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Are Dubbed Teen Films (still) Censored?

Ar paaugliams skirtų filmų dubliavimas (vis dar) cenzūruojamas?

TRANSLATION / VERTIMAS

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The dubbing of teen films is claimed to be harshly censored and manipulated in view of the target audience. In particular, the teen films of the 1970s touching upon certain taboo topics, such as sex, drugs and violence are argued to be modified extensively in order to become less disturbing. The aim of this paper is to explore whether these claims are still true, especially in view of recent films addressing sex and drugs. In this respect, a corpus of 14 films (from 1983 to 2015) has been implemented. The first striking difference that this analysis will bring to the fore, is the film rating, being R in North America and G, or a sort of NC-14, in Italy. This paper will then analyze the Italian renderings of the most recurrent swearwords uttered in the corpus. Finally, an analysis of random film phrases will underpin that in the 1980s and 1990s the characters' utterances were heavily manipulated. On the contrary, as far as NC-14 films and more recent films are concerned, not only do they not censor words or utterances, but they even add extra taboo words. This analysis will hence highlight that NC-14 and more recent teen films are far less manipulated and censored than the films of the 1980s and 1990s.

KEYWORDS: teen films, film language manipulation, censorship, dubbed films in Italian, Italian dubbing, audiovisual translation.

Introduction



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The importance of investigating teen film censorship should be firstly outlined. As literature claims, Hollywood has recently been targeting teenagers (Shary, 2003, p. 490), which has exerted unambitious influence over Europe. As a result, a certain amount of film censorship has been necessary in view of culture differences (Zanotti, 2012, p. 352). Literature claims, in fact, that teen films generally address topics such as sex, crime, violence and drugs (Zanotti, 2012, p. 352). Being these topics sensitive *per se*, it is self-evident that dubbed films are likely to undergo some manipulations (i.e., change, or language adaptation) in view of the film marketing and the audience appeal. As far as audiovisual translation is concerned, literature claims in fact that teen films can be considered "a privileged site of censorship and manipulation" (Zanotti, 2012, p. 352), mostly on commercial grounds. Censorship is argued to be applied to taboo topics (Chiaro, 2007). Taboo encompasses certain behaviours in a given society, which may be considered harmful and are inappropriate (Fernández Fernández, 2009,

p. 210). They may also cause “anxiety, embarrassment or shame” (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 239). For these reasons, sometimes film producers and distribution companies impose audiovisual translators to tone down taboo language (Chiaro, 2007); whereas other times audiovisual translators apply self-censorship due to moral issues. In some other cases, instead, omissions or modifications might be due to dubbing strategies. It is often claimed, in fact, that audiovisual translators “do not have the last word on their work” (Zabalbeascoa, 1996, p. 249). Generally speaking, manipulating film language with the view to avoiding age restriction, can ensure popularity and higher profits (Israelsen-Hartley, 2010; Palsson *et al.*, 2013). In practice, when a film is dubbed, language interventions (i.e., language manipulations) can encompass redesigning, retargeting or even rewriting the film script (Zanotti, 2012), in order to lessen the impact of offensive topics (Ranzato, 2009; Ciordia, 2016) and “please dominant expectations and preferences” (Gambier, 2013, p. 52).

In her research, Zanotti narrowed her analysis down to some teen films of the 1970s. It would be interesting to explore whether nowadays teen films are still censored, or at least manipulated and how. Therefore, this paper is aimed at exploring whether these claims are still true. In this respect, a corpus of 14 films, from 1983 to 2015, has been implemented. The length of the time span is considered to be enough to detect any change in the censorship strategy. To this aim, the following teen films and their dubbed versions have been analyzed in depth: *Porky's 2* (1983), *Terminator 2* (1991), *Dazed and Confused* (1993), *Final Destination* (2000), *Scary Movie* (2000), *The Girl Next Door* (2004), *Who's Your Daddy* (2004), *American Pie 5: The Naked Mile* (2006), *See No Evil* (2006), *Jennifer's Body* (2009), *Project X* (2012), *The To Do List* (2013), *Premature* (2014) and *Dope* (2015). As can be seen, the corpus is composed of a wide variety of American films, encompassing comedies (*Porky's 2*, *Scary Movie*, *Who's Your Daddy*, *American Pie 5*, *Project X*, *The To Do List* and *Premature*); comedies/dramas (*Dazed and Confused* and *Dope*); romances (*The Girl Next Door*), horror films (*Final Destination*, *See No Evil* and *Jennifer's Body*), and action films (*Terminator 2*). The films mentioned above have been chosen on the basis of their wide variety. Furthermore, given the wide time frame, there are high chances to detect language manipulations and censorship, if any. The subjects dealt with in teen films are, as outlined above, teenage sex, drug abuse, and violence.

Finally, this analysis would not be complete without considering another pivotal element, which is the film rating. What scholars claim, for instance, is that films rated less than R (restricted to under 17s) guarantee higher profits. At the same time, however, PG-13 films (parental guidance for under 13s) with adult content and language are surprisingly more profitable (Israelsen-Hartley, 2010). Therefore, it can be stated that the film rating does exert some influence. In this respect, however, it is possible that the film rating in North America is different from the one in Italy. If this is the case, room for further language manipulations could be in sight.

As a matter of fact, the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) rated all above films as “R”, meaning that all teens under 17 must be accompanied by a parent or an adult guardian, in order to watch the films. In Italy, on the contrary, some of the films composing the corpus are rated “G” (general audience: all ages admitted); whereas only a few are rated a sort of “NC-14” (no-one under 14 admitted). In particular, in the selected corpus the films which are NC-14 are only six and are the following: *Scary Movie* (2000), *The Girl Next Door* (2004), *American Pie 5: The Naked Mile* (2006), *See No Evil* (2006), *Jennifer's Body* (2009) and *Project X* (2012). It goes without saying that these decisions are remarkable *per se*. It is, in fact, highly probable that language manipulations are present in the dubbed versions of the G-rated films, in order to make the films suitable for teens of all ages and guarantee the audience appeal (Tropiano, 2006, p. 117). In these films, in fact, language expressions are likely to be

Analysis

General Overview on Censorship and Language Manipulation in Dubbed Teen Films

“expurgated” of disturbing elements (Bucaria, 2007, p. 251), in order not to restrict the film audience. What one would expect in NC-14 films, instead, is the fact that language may be less manipulated; hence closer to the original. This paper will attempt to bring to the surface whether this is the case or not.

As stated above, this paper will explore whether the language of the above-mentioned teen films is censored or manipulated in the Italian dubbed versions. In order to do so, an in-depth analysis of each film script will be carried out, together with an analysis of the Italian versions. In particular, some (swear) word counting will be necessary, in order to explore whether faithful renderings are provided for. What will follow is practically a cross-check of the taboo language used in the selected corpus. At first, the most recurrent swearwords of the original films will be pinpointed and counted. Then, the Italian renderings, if any, will be analyzed in depth. In particular, these will be reported in tables, in order to show their frequencies.

