

The debate over the translation of linguistic variation in audiovisual (AV) products is not new in AVT research (cf. Ellender, 2015). As two different types of language variation, geographical dialects and other instances of “marked language” (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 188), including colloquialisms, slang, and taboo, are employed in films and TV series to connotate characters and locations (at times in a stereotypical manner) and articulate the concept of “Otherness” (Díaz-Cintas, 2012, p. 281). These varieties, which are “sociolinguistic markers” that frequently go hand in hand with one another, have often tended to “disappear in screen translations” (Chiaro, 2009, p. 158) either in dubbing or subtitling. As a matter of fact, all characters in a film or show speak a standard, homogenised variety of the target language (TL). Nevertheless, standardisation is not the only option available “to ensure the smooth processing of the target text [as translators may also devise] more creative solutions” (Dore, 2017a, p. 122) to retain linguistic variation for characterisation or a thematic purpose.

Geographical Dialects in AVT

In the present paper, the label “geographical dialect” is preferred over others like “regional dialect”, “regiolect”, and “dialect”. Dialectology has long informed the study of dialects *vs* so-called standard languages (see Chambers & Trudgill, 1998). However, as Delabastita and Grutman (2005) put it, dialects as sub-standard varieties of language co-exist “within the various officially recognised languages, and indeed sometimes cutting across and challenging our neat linguistic typologies” (p. 15). Moreover, while a given regional variety is related to a specific place, it may also involve

a distinct social group (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 191), blurring the boundaries between regiolects and sociolects.

A systematic framework for the analysis of language variation was provided by Halliday et al. (1964), who put forth a distinction between varieties according to the “user” and the “use”. The former concerns “dialects” and refers to “who the speaker or writer is”; the latter is labelled as “registers” and implies “what the speaker or writer is doing” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p. 41). Any “dialect” is characterised by lexical, grammatical, and phonological features, including “accent”, which refers to the “articulatory and acoustic” levels of language (Gregory & Carroll, 1978, p. 12).

From the point of view of Translation Studies (TS), user-related varieties have been investigated by various scholars. For instance, Hatim and Mason (1990) argue that language can vary according to the user with respect to diverse aspects such as geographical, temporal, social, (non-)standard, or idiolectal factors. While geographical dialects are related to the origins of the speakers, social dialects are usually linked to their social status. When translators tackle language variation in the shape of geographical dialects, lexical, grammatical, and phonological features will inevitably pose problems, not least because the linguistic side will be inextricably associated with sociocultural considerations; thus translators’ decisions will have cultural implications. By the same token, Catford (1965) remarks that the criterion to be fulfilled is “‘human’ or ‘social’ geographical [rather than] purely locational” (Catford, 1965, pp. 86–87). Likewise, Hatim and Mason (1990) admit that the most common strategies to deal with geographical varieties might cause problems. For example, normalising a geographical dialect might result in a loss in the translated text whereas replacing that variety with a TL might produce unintended effects (pp. 40–41).

When it comes to subtitling geographical dialects, subtitlers may resort to the use of socially

connotated style, e.g., in the form of colloquialisms and slang expressions in the TL to compensate for the loss of geographical connotation (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 188). By operating a shift from the paralinguistic (the accent) to the verbal (style and lexico-grammatical variation), translators may reduce the “neutralising effect” (De Meo, 2012, p. 86) and the impression of a homologated, standard language in subtitles. In doing so, this approach seems to enable subtitlers to convey at least the social belonging and “in-group bonding” (Dore, 2017a, p. 122), thus contributing to characterisation. Finally, it may not always be essential to reproduce all the variations in the TL subtitles thanks to the “intersemiotic redundancy” (Gottlieb, 1998, p. 247) typical of subtitling. This encompasses the assumed ability of the viewer to decode the message by means of other communicative elements, including non-verbal components (e.g., gaze and gestures), paraverbal components (e.g., loudness or pitch), and other contextual information that may be inferred from the images and sounds of an AV—hence, multimodal—product.

Multi-Generational Language in AVT

In this paper, multi-generational language will be used as an umbrella term to refer to different features of linguistic variation such as colloquialisms, teenage/youth language, and taboo language—i.e., distinct phenomena showing similarities and overlaps. When it comes to marked language, special attention has been devoted to slang (Bruti, 2020; Mattiello, 2008; Tagliamonte, 2016) and to the challenges this poses to the translation of AV products, mainly considering dubbing (Bianchi, 2008; Dore, 2017a; Mattiello, 2009; Ranzato, 2010, 2015) and, to a lesser extent, subtitling (Hamaidia, 2007; Rittmayer, 2009). Here we draw on Partridge’s (1937) concept of “slang and unconventional English”, re-proposed by Dalzell (2008), who refers to “all unconventional English that has been used with the purpose or effect of either lowering the formality of communication and reducing solemnity and/or identifying

status or group and putting oneself in tune with one's company." (p. vii). This may involve an "innovative, playful, metaphorical and short-lived" use of language that includes words ranging "below the level of stylistically neutral language" (Stenström et al., 2002, p. 67, emphasis in the original). Since the identification and definition of slang with respect to the Italian language may be controversial, the focus here is placed on "unconventional teenage/youth language". This decision was made in line with previous AVT research on the translation of English slang (Dore, 2017a; Ranzato, 2015) into "the jargon of youngsters" in Italian (Ranzato, 2015, p. 173) to convey "the in-group bonding" (Dore, 2017a, p. 122) among people of similar age and experience.

