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## ANALYSING MULTILINGUALISM IN DRAMA AND COMEDY: THE ITALIAN DUBBING OF *JANE THE VIRGIN* AND *PEAKY BLINDERS*

### ABSTRACT

La coesistenza di lingue, varietà linguistiche e accenti diversi sullo schermo è osservabile in un numero crescente di serie televisive americane ed europee, che sono state variamente definite “poliglote”, “multilingue”, “plurilingue” ed “eterolinguì”. In effetti, gli studiosi nel campo dei Film Studies e degli Audiovisual Translation Studies hanno riconosciuto una “svolta multilingue” o un “impegno multilingue” in prodotti recenti. Questo studio si concentra sulla traduzione di due recenti serie televisive, *Jane the Virgin* e *Peaky Blinders*, entrambe caratterizzate dalla presenza di dialoghi multilingue, con l’obiettivo di illustrare le “opzioni di trasferimento” adottate per la trasmissione del discorso multilingue a un pubblico italiano. Si presterà attenzione alle funzioni del multilinguismo (utilizzando la tassonomia di Corrius e Zabalbeascoa) nelle versioni originali e in quelle tradotte. Le due serie televisive offrono l’opportunità di analizzare il fenomeno del multilinguismo sullo schermo in due generi diversi: il dramma e la commedia, dove la polifonia linguistica svolge ruoli e funzioni diverse, soprattutto in termini di rappresentazione dei personaggi.

PAROLE CHIAVE: multilinguismo, AVT, variazione linguistica, doppiaggio, accenti

### ABSTRACT

The coexistence of different languages, language varieties and accents on screen is observable in a growing number of American as well as European TV series, which have been variously referred to as ‘polyglot’, ‘multilingual’, ‘plurilingual’ and ‘heterolingual’. Indeed, scholars in the field of Film Studies as well as Audiovisual Translation Studies have acknowledged a ‘multilingual turn’ or ‘multilingual commitment’ in recent products. This study focuses on the translation of two recent TV series, *Jane the Virgin* and *Peaky Blinders*, both characterised by the presence of multilingual dialogues, with the aim of illustrating the ‘transfer options’ adopted for the transmission of multilingual discourse to an Italian audience. Attention will be paid to the functions of multilingualism (using Corrius and Zabalbeascoa taxonomy) in the original versions as well as in the translated versions. The two TV series provide the opportunity to analyse the phenomenon of multilingualism on screen in two different genres: drama and comedy, where linguistic polyphony plays different roles and functions, especially in terms of character portrayal.

KEYWORDS: multilingualism, AVT, language variation, dubbing, accents



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## INTRODUCTION

Although multilingualism has always existed, its increasing visibility can be regarded as a sign of our times. Situations of multilingualism and language contact have pervaded and expanded in all spheres, territories, and situations. Thus, the traditional monolingual organisation of our world is becoming less sustainable, and people, societies, and research fields are demanding more efforts to adapt to this widespread reality. The literary and film industries are two of the sectors that progressively and globally reflect this current multilingualism. Indeed, more and more filmmakers embrace a more realistic attitude towards foreign languages. This, in turn, has awakened the interest of scholars, particularly within the field of Translation Studies (TS). However, the different natures of literature and film inevitably force a different study approach. In fact, as Carol O’Sullivan argues, “[t]he polysemiotic nature of film is able to integrate the use of foreign languages to a degree impossible in print fiction” (2011: 114). As a result, recent studies within the Audiovisual Translation (AVT) discipline have slowly turned their efforts to investigate the translational implications of the presence of various languages in audiovisual products. The terms plurilingualism or multilingualism refer to the “[c]oexistence of several languages in a country or territory”. In this paper, I focus on the study of the translation of “multilingual discourses” (Bleichenbacher 2008), i.e., audiovisual texts in which linguistic diversity has a narrative and expressive function (Wahl 2005). With the advent of sound films, a production system known as multilingual versions or double versions emerged, which “was to shoot one film in different languages simultaneously or very close in time” (Chaume 2004: 48). Between the 1950s and 1970s, the number of European co-productions with an international cast, called polyglot or Babylonian (Betz 2009) films, increased. When the shooting languages multiplied, the director had to decide whether to tell an international story in which each actor or actress spoke their own language – like in *Ultimo tango a Parigi* (Bernardo Bertolucci 1972) – or, on the contrary, ignoring the multilingualism of the cast by recording the images without sound and then registering all the dialogues (in one single language) in a dubbing studio, as in *Le carrosse d’or* (*La carrozza d’oro*, Jean Renoir 1952) (Betz 2009).