As far as the swearword counting is concerned, the headwords *fuck* and *shit* are the most frequent in the corpus. This is not surprising. Scholars claim, for instance, that *fuck* is the most common swearword in US films (Fernández Fernández, 2009, p. 215). Furthermore, both *shit* and *fuck* are still part of the “seven dirty words” which cannot be uttered on TV (Marcus, 1979; Sullivan, 2010). Other research carried out by OfCom (Office of Communications, UK) claimed that, according to teenagers, *fuck* is one of the most offensive swearwords (OfCom, 2005, p. 12); whereas *shit* has become commonly used and tolerated (OfCom, 2005, p. 14). As a matter of fact, the headword *fuck* is uttered 739 times in the corpus; whereas the headword *shit* 493 times (Table 1 and 2).

Table 1

Recurrence of the headword *fuck* in the corpus of 14 films

Fuck as a headword	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	TOT
fuck (modifier)	7	3	34	24	6	9	1	26	11	7	77	12	15	31	263
fuck (verb)	4	4	10	9	7	24	2	15	5	8	38	18	20	20	184
fuck (noun)	3	2	10	12	5	14	1	9	15	3	69	10	14	65	232
motherfucker	2	2	7	1	3	3	0	9	1	0	14	2	2	14	60
TOTAL	16	11	61	46	21	50	4	59	32	18	198	42	51	130	739

In order to simplify the reading of the tables, the following abbreviations will be used henceforth:

Porky's 2 (1983)= a	<i>The Girl Next Door</i> (2004)= f	<i>Project X</i> (2012)= k
Terminator 2 (1991)= b	Who's your Daddy (2004)= g	The To Do List (2013)= l
Dazed and Confused (1993)= c	<i>American Pie 5</i> (2006)= h	Premature (2014)= m
Final Destination (2000)= d	<i>See no Evil</i> (2006)= i	Dope (2015)= n
<i>Scary Movie</i> (2000)= e	<i>Jennifer's Body</i> (2009)= j	

The italicized films are those prohibited to under 14s (“NC-14” henceforth).

Table 2

Recurrence of the headword *shit* in the corpus of 14 films

Shit as a headword	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	TOT
shit (noun)	25	26	40	13	29	15	6	20	30	13	75	29	23	114	458
to shit	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	1	1	0	8
bullshit	0	1	8	2	3	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	3	5	27
TOTAL	25	27	48	16	32	15	7	22	31	14	79	31	27	119	493

Other recurrent swearwords are the following: *dick/cock* (84 utterances) and *pussy* (43 utterances). According to OfCom, the swearword *dick* is perceived as mildly offensive by teenagers; whereas *cock* is still perceived as quite offensive (OfCom, 2005, p. 81). *Pussy* is also considered offensive, but only by some women (*ibid.*). For reasons of space, it is not possible to provide a full account of all swearwords. However, in the next pages an in-depth analysis of the headwords *fuck*, *shit* and *dick/cock* will be provided, together with an analysis of the renderings of some random phrases.

The analysis will now start by considering the headword *fuck*.

The films italicized in Table 3 are those forbidden to under 14s. For a clear understanding of the renderings, it is important to remark that omissions encompass outright censorship (i.e., non-utterances), replacements by common words (e.g., *incredibly*, *really* instead of *fucking*; *have sex* and *make love* instead of the verb *fuck*), and lessened expressions, such as euphemisms or words like *hell*, the verb *do*, etc. As outlined above, some omissions could be due to dubbing strategies; whereas others to self-censorship or censorship imposed by film producers or distributors.

First Analysis: Censorship of the Headword *Fuck*

Renderings	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	TOT
omissions	9	6	37	25	7	20	3	23	13	9	84	16	22	40	315
<i>cazzo</i> (cock)	1	0	6	14	4	6	1	13	10	3	62	4	9	49	182
<i>fanculo</i> (screw your ass)	1	1	6	4	3	5	0	3	6	2	17	5	3	10	66
<i>scopare</i> (to fuck, literally to sweep)	2	0	4	0	1	6	0	5	0	3	4	7	5	5	42
<i>merda, stronzo</i> (shit, piece of shit)	0	1	2..	1	2	1	0	2	1	1	19	1	2	3	36
(other)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	16	11	61	46	21	50	4	59	32	18	198	42	51	130	739

Table 3

Rendering of the headword *fuck* in Italian

It is now possible to calculate the frequencies of each rendering (and omission) out of the total number of headwords uttered in the original version of each film. Therefore, Table 4 reports the omission percentages of the headword in the selected corpus. For instance, the film *Porky's 2* (1983) (letter a) counts 9 omissions out of 16 original utterances in that film. This means that omissions are 56% (Table 4).

Film	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	TOT
Omissions	9	6	37	25	7	20	3	23	13	9	84	16	22	40	315
TOT	16	11	61	46	21	50	4	59	32	18	198	42	51	130	739
%	56%	55%	61%	54%	33%	40%	75%	39%	41%	50%	43%	38%	43%	31%	-

Table 4

Omissions of the headword *fuck* in each film

The italicized data are those pertaining to the films prohibited to under 14s. As can be seen, the omission percentages are lower in these films. The NC-14 films, in fact, have rates ranging from 33% (*Scary Movie* 2000) (letter e) to 50% (*Jennifer's Body* 2009) (letter j). Up to 2004, instead, all films rated G (a, b, c, d, and g) show a higher percentage of omissions, ranging from 54% (*Final Destination* 2000) (letter d) to 75% (*Who's your Daddy* 2004) (letter g). In the film *Who's your Daddy* (2004), censorship is practically downright. What is noticeable, is also the fact that both films in 2000 (*Scary Movie*, letter e and *Final Destination*, letter d) show quite different percentages of omissions. It is self-evident that this is the result of the film rating. Another important remark should be made as far as the last three films are

concerned; namely: *The To Do List* (2013) (letter l); *Premature* (2014) (letter m) and *Dope* (2015) (letter n). These films, although not prohibited to under 14s, show nearly the same percentages of omissions as the NC-14 films (38%, 43% and 31%, respectively). In light of these data, it could be argued that in recent years, the film industry has started to reduce teen film language manipulations or has at least lessened the censorship strategies. This claim, however, must be either underpinned or confuted in the next pages.

So far, omissions have been dealt with. It would be now interesting to understand all the Italian swearwords which translate the headword. Table 5 reports the counting of the following replacement words (back translations) or expressions: *cock*, *screw your ass* and *fuck* (literally *to sweep*). The first line refers to figures, the second to percentages (considering the swearword counting in each original film).

Table 5
Cock, screw your ass
and *fuck* (literally *sweep*)
as back translations of
the headword *fuck*

Film Words	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	TOT
Cock	1	0	6	14	4	6	1	13	10	3	62	4	9	49	182
% (out of 16, 11, etc.)	6%	0%	10%	30%	19%	12%	25%	22%	32%	17%	31%	10%	18%	38%	-
Screw your ass	1	1	6	4	3	5	0	3	6	2	17	5	3	10	66
% (out of 16, 11, etc.)	6%	9%	10%	9%	14%	10%	0%	5%	19%	11%	9%	2%	10%	8%	-
To fuck (lit. to sweep)	2	0	4	0	1	6	0	5	0	3	4	7	5	5	42
% (out of 16, 11, etc.)	13%	0%	7%	0%	5%	12%	0%	8%	0%	17%	2%	17%	10%	4%	-
Other	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	16	11	61	46	21	50	4	59	32	18	198	42	51	130	739

As far as the replacement word *cock* (back translation) is concerned, the film *Final Destination* (2000) (letter d) shows quite a high percentage (30%). In practice, in the dubbed version, the Italian replacement word is uttered 14 times out of 46 headwords. Other high percentages can be noticed in *Dope* (2015) (letter n): 38% (49 utterances out of 130 headwords); *See No Evil* (2006) (letter i): 32% (10 utterances out of 32); *Project X* (2012) (letter k): 31% (62 utterances out of 198) and *American Pie 5* (2006) (letter h): 22% (13 utterances out of 59). As can be seen, it is still remarkable that, apart from *Final Destination* (2000) (letter d), the films with a higher percentage of replacement words can be found in NC-14 films or in some films after 2012. Also *Who's your Daddy* (2004) (letter g) shows a high percentage (25%). This is a particular case, which will be dealt with now.