Taboo language is also, albeit not exclusively, a major trait of teenage/youth language (Beseghi, 2016), in which it generally performs a phatic or exclamatory function and may contribute to characterisation and realism in AV products. Although the phenomenon of swearing includes obscenities, profanities, blasphemy, name-calling, insulting, verbal aggression, taboo speech, vulgarisms, and scatological terms (Jay, 2000, p. 9), this paper adopts the all-encompassing label of "taboo language". As regards subtitling emotionally-loaded language from English in other languages, this might imply occasional omissions according to space/time constraints and the assumed sensitivity of the target culture. This is because the impact of taboo language is perceived to be stronger in writing than in speaking. Nonetheless, swearwords seem to be increasingly more common in subtitles in Europe (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2007), and nowadays, they even tend to be added to the TL subtitles to compensate for the loss of other non-standard language features, especially in "downstream translation" (Gottlieb, 2009, p. 28, cf. Dore, 2017b; Valdeón, 2020). Whether the same also happens in the other direction is still unclear.

Our Integrated Theoretical Framework

Viewing translation as an act of communication within a sociocultural context, this paper adopts

the framework offered by systemic functional linguistics (SFL). For the analysis of language variation, we thus draw on the Hallidayan distinction between dialects and registers outlined above. However, while SFL views user- and use-related varieties as conceptually distinct despite their interconnections (Halliday & Hasan, 1985), we argue that, from a translational perspective, user-related variation could be analysed as intersecting with the contextual variable of use that focuses on the relationship between the participants in a communicative act (specifically, tenor). Furthermore, despite the debate around the differentiation between "standard" and "non-standard" (Gramley, 2012; Manfredi, 2021a; Murray & Simon, 2008; Trudgill, 1999), for the purpose of our study, we consider "non-standard" those language characteristics typically entailed in sociolinguistic research on telecinematic discourse, i.e., vernacular elements, colloquial/informal features, "slang" (in our case study rather "teenage/youth language") and swear/taboo words (Bednarek, 2018).

In light of a functional view, in the forthcoming sections, instances of user- and use-related variation will be observed on the basis of their communicative purposes such as adding realism to the AV product, developing characterisation, and creating humour (Bednarek, 2018). Finally, as both TS and SFL recommend (Ramos Pinto & Adami, 2020), the verbal code will be seen as embedded in a wider multimodal context that contributes to the overall meaning-making of the episodes.

Method

The TV series chosen for this study is *Generazione 56k* (Ebbasta & Federici, 2021), produced by Cattleya. The show displays geographical dialects and multi-generational language to depict and tell the stories of a group of young characters.

By adopting a descriptive translation studies (DTS) methodology (Assis Rosa, 2018; Díaz-Cintas, 2004), this paper offers a qualitative analysis of

“multilingualism” —including both interlingual and intralingual varieties (cf. Manfredi, 2021b) —in this Italian series and its English subtitles. Although it is acknowledged that the language used in films and tv series is an example of “pre-fabricated orality” (Chaume, 2001), the issue of naturalness is not taken into consideration within the scope of this paper. A linguistic analysis of language variation is rather reported, stressing accent, vocabulary, and lexicogrammar. Ramos Pinto (2017) provides the analytical tool for classifying the two macro-strategies of translation that may be employed, i.e., “neutralisation” and “preservation”, and the micro-strategies these entail, namely “discourse standardisation” and “discourse dialectalisation” for the former, and “centralisation”, “maintenance”, and “decentralisation” for the latter. The micro-strategies of “discourse standardisation” and “discourse dialectalisation” entail eliminating variation, either “by the exclusive use of the standard variety” or “of a non-standard variety in the target product”; the micro-strategies of “centralisation”, “maintenance”, and “decentralisation” preserve variation by showing “a lower presence of non-standard discourse”, “in similar terms”, and “a higher presence of non-standard discourse in the target product” (Ramos Pinto, 2017, p. 6).

Central to our analysis are some of the key functions of telecinematic discourse—i.e., characterisation, realism, and humour (Bednarek, 2018). When deemed relevant, the AV product is also viewed in its multimodal nature and both the visual and acoustic code are considered: drawing again from Ramos Pinto (2017), character behaviour, setting, and background music are touched upon, while the multimodal category of “clothes/makeup” is not included since it is not relevant in the series under scrutiny. We collected data based on a direct comparison of the original Italian dialogues and the English subtitles, that is English closed captions.

Generazione 56k

The series *Generazione 56k*, which IMDb classifies as comedy, drama, and romance, was released

on Netflix on July 1, 2021. The one-season eight episodes revolve around the changes occurring in the so-called “net generation” or “millennials”, seasoned by technology, from the advent of the Internet connection through the slow and noisy, albeit exciting, 56k dial-up modem to the hyper-connected present, when smartphones and apps serve as tools for work and search for love. The story is narrated in two plot lines, one set in 1998, in the island of Procida, where the protagonists, Daniel and Matilda, live in their middle-school years; and the other at the current time, in Naples, where the same characters are torn between nostalgia for the past and complicated feelings and relationships.