So far, this analysis has shown frequencies on the basis of the number of swearwords uttered in each film. However, the analysis would not be complete without calculating percentages on the basis of the swearwords uttered in the whole corpus. Therefore, the replacement swearword *cock* uttered in each film should be now weighed on the basis of the corresponding number of utterances in all films (i.e., 182), and so on. The reason for such a parallel analysis is self-evident. For instance, in the film *Who's your daddy* (2004) (letter g) the replacement word is uttered only once. However, as in the original film the headword is uttered only four times, the Italian swearword weighs 25% (Table 5). Such a frequency seems high, but it is

not. For this reason, it is now necessary to weigh the swearword of each film *vis-à-vis* the corresponding total number per swearword in the corpus (i.e., 182, 66, 42, etc.). In this way, each Italian swearword would be weighed on the basis of the corpus, not on the basis of each film, and data would be weighed and represented more equitably.

For instance, if we focus on the first three utterances (i.e., *cock*, *screw your ass* and *to fuck*), the following data come to the fore:

Renderings (back translations)	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n
Omissions (Tot. 315)	3%	2%	12%	8%	2%	6%	1%	7%	4%	3%	27%	5%	7%	13%
Cazzo (dick/cock) (Tot. 182)	1%	0%	3%	8%	2%	3%	0%	7%	5%	2%	34%	2%	5%	27%
Fanculo (screw your ass) (Tot. 66)	2%	2%	9%	6%	5%	8%	0%	5%	9%	3%	26%	8%	5%	15%
Scopare (to fuck, literally to sweep) (Tot. 42)	5%	0%	10%	0%	2%	14%	0%	12%	0%	7%	10%	17%	12%	12%

Table 6

Percentages of omissions and translations of *fuck* (headword) in the corpus

If we consider 315 as the total omissions in the 14 Italian films, *Porky's 2* (1983) (letter a) omits 3% of headwords (9 divided by 315), *Terminator 2* (1991) (letter b) omits 2%, *Dazed and Confused* (1993) 12%, and so on. As can be seen, *Project X* (2012) (letter k) has the highest percentage of omissions, but also of renderings. It may be argued that, in some cases, swearwords were omitted because repeating the same obscenities many times would have been perceived as unnatural in the target language (Ciordia, 2016).

Table 6 can be better understood if percentages are represented in a figure (see Figure 1).

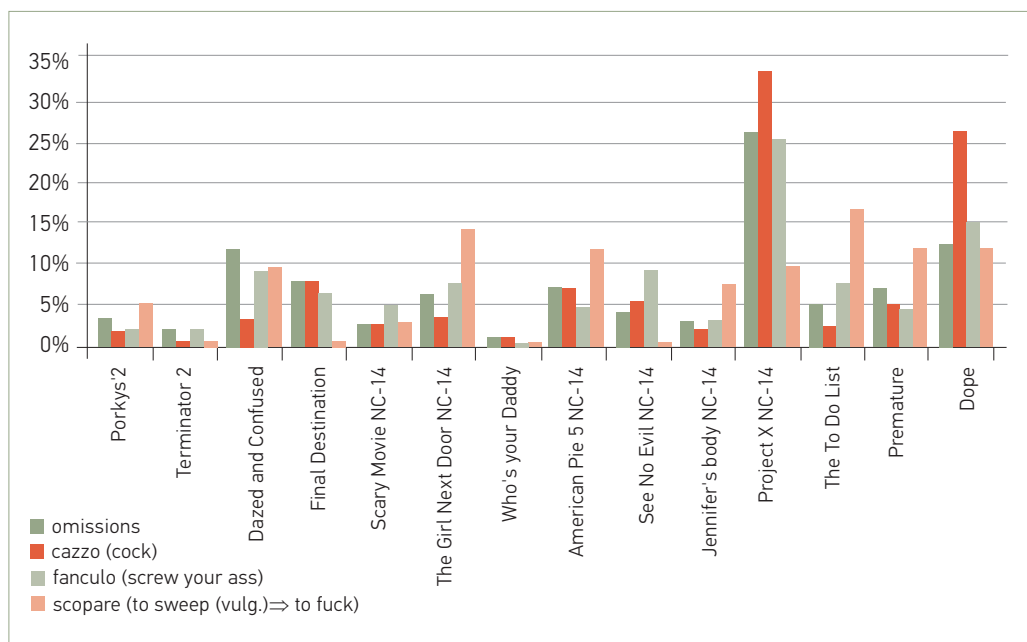


Figure 1

Omissions and translations of *fuck* in the corpus

Films prohibited to under 14s are labeled “NC-14” in Figure 1. What can be inferred, is once again the fact that NC-14 films are those with the highest percentage of swearwords, together with the films released after 2012 (namely, *The To Do List*, *Premature*, and *Dope*). For instance, as far as the verb *to fuck* (literally *to sweep*) (as a back translation) is concerned, it is evident that it is mostly uttered in *The Girl Next Door* (2004), *American Pie 5* (2006) (all NC-14 films) and in *The To Do List* (2013), *Premature* (2014) and *Dope* (2015) (all films released after 2012). This could be due to changes of the society and in the perception of taboo. For instance, as seen above, *Project X* (2012) shows a high frequency of omissions, but at the same time the highest use of the replacement swearword *cock*.

Table 4 and Table 5 could now be merged together in order to obtain a broader overview. To this aim, they are summarized in Table 7, which clarifies some data. In particular, Table 7 highlights that omissions and censorship are still present in the teen films composing the corpus (43%). However, it also remarks that the most recurrent swearwords which replace the headword

Table 7

Overall counting and percentage of the translations and omissions of the headword *fuck*

Renderings (back translations)	Counting	Percentages
omissions	315	43%
<i>cazzo</i> (dick/cock)	182	25%
<i>fanculo</i> (screw your ass)	66	9%
<i>scopare</i> (to fuck, literally to sweep)	42	6%
<i>merda, stronzo</i> (shit, piece of shit)	36	5%
<i>fottere/fottuto</i> (to hump, humped)	33	4%
<i>figlio di puttana, mandare a puttane, porca puttana</i> (son of a bitch, to send to whores, filthy whores)	24	3%
(other)	..	..
TOTAL	739	

fuck are: *cock* (25%), followed by the expression *screw your ass* (9%) and the verb *to fuck* (literally to sweep) (6%).

In view of the analysis carried out, it can be stated that the original headword *fuck* is censored in teen films depending on the Italian film rating. In particular,

the films prohibited to under 14s reveal to be more adherent to the original versions than the G-rated films. As a matter of fact, it is possible to notice that films rated G are more subject to language adjustments and omissions. In addition, since 2013, a new trend has emerged. In particular, all films after 2012 seem to be less censored or manipulated. This is probably due to an adjustment to the fact that teenagers have been exposed more often to sex and violence in the recent years (Millwood Hargrave and Livingstone, 2009). This, however, must yet be underpinned or confuted by the analysis of the other two headwords.

It is now possible to analyze the swearword *shit* and its derivatives.

The films italicized in Table 8 are those forbidden to under 14s. For a clear understanding of the data, it is important to remark that omissions are often due to difficulties in rendering expressions like *and shit* and *or some shit*. These teenagers' discourse markers echo the quite common *and things like that, or something like that*, which are frequent parts of natural conversations (Erman, 2001; O'Keeffe *et al.*, 2007, p. 74; McCarthy, 2010). In Italian, on the contrary, such expressions do not pertain to natural language. It can occur, in fact, that audiovisual translators may omit certain (taboo) words because their translations do not exist in “everyday Italian or ‘screen’ Italian” (Antonini and Chiaro, 2009, p. 110). Therefore, it is possible that in the dubbing process it was necessary to resort to other expressions, sometimes colloquial or vulgar, sometimes not. Explanatory instances are reported in Table 9.

As can be seen from Table 9, translating the word *shit* can be challenging as language reformulation might be necessary in order to maintain the outrageousness of some dialogues. In

Second Analysis: Censorship of *Shit*

Renderings (back translations)	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	TOT
omissions	16	20	27	8	14	10	3	10	13	4	21	15	12	65	238
<i>cazzo, cazzata</i> (cock, cock-up/fuck-up)	1	0	5	4	13	4	0	5	6	3	30	10	1	27	109
<i>merda, merdata, stronzo, stronzata</i> (shit, piece of shit, crappy / shitty thing)	6	5	13	3	2	1	4	5	8	5	11	5	10	26	104
(other)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	25	27	48	16	32	15	7	22	31	14	79	31	27	119	493

Table 8

Renderings of the
headword *shit* in Italian

No.	Expressions	Italian	Back Translations	Films
1	Show that shit	<i>Faccelo vedere</i>	Let us see it	The Girl Next Door
2	It's gonna hurt like shit	<i>Farà un male cane</i>	It's gonna hurt like dog	The Girl Next Door
3	Some serious shit	<i>Un bel casino del cazzo</i>	A nice dick-mess	The Girl Next Door
4	That chronic shit	<i>Roba straordinaria</i>	Extraordinary thing	Project X
5	Some serious fucking shit	<i>Un cazzo di casino</i>	A dick of a mess	Project X
6	The guy isn't gonna do shit	<i>Col cazzo che la chiama</i>	My dick, he will call her	Project X
7	It's my birthday and shit	<i>È il mio compleanno</i>	It's my birthday	Dope
8	Asking you to prom and shit	<i>Che ti chiedono di andare al ballo, vero?</i>	Asking you to prom, right?	Dope
9	I was in a good mood and shit	<i>Ero di buon umore, cazzo</i>	I was in a good mood, dick	Dope
10	y'all came out of a DeLorean or some shit	<i>Ma come cazzo vi vestite?</i>	What the dick are you wearing?	Dope
11	That shit is getting mad sketchy now	<i>Questa merda è diventata un casino</i>	This shit has become a mess	Dope
12	Or some shit	<i>Una merda così</i>	A shit like this	Dope

Table 9

Challenges in
translating *shit*

the selected corpus, however, most of the times the swearword is omitted. This is evident, for instance, in the film *Dope* (2015), which is full of utterances ending with the tails *and shit*, or *some shit* (17 times, precisely). These, unfortunately, could not always be conveyed in Italian, because they would make utterances unnatural, as lines 7 and 8 highlight. Sometimes *shit* is translated literally, as in lines 11 and 12. This, however, is not used extensively, in order to avoid unnatural utterances (Ciordia, 2016).

Moreover, the blasphemous interjection *holy shit* should be analyzed in details. In Italy, in fact, blaspheming is prohibited by law. This implied an outright censorship of *holy shit* in the films of the 1980s and 1990s. In the years after, instead, some audacious utterances can be noticed, as Table 10 reveals.

As can be seen, in the 1980s and 1990s the preferred translation strategies revolved around outright omissions or calling on God for trivial purposes (films a, b, and c). Also films in the early 2000s mostly used omissions (films f and g). Omissions generally took the form of

Table 10

Translations and omissions of *holy shit* in the selected corpus

Renderings	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	TOT
Omissions	2	3	1	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	14
<i>Porca troia, porca puttana</i> (filthy whores)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	12	0	0	0	14
<i>Cazzo</i> (cock)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	6	1	1	0	10
<i>Cristo, mio Dio</i> (Christ, my God)	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
<i>Merda</i> (shit)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	3	5	1	0	0	2	1	5	2	0	21	1	1	0	42

clear-cut censorship (i.e., unspoken words), or encompassed expressions like *filthy cow*, *gosh* or *dash it*. Since *American Pie 5* (2006) (letter h), instead, there has been an increasing trend in using swearwords, such as *cock* or *filthy whores* (back translations). It goes without saying that the analysis of the renderings of *holy shit* could not be overseen, because it has clarified the reasons for some omissions.

Having clarified this important aspect, it is now possible to continue the analysis. Table 11 reports the omission percentages of the headword *shit* in each film. The percentages are calculated over the number of headwords uttered in the original version of each film. For instance, *Porky's 2* (1983) (letter a) counts 16 omissions out of 25 original utterances in the film. This means that omissions are 64% (Table 11).

Table 11

Omissions of the headword *shit* in the corpus

Film	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	TOT
Omissions	16	20	27	8	14	10	3	10	13	4	21	15	12	65	238
TOT	25	27	48	16	32	15	7	22	31	14	79	31	27	119	493
%	64%	77%	56%	50%	44%	67%	43%	45%	42%	29%	27%	49%	43%	55%	

The films with the highest omission percentages are: *Terminator 2* (1991) (letter b): 77%; *The Girl Next Door* (2004) (letter f): 67%; *Porky's 2* (1983) (letter a): 64%; *Dazed and Confused* (1993) (letter c): 56%, and *Dope* (2015) (letter n): 55%. As can be seen, the data in Table 11 do not apparently comply with the pattern of the first headword *fuck*. In other words, censorship seems to have been applied greatly to the second headword, both in NC-14 films (see for example *The Girl Next Door*, letter f) and in films after 2012 (see for example *Dope*, letter n). However, as stated above, *shit* probably represented a challenge for audiovisual translators, which was not always possible to overcome. Therefore, a higher omission rate in NC-14 films and in films after 2012, could be justified on these grounds. Furthermore, before 2006 the blasphemous utterance *holy shit* was often downgraded to *filthy cow*, *dash it*, or *oh my God* (hence omitted) in many of the films composing the corpus.

So far, omissions of the headword have been analyzed. It would be now interesting to understand which Italian swearwords are used to actually translate it. Table 12 reports the counting of the words *cock* and *shit / shitty thing* used to translate the headword in the selected corpus. The first line reports the counting; whereas the second line reports the percentages calculated considering the number of times the headword is uttered in each film.