The main characters’ adventures as kids and young adults in their 30s are accompanied by those of their families and friends. Ines, Matilda’s best friend from childhood to adult life, has chosen a traditional marriage and is the mother of a child. Luca and Sandro, Daniel’s mates and business partners, are interpreted by two members of *The Jackals*, a comic group from Naples that has reached success by creating web videos and series. A minor character who plays a significant role in the story is Ciro, the island’s bar owner and guardian of people’s desires and secrets. All characters, in various ways and to different extents, represent their Neapolitan identity. Magnificent views of the Neapolitan Gulf and the city of Naples with its traditional terraced roofs, typical yards, and baroque balconies, along with the picturesque island of Procida, with its multi-coloured buildings and narrow alleys, contribute to offering a stunning setting, animated by the seagulls’ call and popular Italian songs from the 1980s and 1990s.

Results

The following sub-sections will illustrate selected examples from the case study to show the macro- and micro- strategies used in the creation of the English subtitles, with a focus on geographical dialects and multi-generational language.

Geographical Dialects

In *Generazione 56k*, the main geographical dialect used by characters is Neapolitan and, more broadly, a variety from the Campania region or sometimes Southern Italy. The dialectal variety is differently encoded in the characters' speech.

For example, Daniel, who works as a creative director at a company that develops apps, generally speaks Italian, with an educated regional accent. However, both as a young boy and an adult man, some Neapolitan traits emerge in his speech, such as apocopes (e.g., *pa'* instead of *papà* [dad] or *ancora con sta' storia?* [this story again?]), the use of the popular and dialectal adverb *mo'* [now], or regional grammatical features, which are mostly neutralised in the English subtitles. Only occasionally, Daniel uses dialectal expressions, especially when he is anxious, for instance, when his younger sister Raffaella makes fun of him by reading his schooltime diary twenty years later, and he silences her with the dialectal *statte zitta* [be quiet], standardised into "Stop it!". More frequently, his sentences include dialectal structures, such as the inversion between the possessive and the noun, typical of Southern Italian, exemplified in *È morta prima l'amica sua* [It's been first 'her friend' to die], which reads "her friend just died" in the English subtitles. The omission of "has" entails a partially compensatory solution regarding a shift from geographical variation to informal language. In the cited example, Daniel is talking about an app that helps people who are not satisfied with a blind date by offering a so-called "exit strategy", i.e., a call from a friend who informs about a loss or urgent need. Along with Daniel, Matilda is the other main character in the series. After giving up her dream of doing a master's degree in Paris, she works at a furniture restoration shop and is about to get married when she bumps into Daniel after many years. Matilda's variety is more marked: although she does not use a dialect, she displays a marked Southern Italian accent, as in *Devo anda' da Punzo, devo paga' e bollette, devo paga' e bollette de mia madre*, standardised in the English subtitles

as "I have to see Punzo, pay my rent, pay my mom's bills". This shows a partial compensation strategy, i.e., the omission of the implicit subject "I" and the modal verb "must", repeated twice in the Italian version; hence, it is a shift from the phonological to the grammatical level.

Luca and Sandro are Daniel's friends and business partners. As far as Luca is concerned, he is a shy boy as a teenager and a sarcastic nerdy in his 30s. Despite his strong Neapolitan accent and use of a typically dialectal lexicogrammar, he seldom speaks the dialect but intermingles his speech with regional expressions and structures. A case in point is *Capace che c'incontriamo quando vado a buttare l'immondizia*, with a humoristic effect, which simply becomes "I might run into her when I'm taking out the trash or something" in the English subtitles. Conversely, the adult Sandro, a lively boy and later a funny young man, often uses the Neapolitan dialect, which is neutralised in the TL even if it is sometimes compensated with other codes, e.g., gestural expressiveness, thus providing a sense of realism. On the other hand, gestures may be perceived as typically Italian and not necessarily Neapolitan by an English-speaking audience. Significantly, the use of a dialect is thus not totally "associated with negative, minor, humorous, weak characters or characters that represent cultural stereotypes (while "standard" English may be associated with heroes or desirable qualities)" (Bednarek, 2018, pp. 64-65): Sandro is a humorous character yet not negative and not even properly "minor". Ines, Matilda's best friend, the most good-looking girl at schooltime and now an exuberant and chatty young woman, invariably speaks Italian with a strong regional accent (e.g., *ma como fa?* [but how does she do that?], completely omitted in the English subtitles), dialectal expressions (e.g., *va buo'* or *piglia il regalo*, standardised into "okay" and "get a gift"), and also the Neapolitan dialect.

Interestingly, only adult characters, both from the outskirts and the city, use pure Neapolitan dialect, which functions as an important element of characterisation. In all cases, they are "older" characters in

terms of age and way of life. In Procida Island, the wise and witty barman and Daniel's godfather, *Ciro*, speaks Italian with a strong regional accent (e.g., *O me fa' turna' a Napuli?!* [Do you let me come back to Naples?!], subtitled as "Are you going to make me go back?"). *Ciro* also employs the Neapolitan dialect, with entire stretches of dialogue or through code-switching, for example, in the scene where he addresses his greeting to a customer with the Neapolitan colloquialism *statte buono* [stay good], subtitled as "take care". When he refers to Daniel, he uses the dialectal word *picciniello*, in *Che ha fatto il picciniello?* [What has the *picciniello* done?], neutralised as "kid" and compensated in the clause with a colloquial form, i.e., "gotten" in "What's the kid gotten into now?".

As for minor, albeit supporting, characters, *Matilda's* boss, the elderly *Mr. Punzo*, owner of a furniture restoration shop in Naples and named "Professor"—probably as an appellative of respect—speaks the Neapolitan dialect or a regional Italian with a very strong Neapolitan accent, which produces a humoristic effect. Humour deriving from his hilarious comments is compromised for instance when he uses the dialectal expression *Mica 'ncoppa a Marte*—where the colourful *'ncoppa* means "on top of"—which is rendered into a more standard "not flying off to Marte". In this case, kinetics partly compensates for the loss since *Mr. Punzo* accompanies his talk with lively gesticulation, from pinching his fingers against the thumb to circling his hand and rolling his eyes. Daniel's mother, *Rosaria*, who lives in Procida, and is often portrayed in the kitchen, also speaks the dialect or Italian with a strong Neapolitan accent, typically neutralised in subtitling. She plays the role of a "traditional" mother that is busy with cooking and scolding her son and daughter when they use dirty words. Her gestures and facial expressions, however, contribute to conveying her Neapolitaness.

As far as the youngest generation is concerned, *Sandro* and *Ines* both speak the dialect. They are in their thirties and married as if to suggest that

they have embraced a more "traditional" way of life. Daniel's father, *Bruno*, on the other hand, who is torn between his role of strict and companionable father, rarely uses the dialect. Nonetheless, his accent is Neapolitan, as is the lexicogrammar of his speech. This occurs, for instance, when he uses the typical Italian regional expression *buono, buono*, with a Neapolitan accent, standardised as "good, good".

Overall, Neapolitan traits in the Italian dialogues are represented at all linguistic levels, from phonology through accents to the lexico-grammatical structure, fulfilling the functions of realism and characterisation. Elements traditionally subject to neutralisation such as accents are standardised and rarely compensated with other marked elements. For example, many characters use the typical phonological features of Italy's Southern dialects, such as *a' mamma* rather than *alla mamma* [to mum], *a' mmare* rather than *nel mare* [into the sea], or *apposto* rather than *a posto* to mean "ok", to name just a few examples. Characters' names undergo the phenomenon of apocope, e.g., *Lu'* for *Luca* and *Mati* for *Matilda*.

At the lexical level, culturally-specific references are not very frequent. When they are inserted in a dialogue and maintained in the English subtitles, comprehension for an English-speaking viewer might be problematic and the phonetic effect might not be necessarily humorous as is in Italian. The case of *scarpariello* (i.e., a recipe for a Neapolitan tomato sauce) mentioned by the elderly *Punzo* is an example. A slightly different solution is found in a dialogue between *Bruno*—Daniel's father—and *Cristina*—*Sandro's* wife—at a party, where *Scusate, ma lo sentite questo odore di... zeppoline me pare?* [Sorry, but... can you feel this smell of... zeppoline it seems?] is subtitled as "Can you... can you smell that? It's like, uh, zeppole pastry". Here, the typical cake *zeppoline*, with the diminutive suffix "*-ine*" is translated into "zeppole pastry", which shows a strategy of maintenance accompanied by an explanation. In general, dialectal terms are almost invariably neutralised without

recurring to colloquial language for compensation. This is the case of the Neapolitan vocative *guagliò* or of the regional term *capatosta*, simply rendered as “guys” and “stubborn” respectively. In various episodes, characters use the expressive verb *azzeccarci* [have to do with], typical of Southern Italy, which is subtitled into standard English, with no marked trait, as shown in Table 1. Note that only “gotta” in Example 3 conveys an informal tone:

From a lexico-grammatical point of view, the regional use of verbs is very common, for example, *stare* [to stay] instead of *essere* [to be], and *tenere* [hold] instead of *avere* [to have] (see examples in Table 2).

In Table 2, the trait is simply neutralised (see examples 4, 6, and 7) and only rarely compensated with colloquial language (as in example 5). Even marked thematic structures in the Italian dialogues undergo standardisation in the English

Table 1 Geographical Dialect: Lexical Level

Example	Episode	Time	Character	Italian Dialogue	English Subtitle
(1)	1x02	00:10:31,208	Young Daniel	Io non <i>ci azzecco</i> niente con lei. [I have nothing that 'has to do' with her]	I don't even know her.
(2)	1x03	00:03:31,041	Sandro	Che <i>ci azzecca</i> , che è “di nuovo”? [What does this 'have to do' with it, what is 'again'?)	What do you mean “no more”?
(3)	1x07	00:14:49,041	Ines	Ma che <i>c'azzecca</i> ? [But what does this 'have to do' with it?]	What's that <i>gotta</i> do with it?

Table 2 Geographical Dialect: Lexico-Grammatical Level

Example	Episode	Time	Character	Italian Dialogue	English Subtitle
(4)	1x01	00:08:28,083	Rosaria	Ci <i>sta</i> il caffè. [Here 'is' coffee]	Your coffee's ready.
(5)	1x01	00:04:58,000	Bruno	Tua madre <i>sta</i> un po' nervosa per il trasloco. [Your mother 'is' a bit nervous about the move]	Your mother's a little <i>wound up</i> from the move.
(6)	1x02	00:14:06,750	Young Matilda	Ma <i>tieni</i> Internet? [But do you 'have' the Internet?]	Do you <i>have</i> the Internet?
(7)	1x02	00:11:05,458	Ines	Non <i>tieni</i> proprio voglia eh? [You really don't feel like it, eh?]	You really <i>don't</i> want to be here.