From Table 12, it can be argued that in the 1980s and 1990s (films a, b, and c) a literal translation was preferred to the replacement word *cock* (back translation). This was probably due

Film Words	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	TOT
Cock, cock-up	1	0	5	4	13	4	0	5	6	3	30	10	1	27	109
% (out of 25, 27, etc.)	5%	0%	10%	25%	41%	27%	0%	23%	18%	21%	38%	32%	4%	23%	-
Shit, shitty thing	6	5	13	3	2	1	4	5	8	5	11	5	10	26	104
% (out of 25, 27, etc.)	27%	18%	28%	19%	6%	6%	57%	23%	26%	36%	13%	16%	37%	14%	-
Other	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	25	27	48	16	32	15	7	22	31	14	79	31	27	119	493

Table 12

Cock, cock-up and shit, shitty thing as back translations of the headword shit

to the fact that it was regarded as less offensive, although further research would be called for, in order to underpin this claim. However, if we consider the table as a whole, it could be stated that there is quite an even distribution of the use of the two swearwords in the Italian films composing the corpus. Therefore, Table 12 highlights that *cock* and *shit* are the swearwords which mostly replace the original headword. This is also corroborated by Table 13, which shows the overall counting and percentages of translations and omissions of the original headword.

In order to gather more detailed information on the distribution of the renderings, it is now important to consider the utterances of each swearword *vis-à-vis* the corresponding total number per swearword in the whole corpus (i.e., 109, 104 etc.).

Renderings (back translations)	Counting	Percentages
omissions	238	48%
<i>cazzo, cazzata</i> (cock, cock-up/fuck-up)	109	22%
<i>merda, merdata, stronzo, stronzata</i> (shit, piece of shit, crappy/shitty thing)	104	21%
<i>puttanata</i> (bitchy thing)	18	4%
<i>cacare, cacca</i> (to crap, poo)	8	2%
<i>scemo, cretino</i> (dumb)	5	1%
<i>cristo, mio dio</i> (christ, my god)	4	1%
(other)	..	..
TOTAL	493	

Table 13

Overall counting and percentages of translations and omissions of the headword *shit*

Renderings (back translations)	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n
Omissions (Tot. 238)	7%	8%	11%	3%	6%	4%	1%	4%	5%	2%	9%	6%	5%	27%
<i>Cazzo, cazzata</i> (cock, cock-up) (Tot. 109)	1%	0%	5%	4%	12%	4%	0%	5%	6%	3%	11%	5%	1%	25%
<i>Merda, merdata, stronzo, stronzate</i> (shit, piece of shit, crappy thing) (Tot. 104)	6%	5%	13%	3%	2%	1%	4%	5%	8%	5%	28%	9%	10%	25%

Table 14

Percentages of *cock* and *shit* (as back translations) uttered in each dubbed film considering the whole corpus

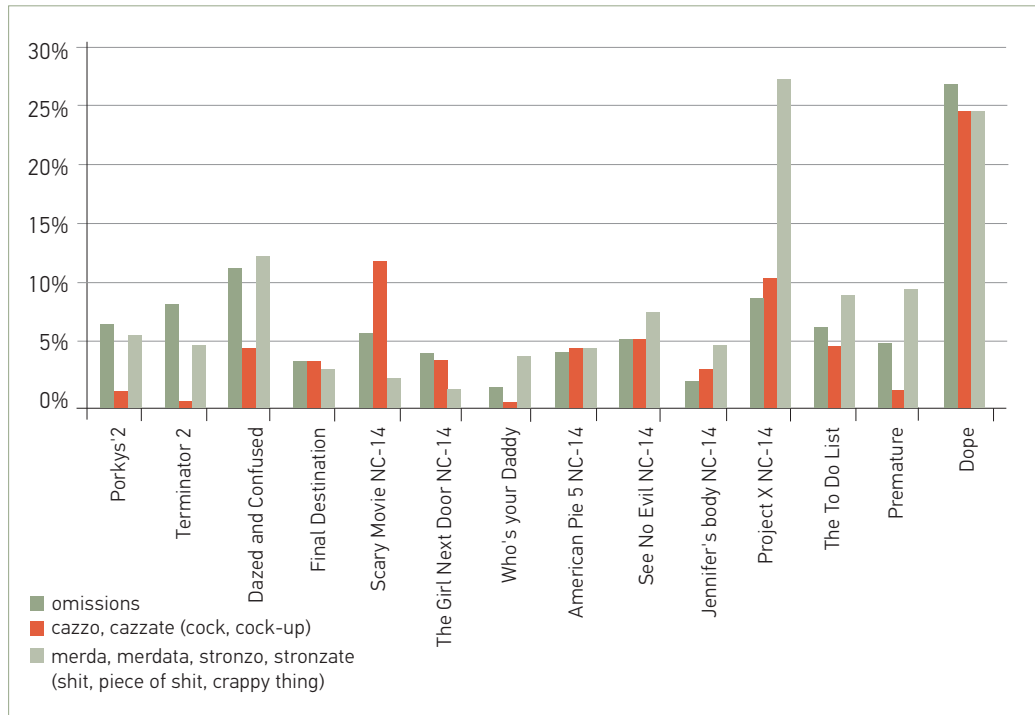
To this aim, Table 14 represents the percentages of the two replacement words uttered in each dubbed film, considering the whole corpus.

Table 14 underpins what was highlighted before; i.e., that some films are heavily censored, but they also have high frequencies of use of replacing swearwords (see letter k and n, for instance). The most representative, in this respect, is *Dope* (2015) (letter n), which is censored heavily for the reasons stated above, but is also the film with the highest frequencies of both

replacement swearwords. Secondly, Table 14 also highlights that both swearwords have been used almost evenly over the years. Table 14 can be better understood by looking at Figure 2.

Figure 2

Cock and *shit* (as back translations) uttered in each dubbed film considering the whole corpus



Apart from the film *Dope* (2015), it is noticeable that omissions were used more extensively in the 1980s and 1990s. The films since 2012 (i.e., from *Project X* on) also present quite high percentages of omissions. However, they also use the replacement swearword *cock* quite often. All in all, as stated above, it is evident that the two replacement swearwords have been applied almost evenly over the years.

This second analysis brought to the fore the fact that the headword *shit* may entail translation difficulties in some cases. Unfortunately, such instances arise quite often in the selected corpus. This probably implies either outright censorship due to dubbing strategies (as in the phrase “it’s my birthday”, where the tail “and shit” is omitted), or major modifications, in order to avoid unnatural dialogues (as in the phrase “that chronic shit”, which is translated “extraordinary thing”). For these reasons, even recent films were subject to language manipulations or changes. Nonetheless, if language discrepancies were put aside, it could be stated that the swearwords *cock* and *shit* are almost evenly distributed over the years, regardless of the film rating. Therefore, it could be claimed that censorship is applied to all teen films, but not heavily, as far as the headword *shit* is concerned.

Third Analysis: Censorship of *Dick* and *Cock*

In view of the fact that the Italian word *cock* is mostly used as a replacement of both the headwords *fuck* and *shit*, it would be now interesting to verify whether the original swearwords *dick* and *cock* are literally translated. In particular, Table 15 highlights the counting and renderings of the two headwords in each film.

As far as the headwords *cock* and *dick* are concerned, it is important to highlight that the Italian replacement words *bird* and *pea* are clearly censored renderings. The same can be said

Renderings (back translations)	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	TOT
omissions	2	1	2	0	1	1	3	7	0	1	2	6	0	0	26
<i>cazzo, cazzate</i> (cock, cock-up/fuck-up)	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	9	4	0	2	17
<i>uccello</i> (bird)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	2	2	1	0	15
<i>palle, rompipalle, coglione</i> (balls, ball-breaker, nuts)	1	1	0	0	4	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	10
<i>stronzo</i> (piece of shit)	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	9
<i>pene, pisello</i> (penis, pea)	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
<i>bastardo</i> (bastard)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<i>mammoletta</i> (shrinking violet)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	3	4	6	3	5	3	7	17	0	1	17	13	3	2	84

Table 15

Renderings of the headwords *dick* and *cock* in the corpus

of *shrinking violet* and, of course, *penis*. To some extent, also the swearwords *balls* and *nuts* are a way to downgrade the impact of the headwords. Although many are the omissions, a literal translation of *cock* and *dick* can be noticed, as Table 16 reveals.

If we proceed now with the calculation of the weight of each swearword *vis-à-vis* the corresponding total utterances per swearword in the whole corpus (i.e., 26, 17, 15, etc.), we would obtain the following percentages (Table 17).

From Table 17, it is possible to notice that the films with more faithful renderings are: *Project X* (2012) (letter k): 53% of literal translations; *The To Do List* (2013) (letter l): 24%

and *Dope* (2015) (letter n): 12%. Some NC-14 films, instead, seem to have preferred lessened utterances by resorting to either *bird* (*American Pie 5*, 2006, letter h): 67%, or *balls* (*Scary Movie*, 2000, letter e): 40%.

Renderings (back translations)	TOT	%
omissions	26	31%
<i>cazzo, cazzate</i> (cock, cock-up/fuck-up)	17	20%
<i>uccello</i> (bird)	15	18%
<i>palle, rompipalle, coglione</i> (balls, ball-breaker, nuts)	10	12%
<i>stronzo</i> (piece of shit)	9	11%
<i>pene, pisello</i> (penis, pea)	5	6%
<i>bastardo</i> (bastard)	1	1%
<i>mammoletta</i> (shrinking violet)	1	1%
TOTAL	84	

Table 16

Overall counting and percentages of omissions and translations of the headwords *dick* and *cock*

Renderings (back translations)	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n
Omissions (Tot. 26)	8%	4%	8%	0%	4%	4%	12%	27%	0%	4%	8%	23%	0%	0%
<i>cazzo, cazzate</i> (cock, cock-up) (Tot. 17)	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	53%	24%	0%	12%
<i>uccello</i> (bird) (Tot. 15)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	67%	0%	0%	13%	13%	7%	0%
<i>palle, rompipalle, coglione</i> (balls, ball-breaker) (Tot. 10)	10%	10%	0%	0%	40%	10%	20%	0%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%
<i>stronzo</i> (piece of shit) (Tot. 9)	0%	22%	22%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	22%	0%

Table 17

Percentages of omissions and translations of the headwords *dick* and *cock* considering the total utterances per swearword

Figure 3

Omissions and translations of the headwords *dick* and *cock* considering the total utterances per swearword

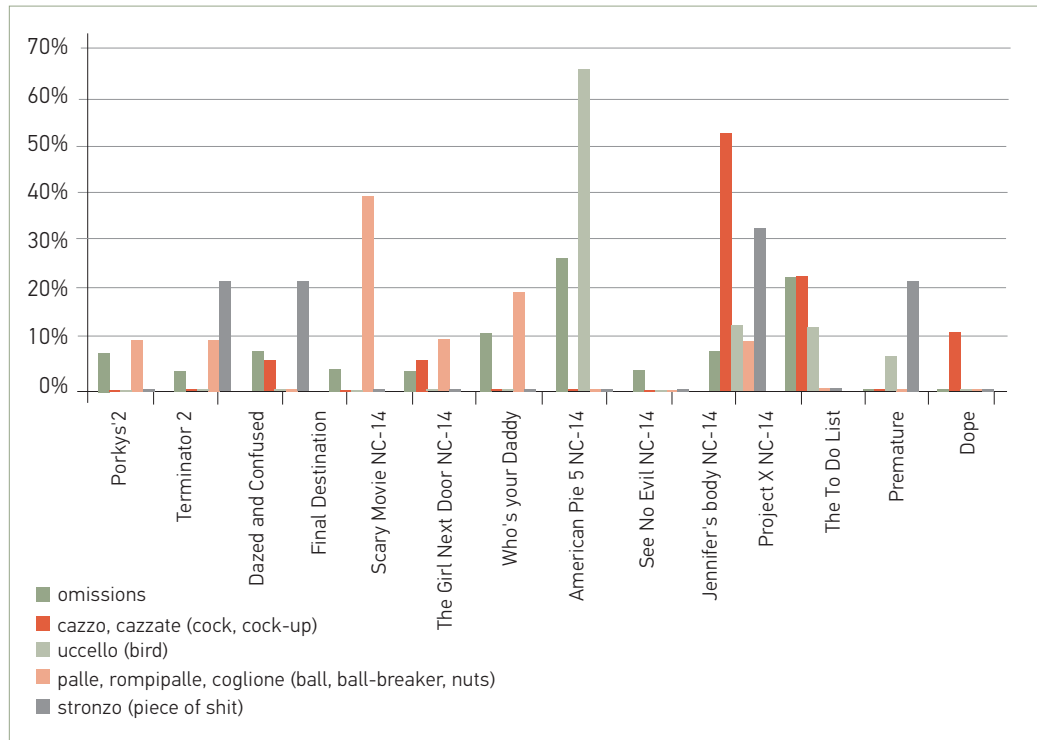


Table 17 can be better understood by looking at Figure 3.

What becomes apparent in Figure 3, is the fact that the omissions of the headwords neither follow a pattern, nor are evenly distributed over the years. They increase, in fact, in some years (*Who's Your Daddy*, 2004; *American Pie 5*, 2006), to decrease in others (*Jennifer's Body*, 2009; *Project X*, 2012), and peak later (*The To Do List*, 2013). Furthermore, as remarked above, it is evident that sometimes audiovisual translators tend to recur to lessened expressions, such as *bird*, *balls* or *nuts* as a way to censor the headwords. This is evident in *Porky's 2* (1983), *Terminator 2* (1991), *Scary Movie* (2000) and *Who's your Daddy* (2004), where the replacement words *balls* and *nuts* are used extensively. An increasing literal translation is instead visible since 2012 (peaking in *Project X*).

From the analysis of the renderings of the replacement swearwords *dick* and *cock*, it can be inferred that teen films are censored in a variety of ways: from outright omissions (31%) to softened expressions, such as *bird* (18%), *balls* or *nuts* (12%), *penis* or *pea* (6%). One might argue whether such softened expressions are due to audiovisual translators' self-censorship or censorship imposed by film producers or distributors. In some other cases, literature claims that audiovisual translators may adhere to translation norms which tone down taboo words (Pavesi and Malinverno, 2000; Antonini and Chiaro, 2009, p. 110; Díaz Cintas, 2009, p. 17). Nonetheless, the use of a literal translation can be noticed since 2012 (20%) (see Table 16).