Table 3 Forms of Courtesy

Example	Episode	Time	Character	Italian Dialogue	English Subtitle
(8)	1x03	00:17:35,791	Young Luca	Per favore, <i>Signor Bruno</i> , non lo <i>picchiate</i> . [Please, Mr. Bruno, do not beat him]	Please, Mr. Bruno, don't hit him.
(9)	1x03	00:00:38,708	Luca	<i>Signor Bruno</i> , non mi <i>fraintendete</i> , a me manca pure casa mia, le mie cose. [Mr. Bruno, do not misinterpret, I miss 'my' house, my things, too]	Don't get me wrong, <i>Bruno</i> , there are things I miss about my home.
(10)	1x02	00:08:35,083	Matilda	<i>Voi siete sicuro di questo fatto di Parigi?</i> [Are you sure about this Paris thing?]	Are you sure about Paris?

subtitles, for instance, the extremely frequent use of *pure* [too] in a marked position in the sentence, typical of Southern Italian varieties. This is evident in Young Raffaella's *Ci vediamo pure i cartoni* [We watch cartoons too], standardised into "And we can watch cartoons if we want". This feature is invariably neutralised and rarely compensated with an informal style such as in the case of Daniel's *Pure gli specchi?* [Mirrors too?], subtitled as "You can restore mirrors?", which contains a question without inversion.

A sociolinguistic aspect related to language use and intersecting with a geographical practise can be considered the old-fashioned courtesy form *voi* (second-person plural pronoun) to address adult people. It is used by Luca (both when he is young and adult) towards elders such as Mr. Ciro and Mr. Bruno as well as by adult Matilda towards "Professor" Punzo, which is standardised (see examples in Table 3).

Although the convergence of the Italian second-person singular and plural pronouns in the English "you" is clearly unavoidable for contrastive linguistic reasons, no compensatory solution is applied in these subtitles to render the formal way of addressing elders. Neapolitan is also featured, with a humoristic effect, in the English-accented Italian of Enea Greenwood, Matilda's fiancé. He only occasionally switches to his native language (e.g., "There you go", "Let's go") and also

tries to imitate the Neapolitan dialect like in *Nu mariuolo*—where *mariuolo* means "rogue"—subtitled as "The man is a crook, huh!" in which the geographical dialect is replaced with a colloquial style.

In the dialogues, Neapolitan humour is also conveyed through the Italian language with a redundant style that might function intertextually, possibly reminding viewers of the Italian comic Totò's famous films, as the two examples in Table 4 suggest. In similar cases, cultural issues seem to go far beyond subtitling practises.

In the series, the geographical dialect also overlaps with other types of marked language, for instance, colloquialisms and multi-generational language, as in the following examples in Table 5.

In these examples, subtitlers do not undertake any compensatory solution. In Example 13, no marked linguistic feature compensates for Southern Italy's lively verb *impicciare* (to swamp), whereas in (14), the Italian verb *appendere* (to hang) is used in the Neapolitan variety with the sense of "jilting" (a partner), losing the geographical trait while maintaining the colloquial tone. In (15), where "hung" (face) is unconventionally used in the sense of "long", the final effect of the English subtitles is that they convey a moral judgement, while Ines vividly describes the man's face. Likewise, the popular interjection *mannaggia*,

Table 4 Intertextuality

Example	Episode	Time	Character	Italian Dialogue	English Subtitle
(11)	1x01	00:08:19,083	Bruno	Stai lontano dal modem.	Stay away from the modem.
		00:08:21,000	Young Daniel	<i>E che è il modem?</i> [And what is modem?]	Uh, modem?
		00:08:22,041	Bruno	<i>Una cosa per Internet</i> [A thing for Internet]	It goes to the Internet.
			Daniel	<i>E che è Internet?</i> [And what is Internet?]	Internet?
(12)	1x01	00:08:24,750	Bruno	È <i>una cosa</i> che serve per cercare <i>le cose</i> . Non devi <i>tocca</i> , è <i>una cosa</i> di lavoro. [It's a thing that is needed to look for things. You must not touch it, it's a thing for work]	It's something you use to look for things. Don't touch it, it's for work.
		00:26:51,416	Daniel	Sono uscito <i>con una persona</i> ma <i>quella persona</i> non era <i>quella persona</i> ,	I went out with <i>somebody</i> I met online, but it wasn't <i>her</i> .
		00:26:54,166		era <i>un'altra persona</i> . [I went out with a person, but that person was not that person, it was another person]	It was <i>a different person</i> .
		00:26:56,583	Luca	Hai mangiato? [Have you had dinner?]	Are you hungry?