Other Language Manipulations

This paper would not be exhaustive if other important utterances were not considered. As stated above, censorship can lead to rewriting a film script (Zanotti, 2012, p. 352). In particular, manipulations (or language changes and adaptations) can be so invasive to compromise a character design or even the plot (Zanotti, 2012, p., 365). In this regard, this last part will verify whether the film scripts of the selected corpus underwent any other language modification.

Starting with the films of the 1980s and 1990s, it could be stated that those films were ma-

nipulated quite heavily and taboo or ambiguous words were clearly lessened or omitted, as Table 18 highlights,

Table 18 highlights some relevant language alterations. At that time, the script manipulation probably revolved around several topics which dealt with scatology (see line 5), drugs (line 8) and religion (lines 9 and 10). Sex was another censored topic. As a matter of fact, manipulations often made use of a wide array of language nuances, which were also aimed at preserving the woman's moral integrity (see the utterances in lines 1, 2 and 3, referring to a female character of the film). In practice, language manipulations were used to downplay the impact of injuries, epithets, or of taboo topics in general. This partly corroborates literature's findings (Zanotti, 2012; Ciordia, 2016). However, over the years language manipulations have decreased. In more recent films, in fact, swearwords have been subject to less censorship and manipulations. This might be due to changes of the society, mirrored in more adherent film language. In some cases, taboo words have been even added to the original film script, probably as a way to counter-balance other omissions. A valid reason could be found in the fact that over the years, teenagers have become more exposed to sex and violence broadcast by media (Millwood Hargrave and Livingstone, 2009).

No.	Original utterances	Dubbed Versions	Back Translations	Films
1	Horny	<i>Irrequieta</i>	Uneasy	Porky's 2
2	Gangbang	<i>Collettiva</i>	Group thing	Porky's 2
3	She's hot	<i>È in bollore</i>	She's boiling	Porky's 2
4	I'll yell rape	<i>Grido al bruto</i>	I'll yell stop brute	Porky's 2
5	For piss sake	<i>E scusi se è poco</i>	And excuse me if that's too little	Porky's 2
6	Getting your asses busted	<i>Vi facciamo le chiappe blu</i>	We'll make your buttocks blue	Dazed and Confused
7	Your ass'll be purple	<i>Ti riserveremo un trattamento speciale</i>	We will give you a special treatment	Dazed and Confused
8	He was just askin' if you get high	<i>Chiedeva se ti prende bene</i>	He was asking if you get on well	Dazed and Confused
9	Swear to God	<i>È la verità</i>	It's the truth	Dazed and Confused
10	You damn right	<i>Ci puoi giurare</i>	You can swear (on that)	Dazed and Confused
11	How many times have you gotten laid strictly because you're a football player?	<i>Quante volte sei stato dispensato da qualche obbligo perché devi giocare?</i>	How many times have you been exonerated because you have to play?	Dazed and Confused

Table 18

Other language manipulations in the dubbed versions of the films of the 1980s and 1990s

Table 19 reports some interesting instances.

Referring to Table 19, it cannot go unnoticed that the first film (*Final Destination*, 2000) is the only one showing language censorship (line 1). Such utterances, however, revolve around religion and cursing. Therefore, further analysis should be called for in order to verify how similar expressions are dealt with in other films. In all other instances of Table 19, instead, not only do the films not show other forms of censorship, but they even add swearwords to the original script. Swearwords were probably added in order to adhere more to the film characters or to compensate for other omissions. However, it would be now reasonable to ask oneself whether this could be considered script manipulation as well.

Table 19

Swearwords in the
dubbed films after
1999

No.	Original utterances	Dubbed Versions	Back Translations	Films
1	Damn it!	<i>Porca miseria!</i>	Filthy misery!	Final Destination
	Goddamn it!	<i>Sei impazzito?</i>	Are you crazy?	
2	You're the devil!	<i>Chi cazzo sei, il diavolo?</i>	Who the cock are you, the devil?	Final Destination
3	What are you doing?	<i>Ma che cazzo stai facendo?</i>	What the cock are you doing?	Final Destination
4	He saved your life again	<i>Ti ha salvato la vita di nuovo coglione</i>	He saved your life again, you dumb-nuts	Final Destination
5	Yeah, that's my girlfriend too!	<i>Io me la scopo</i>	I fuck her	Scary Movie
6	Because the right way is wrong	<i>Sennò ti rompo il culo e non te lo dico</i>	Or I'll break your ass without telling you	Scary Movie
7	A rotten egg	<i>Un rottinculo</i>	An ass-busted (guy)	Scary Movie
8	How many more miles?	<i>Quanto cazzo manca ancora?</i>	How the cock is it still missing?	See No Evil
9	What are you lookin' at?	<i>Che cazzo hai da guardare?</i>	What the cock are you looking at?	See No Evil
10	What is this? Hotel Ghetto?	<i>Che cazzo è?</i>	What the oock is this?	See No Evil
11	You'd get with her?	<i>Te la scoperesti?</i>	Would you fuck her?	See No Evil
12	Where in the hell are the stairs?	<i>Dove cazzo sono le scale?</i>	Where the dick are the stairs?	See No Evil
13	Where the hell are you?	<i>Dove cazzo sei?</i>	Where the cock are you?	See No Evil
14	Without her eating him	<i>Senza che lei lo sfanculi</i>	Without her fucking him off	Project X
15	Yes, I'm serious	<i>Non sto cazzeggiando</i>	I'm not cocking around	Project X
16	I love this kid	<i>Cazzo è mitico</i>	He's a myth, cock!	Project X
17	Don't embarrass me like this	<i>Questa figura di merda</i>	This poor shit figure	Project X
18	Makes no sense	<i>Che stronzate</i>	What bullshit	Project X
19	Mind your own business, lady	<i>Fatti i cazzi tuoi</i>	Mind your own cocks	Project X
20	What are you doing?	<i>Che cazzo hai fatto?</i>	What the cock have you done?	Project X
21	I bombed it	<i>È finita a puttane</i>	It ended up to whores	Premature
22	Nigga, sit your ass down, man.	<i>Cazzo fratello puoi chiudere quel cesso</i>	Cock, brother, can you shut the bog/john up?	Dope
23	These chicks	<i>Quelle troiette</i>	These whores	Dope
24	They do it randomly	<i>Lo fanno a cazzo</i>	They do it cock-way	Dope

In the film *Dope* (2015), a racial slur is omitted (line 22). In Italy it is probably censored out of politically correctness grounds, but analyzing the reasons for such a censorship, would go beyond the scope of this paper.

By looking at both Table 18 and 19, it can be clearly inferred that the language manipulations of the 1980s and 1990s heavily revolved around sex, drugs, religion and scatology. In recent films, instead, an opposite trend has emerged, as additional swearwords have been added to the film script.