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Table 5 Geographical Dialect Intersecting with Colloquialisms and Multi-Generational Language

Example	Episode	Time	Character	Italian Dialogue	English Subtitle
(13)	1x04	00:01:45,333	Matilda	Se tu <i>stai impicciato</i> . [If you're swamped (with work)]	Yeah, but if you're <i>busy</i> .
(14)	1x04	00:05:53,541	Ines	<i>Mati, vedere una persona per appenderla</i> significa "non <i>appenderla</i> ".	Mati, seeing someone to <i>dump</i> them means "not <i>dumping</i> " them.
(15)	1x02	00:02:27,416	Ines	<i>Tiene sempre quella faccia appesa</i> , pare che ha passato <i>un guaio</i> . [He always 'has' that 'long' face, it seems he has got into trouble]	That guy's got no soul.

typical of Southern Italy's dialects, used by Bruno when scolding his young son and daughter who are fighting (*Mannaggia, ragazzi* [*Mannaggia, guys*]), is standardised as "Come on. Come on now". Conversely, in another occurrence, the same interjection is used by young Luca, conveying it with

an offensive swearword, i.e., "motherfuck", thus involving use-related variation.

The series also includes a different geographical variety, i.e., the Veneto dialect from the North of Italy spoken by a minor character, Nando. He

is an agent working for Matilda’s father—a film actor—who displays a strong accent and uses a typical taboo word in *Ti se un mona* [You’re a *mona*]. *Mona*, a vulgar term, acquires in the co-text the meaning of “idiot”, subtitled as “You’re a real joker”.

In sum, Neapolitan traits permeate the Italian dialogues and completely disappear in the English subtitles through a strategy of neutralisation and more specifically of discourse standardisation without any compensatory solutions. Admittedly, Naples and the island of Procida on the background multimodally convey the environment where characters live their adventures, and untranslated Italian popular songs underline a nostalgia for the 90s. Nonetheless, the characters’ identity expressed through the language they speak is fundamentally lost.

Multi-Generational Language

The language spoken by young, teen, and adult characters in the series is often marked and includes features of colloquialisms, informal and unconventional teenage/youth and taboo language, contributing to realism and characterisation.

Sometimes the colloquial language is maintained, as in the offensive *cagasotto* [shit-scared] of young Raffaella, which becomes “wuss” in the subtitles,

thus informal. However, overall, the English subtitles do not show the same level of informality as the Italian dialogues. For instance, the colloquial style is toned down when the clause *fa schifo* [it sucks] is rendered into a neutral “it’s awful”. In the same vein, most characters frequently use the colloquial adverb *manco*, with an emphatic function, which is essentially standardised (as in Example 16 below). Let us consider further similar cases in Table 6 where the English subtitles have been neutralised and, therefore, have become unmarked.

The colloquial use of the pleonastic *c’*, as in *C’aveva 60 anni* [She was 60], is simply standardised as “She was in her sixties”. Discourse standardisation also occurs with the colloquialism *coso* (used for an unidentified object), which is omitted in the subtitles (in *Dammi ‘sto coso* [Give me this thing]/“Let go!”, referring to a cellphone). In this specific case, the visual code helps comprehension even though the function of realism is toned down. When it comes to interjections, the popular Italian *porca miseria* [blast!] used by Daniel is slightly softened into “jeez”. In turn, an exclamation implying a Catholic reference such as *Madonna santa!* is preserved in the English subtitles although comprehension may not be ensured,

Table 6 Colloquialisms

Example	Episode	Time	Character	Italian Dialogue	English Subtitle
(16)	1x01	00:08:54,25	Rosaria	Niente anticipo. Anzi, se continui a litigare con tua sorella, <i>manco</i> il mese prossimo te lo diamo. [No advances. In fact, if you keep fighting with your sister, not even next month we’ll give it to you]	No advances. In fact, if you keep fighting with your sister, you won’t get it at all.
(17)	1x07	00:22:03,000	Daniel	Shakespeare mi piace <i>un sacco</i> . [I like Shakespeare an awful lot]	I love Shakespeare.
(18)	1x02	00:19:15,583	Ines	Guarda che ti sei <i>combinata</i> sotto agli occhi. [Look at the mess you’ve made under your eyes]	Look what you’ve <i>done</i> to your eyes.
(19)	1x07	00:21:47,791	Matilda	Sono <i>incasinatissima</i> . [I’m in a big mess]	I’m really <i>very busy</i> .
(20)	1x02	00:11:17,958	Ines	Magari pensavi che porto <i>sfiga</i> . [Maybe you thought I’m jinxed]	Well, maybe you think I’m <i>bad luck</i> .

and thus humour might be lost. An interesting case of compensation of humour occurs when the Italian *Quanto ti devo, Ciro?* [How much do I owe you, Ciro?] is rendered as “What’s the damage?”, an expression used to ask how much one has to pay for something, with a shift from colloquial to informal humorous language. Compensation is also achieved with the insertion of “gotta/gotten”, to convey a colloquial tone in the English subtitles (e.g., *Ma si può sapere che ti piglia?* [What’s the problem with you?]/“What’s gotten into you?”). Such an insertion also reinforces the function of realism when the Italian dialogue does not feature any marked language (e.g., *Devo proprio andare* [I really must go]/“I really gotta go”).

By the same token, a colloquialism in the English subtitles is used to pursue the function of humour, for example, when Ines shows disapproval for her friend Matilda and her boyfriend Enea who avoid technology. About this, Ines comments *Ah certo, perché tu e Enea siete luddisti* [Of course, because you and Enea are Luddites], which is subtitled as “Ah, I forgot you two suck with tech”, perhaps, for the sake of greater comprehension. Another humoristic effect is lost when Matilda, during her

first blind date with Daniel, uses a *ni*—an Italian colloquial expression to mean “neither yes nor no”—, which is translated into “Mm, yes”.

Regarding youth language, the typical *ma ci sei proprio finito sotto* [but you really are head over heels] expressed by Rosa—a secondary character presumably around her 30s—is rendered as “You’ve really got it bad for her”. Along the same lines, Table 7 offers three instances of unconventional use in the Italian version that seems to correspond to teenage/youth language.

In (21), the term *tamarro*, spread from Southern Italy to other regions as a juvenile term to refer to rough people, especially from the poorer areas, is neutralised as “brute”. Likewise, in (22), the use of the indefinite word “thing” to mean “drink” is completely lost, whereas in (23), the extremely colloquial expression in italics—conveying the meaning of a long and noisy talk—is shifted to a taboo choice.

Considering the multi-generational characteristics of the series, children’s language is instantiated in the word *femmina* [female], repeatedly used by

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Table 7 Teenage/Youth Language

Example	Episode	Time	Character	Italian Dialogue	English Subtitle
(21)	1x08	00:05:07,083	Young Sandro	Così ti sei fatto rubare l’amore da un <i>tamarro</i> con il motorino. [So you’ve let a rough guy on a scooter steal your love]	But now you’ve let a <i>brute</i> on a scooter steal your woman!
(22)	1x02	00:03:22,416	Matilda	Ho bevuto <i>una cosa</i> con <i>uno</i> delle medie. [I drank a thing with somebody from middle school]	I stayed and had a <i>drink</i> with a <i>guy</i> from middle school.
		00:03:22,500	Ines	<i>Una cosa?</i> [A thing?]	A <i>drink?</i>
(23)	1x07	00:03:24,625	Matilda	Dieci <i>cose</i> . [Ten things]	Ten <i>drinks</i> .
		00:22:48,791	Matilda	Io sono l’ultima persona che può farti dei <i>pipponi</i> moralisti. [I am the last person who can give you a lecture	The last one who should be <i>busting your balls</i> about morals is me.

the young protagonists in the 1990s to identify either “girls” or “women”, which are the general terms found in the English subtitles.

Moving along the cline of colloquial use, taboo language is widely present in the Italian dialogues and is one of the marked features that is majorly preserved yet not thoroughly. Direct equivalence is exemplified, for instance, by *merda!* [shit!], *cazzo* [cock], *figlio di puttana* [son of a bitch], etc. On the other hand, functional equivalence is achieved, according to the situation, in *cazzo* [cock], which becomes “shit” or “fuck”, *che palle* [what a drag], rendered as “shit” or “what a pain in the ass”, *una marea di cazzate* [a stream of bullshit] subtitled as “all that horseshit”, etc. Likewise, the functions of realism and characterisation fulfilled by the swearwords in the specific co-text are recreated (see example 24 in Table 8). Nevertheless, the strong value of taboo language also happens to be standardised, for instance, when the vulgar verb *scopare* is translated into “sleep with” and “get laid” (elsewhere, as “fuck”). Significant examples where the vulgar tone is neutralised involve both main and secondary characters, including Aurelio, Daniel’s boss, as the examples in Table 8 illustrate.

It might be noticed that, while Examples 25 and 27 shift to a merely colloquial tone, in 26 any connotation disappears from the subtitles. Additionally, in (28), the subtitled version is not only neutralised in terms of taboo language but also semantically changed: as a matter of fact, the not-so-serious mistake (conveyed by *mezza* [half]) becomes “huge”.

Blaspheme language is also partly neutralised, as in Punzo’s exclamation *Gesù Cristo!* [Jesus Christ!] rendered as “Jeez” with a shift from taboo to popular. A partial compensation, although at a different level of marked language, occurs when Young Raffaella rails against her brother with *E tu mi hai rotto le palle!* [And you’ve busted my balls!], which is softened from vulgarity to informality with “Why are you such a brat?”. The opposite strategy is applied when Daniel answers with a plain comment such as *Non ti sopporto più* [I can’t stand you anymore], which becomes a colloquialism in the subtitles: “You’re a brat”. Finally, and significantly, albeit not regularly, English subtitles contain more vulgar lexical choices than the Italian dialogue. A case in point is the male protagonist’s assertion *Aurelio ci manda in mezzo a una strada* [Aurelio throws us out on the street], subtitled as “Aurelio is gonna fire our asses”.

Table 8 Taboo Language

Example	Episode	Time	Character	Italian Dialogue	English Subtitle
(24)	1x07	00:16:52,458	Daniel	<i>Porca puttana!</i> [Holy shit!]	No! No! Oh, <i>shit!</i> What the <i>fuck?</i>
(25)	1x03	00:07:07,375	Young Sandro	<i>Che palle.</i> [What a drag]	What a <i>pain!</i>
(26)	1x03	00:11:50,458	Aurelio	È un mondo <i>di merda</i> , Daniel. Un mondo <i>di merda</i> . [It’s a shitty world, Daniel. A shitty world]	It’s a <i>cruel</i> world, Daniel. A <i>cruel</i> world.
(27)	1x02	00:11:14,166	Ines	Non le ho <i>mandato io a puttane</i> il matrimonio. [I didn’t fuck up her wedding]	I really <i>messed up</i> . I didn’t <i>curse</i> her marriage.
(28)	1x02	00:08:38,166	Matilda	Secondo me fate <i>una mezza cazzata</i> . [In my opinion you’re kind of fucking up]	I think you are making a <i>huge mistake</i> .