Literature provides examples of the fact that many teen films of the 1970s underwent extensive language manipulations when dubbed into Italian (Zanotti, 2012, p. 355). In particular, the teen film language was downgraded or lessened in order to reduce the impact of offensive utterances or taboo topics (Ranzato, 2009), especially in view of the target audience (Ciordia, 2016). This paper was aimed at verifying whether the language of teen films is (still) censored or manipulated. To this aim, a corpus of 14 teen films was created. The films covered the years from 1983 to 2015. The genres were quite diversified, in order to ensure a broad and balanced analysis. What was firstly found to be mismatching, was the film rating. All the films composing the corpus were rated R (restricted to under 17s) in North America. Some of the dubbed films, instead, were rated G (general public); whereas others were forbidden to under 14s ("NC-14" in this paper). Such a difference obviously affected the censorship strategies (Israelsen-Hartley, 2010) and consequently the language of the dubbed films. In order to ensure a detailed analysis of the language manipulations, the most recurrent swearwords were counted in the original films and their corresponding translations and back translations reported in tables, in order to show their frequencies. The swear-headwords analyzed were *fuck*, *shit* and *dick/cock*. Also some random phrases addressing taboo topics (sex, drugs, religion and scatology) were analyzed. This paper brought to the fore the fact that each headword underwent particular language manipulations. As far as the headword *fuck* is concerned, for instance, it was noticed that it was heavily omitted in the 1980s and 1990s; whereas more coherent and literal renderings were provided in NC-14 films and in all films after 2012. This could mirror, for instance, changes of the society. The most common replacement swearword was the back translation of the Italian *cock/dick* (25%). The headword *shit*, instead, probably gave rise to translation challenges due to language discrepancies. Therefore, subsequent difficulties must have arisen in rendering common discourse markers or tails such as *and shit*. Other challenges revolving around this headword were due to religious/legal issues, which made it impossible to translate or render the interjection *holy shit* faithfully [excuse the pun]. This inevitably brought to omissions or non-vulgar renderings in many instances. For these reasons, it was possible to notice that omissions of the headword *shit* are still applied. However, once omissions and discrepancies were put aside, a balanced distribution of the use of the two most common substitutes, namely *cock/dick* and *shit*, could be noticed. Therefore, as far as the headword *shit* is concerned, it could be claimed that over the years, it has been rendered coherently with the back translations *cock/dick* (22%), or translated literally (21%). A third analysis focused on the headword *dick/cock* itself, as it was interesting to verify whether it was rendered literally, given its preponderance as a replacement swearword for the other two headwords. However, it was surprising to notice that in the selected corpus, such a headword was more censored and lessened than literally translated. As a matter of fact, many films downgraded it by resorting to *nuts* or *balls*, whereas others to nicknames, such as *bird* or *pea*. A different pattern emerged only after 2012, when films started to translate the headword literally (20%). This, again, could be due to changes of the society.

Finally, an analysis of some film utterances was carried out. In particular, it was noticed that the films of the 1980s and 1990s underwent major language manipulations, having phrases changed into non-taboo utterances. Around 2000, instead, more adherent and coherent translations started to emerge. In particular, swearwords were added to the original film scripts probably with the view to compensating for other omissions. In light of the above, it is possible to claim that the teen films of the 1980s and 1990s were manipulated and their language was sometimes so heavily censored to compromise a character design or the plot (Zanotti, 2012, p. 365). The topics which were subject to such modifications revolved around sex, religion, drugs, and scatology. What regards the NC-14 films and all films after

Conclusions

2012, instead, is the clear evidence that audiovisual translators started to render the teen film language more crystal-clearly and faithfully -- language discrepancies permitting, also in response to the increased exposure of teenagers to sex and violence in films (Millwood Hargrave and Livingstone, 2009). The limit of this analysis lies however in the corpus itself. In order to generalize these findings and to underpin (or confute) what this paper highlighted, a corpus of hundreds of films should be implemented. Before this happens, this paper might nonetheless provide some useful insights. Finally, in light of this research, it could be stated that audiovisual translators have started following Fernández Fernández's advice (2009, p. 225), i.e., that: "while playing with the meaning of the original", they maintained the tone, the register and the intention of the source language, "without forgetting (...) the sociocultural context of the target language".

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Film List

1. *Porky's 2* (1983), Bob Clark
2. *Terminator 2* (1991), James Cameron
3. *Dazed and Confused* (1993), Richard Linklater
4. *Final Destination* (2000), James Wong
5. *Scary Movie* (2000), Keenen Ivory Wayans
6. *The Girl Next Door* (2004), Luke Greenfield
7. *Who's your Daddy* (2004), Andy Fickman
8. *American Pie 5* (2006), Joe Nussbaum
9. *See no Evil* (2006), Gregory Dark
10. *Jennifer's Body* (2009), Karyn Kusama
11. *Project X* (2012), Nima Nourizadeh
12. *The To Do List* (2013), Maggie Carey
13. *Premature* (2014), Dan Beers
14. *Dope* (2015), Rick Famuyiwa

Patrizia Giampieri. Ar paaugliams skirtų filmų dubliavimas (vis dar) cenzūruojamas?

Teigiama, kad paaugliams skirtų filmų dubliavimas yra stipriai cenzūruojamas ir manipuluojamas, atsižvelgiant į jiems skirtą auditoriją. Ypač tai pasakytina apie praeito amžiaus aštuntojo dešimtmečio filmus, kuriuose rodomos tam tikros tabu temos, pavyzdžiui, seksas, narkotikai ir smurtas, ir teigiama, kad tos temos yra ryškiai koreguotos, kad atrodytų ne tokios drastiškos. Šio straipsnio tikslas yra ištirti, ar šie teiginiai yra teisingi, ypač kalbant apie pastarojo laikotarpio filmus apie seksą ir kvaišalus. Tam tikslui buvo parinkta 14 filmų (sukurtų nuo 1983 iki 2015 metų). Pirmasis ryškus straipsnyje aptariamas skirtumas yra filmo kategorija: R – Šiaurės Amerikoje, G arba NC-14 – Italijoje. Po to straipsnyje analizuojama, kaip Italijos filmuose perteikiami dažniausiai pasitaikantys keiksmažodžiai. Jame pabrėžiama, kad pagrindinis junginio tabu žodis *fuck* itališkai dažniausiai perteikiamas itališku žodžiu *dick/cock*, bet tik filmuose, draudžiamuose žiūrovams iki 14 metų. Tam tikra prasme, tą patį galima pasakyti apie antrą pagrindinį junginio žodį *shit*. Tačiau šiuo atveju pačiam tiksliausiam vertimui kliudo kalbinis neatitikimas ar sunkumai, kylantys dėl religinių sumetimų, kas trukdo vartoti žodžių junginį, pavyzdžiui, *holy shit*. Be šio prieštaravimo, antrasis pagrindinis tabu žodis paprastai yra verčiamas arba itališku žodžiu *dick/cock*, arba

Santrauka

pažodžiui. Galiausiai, atsitiktinai parinktų filmų frazių analizė patvirtina, kad devintajame ir dešimtajame dešimtmečiuose veikėjo posakiai buvo keičiami ryškiai ir jais buvo manipuluojama. NC-14 ir naujesniuose filmuose, jie ne tik cenzūruojami, bet netgi pridedami papildomi tabu žodžiai. Ši analizė rodo, kad NC-14 ir paaugliams skirti naujesni filmai yra kur kas mažiau cenzūruojami, negu devintojo ar dešimtojo dešimtmečio filmai.

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