Another example is Aurelio's question *È così che mi ringraziate?* [Is this how you thank me?], rendered as "And in return you pull this shit?". Similarly, when Matilda's old car has stopped working, she exclaims, *No, non va* [No, it doesn't work], which becomes stronger in the English subtitles with a taboo expression such as "No! It's fucked", proving again that taboo language is multi-generational in this series.

Discussion and Conclusions

The findings from the analysis of *Generazione 56k* confirm a tendency towards neutralisation strategies, and more specifically, towards discourse standardisation of geographical varieties in the TL, which had been observed in previous studies (Balirano & Fruttaldo, 2021; Bonsignori et al., 2019; De Meo, 2012; Ellender, 2015; Magazzù, 2018; Tortoriello, 2012). A geographical dialect is not normally compensated with variation according to use, which also tends to be softened in the English subtitles, especially when it comes to colloquialisms and the youth language. Moreover, since the border between geographical dialect and multi-generational language is sometimes blurred, normalising the former also affects the latter. Subtitlers seem to endeavour to essentially preserve the taboo language, which has already been pointed out as a new, emerging attitude in other AVT modes such as dubbing (Dore, 2017a). Interestingly, taboo language seems to overcome age and gender barriers and may be described as multi-generational and universal. This contrasts with a traditional attitude in subtitling, where swearwords "are more likely to be used in male-dominated contexts" (Cavaliere, 2019, p. 4).

Although humour is generally present, its effect in subtitles is toned down since it often derives from the use of a geographical variety. The Italian audience may have the possibility of appreciating the expressiveness and the musicality of the Neapolitan accent, rhythm, and expressions. They might also enjoy detecting intertextual references to a literary, theatrical, and cinematic comic tradition, which spans from Eduardo De Filippo to Totò

and Massimo Troisi and that, in the society of the new millennium, is exploited in web media (see the phenomenon of *The Jackals*). Inevitably, unless English-speaking viewers are familiar with the Italian language, culture, and artistic/popular background, they are deprived of such appreciation.

Despite the recent move of AVT towards multimodal studies (Ramos Pinto & Adami, 2020), in this paper, we have primarily followed the linguistic direction trend ascertained by Guillot and Pavesi (2019) in considering the verbal code "a key component in multimodal cinematic discourse" (p. 498). We posit that this, particularly, holds true for contexts in which characters' representation is mainly construed through the language they speak. Visual compensation in the subtitles has also been partially commented upon in the analysis, although we concur with Tortoriello (2012) that this compensatory element may require a stronger effort on the part of the foreign audience. The stunning views of the blue sea, Vesuvio, Naples, and Procida's atmosphere might even enhance the stereotypical image of Italy rather than contribute to representing a specific cultural identity. For an Anglophone audience, the Mediterranean traditionally evokes beauty, sunshine, and warm weather.

In conclusion, Gottlieb's (2009) hypothesis in relation to the translation "up the river" (p. 41) is not confirmed by the analysis of subtitles in this series. This is because only a limited degree of adherence was noted. As a consequence, the representation of "Neapolitaness" seems invariably to be compromised. It is worth bringing up Cavaliere's (2019) claim in her study of the film *Gomorra*, "non-Italian audiences who are unfamiliar with the sounds and rhythms of standard Italian might not even be aware that the characters are making extensive use of dialect since in the film Neapolitan is basically rendered into standard English" (p. 19).

Even though in Anglophone contexts subtitling has traditionally been linked to the idea of

“authenticity”, the Neapolitan identity may hardly be perceived. Given the constraints inherent in subtitling, this might be interpreted as an inexorable outcome. Nevertheless, even considering the issues of legibility and intelligibility imposed by the subtitling mode, we believe that alternative translation strategies could be contemplated in some cases. An example of this is the use of a standard variety followed by written indications informing the public that the character is speaking a geographical dialect like in the Italian intralingual subtitles. Obviously, this would require a longer process that is, perhaps, not compatible with the number of subtitled series released, tight deadlines, and marketing needs of video-on-demand platforms. Moreover, those consumers of Netflix series who are keen on binge-watching might have different expectations. To conclude, the subtitling of *Generazione 56k* does not fulfil a successful representation of “Italianness” and its local geographical diversity, which is strongly instantiated by the linguistic variation of the Italian dialogues. Yet, the typical themes engaging millennials are conveyed in the English subtitles and might be appreciated by an international audience.

Although limited to a case study, this paper has sought to contribute to the ongoing research on geographical dialects and multi-generational language in AVT. In this vein, it allows for discussing how these language variations affect translation practises, consequently, influencing the representation of Italian geographical variation intersecting with multi-generational language. Another aspect that is worth analysing in further research, since it did not fall within the scope of this paper, regards the possible differences between the English dubbing and subtitling of the same AV product. The effects of neutralisation of geographical variation might also be examined through a reception study, in line with that conducted by Cavaliere (2008), to assess the grade of appreciation of identity and humour by English-speaking viewers. In addition, it might be fruitful to investigate whether younger generations, accustomed to Netflix programmes

where “multilingualism” and issues of representation are increasingly championed (Manfredi, 2021b), would envisage a new subtitling experience.

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