Neither multilingual versions or the first European coproductions represent the area of investigation in this work. In this paper, the translation of multilingualism is studied in works of fiction, in which narrative and expressive linguistic diversity functions (Wahl 2005, 2008) are given. It delves into a corpus where linguistic diversity has the primary function to reflect reality (Delabastita 2002; Wahl 2008; O’Sullivan 2011); specifically, the multilingual reality of immigrant communities. The issues and problems originating from the presence of several foreign languages in films have aroused the interest of AVT scholars in the form of case studies and more comprehensive research such as Corrius’ (2008) on multilingualism as a textual restriction and de Higes’ (2014) on the treatment of the language of

immigrants in the UK through dubbing and subtitling. What these studies have in common is their focus on films displaying what Corrius defined as a “third language (L3), i.e. any *secondary* language that coexists with a main language (L1) in a film” (2008: 217). In many cases, this approach has condemned languages to being essentially a textual restriction constraining the translators’ work. Nonetheless, films where it is impossible – or rather difficult – to establish a difference between L1 and L3 in terms of language quantity have not been approached. Therefore, the dismissal of these films necessarily provides a restrictive perspective to multilingualism in film translation. After all, these films might not include an L3 as defined above, but do include various languages. Similarly, their recurrent presence of various languages is likely to pose problems transcending textual matters. The focus of this paper is on two TV series where English dialogues are variously intermingled with other languages, more specifically The CW Channel’s *Jane the Virgin* (2014–2019), and BCC’s *Peaky Blinders* (2013–2022). In the next sections I will briefly give an overview of multilingualism in audiovisual translation, then I will describe the methodology used in this paper. The third section contains the analysis and then the last section draws some conclusions.

## LANGUAGE VARIATION AND MULTILINGUALISM

Halliday *et al.* (1964) were behind the initial analysis of language variation that would later influence the work of others in this area. The scholars primarily differentiated between language variation based on the user and the use of language itself. The former, later referred to as dialects, reflected who the writer or speaker was whereas the latter, later labeled as registers, reflected what the speaker or author was doing (Halliday, Hasan 1985: 41). Consequently, dialects were characterised by elements such as the accent, which Gregory and Carroll described as the acoustics and articulation of language (1978: 12). Dialect, on the other hand, was studied by authors who reported that it was more socio-geographical rather than purely based on location (Catford 1965: 86–87). Indeed, Hatim and Mason (1990) in their exploration of the geographical classification of dialects found that such classification could be problematic because it loses the TT in favor of the TL thereby producing unintended effects. With the proliferation of the notion of multilingualism, there is now a wider range of language variation within AV products. According to Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2011: 117), there is now a third language (L3), which is any linguistic solution that can be differentiated from the first and second language (that is, the ST and TT languages respectively) regardless of it being a standard language, dialect or some other language variation.

Fictional multilingualism is a complex phenomenon characterised by formal and functional variability. While it is evident that multilingualism can perform a variety of functions, it is virtually impossible to give an exhaustive account of them; the

functional component of fictional multilingualism should be carefully considered in each case and context. Sternberg (1981: 236) mentions two limiting cases: multilingual representation may be subordinated to the dramatic and rhetorical needs of the fictive action, such as producing humour, labelling or characterizing a person or milieu. In the context of films, foreign languages can be used metonymically to create a sort of ‘postcarding’ effect (Wahl 2005), aimed at pointing out a character’s nationality or a geographical location. For example, in *L’Auberge espagnole* (Klapisch 2002), a film about Erasmus students from Spain, France, Italy, England, Germany, Belgium and Denmark who share a flat in Barcelona, the use of different languages and accents has the main function of indexing the characters’ nationalities, adding an element of authenticity to the film. The opposite extreme described by Sternberg (1981: 236) is when fictive reality is subordinated to polylingual representation, as in Tolkien’s *Lord of the Rings*, which provided a fictional world and a series of characters who could speak the languages invented by the author.

Bleichenbacher (2008: 26) accounts for three main functional categories of multilingualism in fiction: realism, social criticism and humour, which are reminiscent of Delabastita’s (2002) mimetic, ideological and comic functions. Broadly speaking, multilingual films can be said to offer a more realistic rendering of linguistic diversity, moving away from the homogenised and standardised language use that has often characterised the language of cinema, especially in mainstream productions. In this sense, multilingualism performs a ‘mimetic function’ (*ibidem*: 306) and may even have a documentaristic role, in that it reproduces an aspect of reality within the film. Realism comes into play when a film aims at depicting a situation of language contact as closely as possible to real-life standards, where each character speaks the language s/he is supposed to speak in real-life situations.

Social criticism implies that language use is invested with ideological meanings or implications, especially in films that depict the clash or encounter of different cultures: language alternation becomes a sort of signal, adding to the communicative effect of the film and to its diegetic function. Delabastita (2002) speaks of ‘ideological function’, when the presence of multilingualism in a fictional work does not simply serve an end of its own, but is also part of a political agenda. Multilingual discourse can be used to foreground linguistic hierarchies, for example by creating a contrast between the dominant language and the other less important languages. Conversely, linguistic hierarchies can also be challenged by multilingualism: in this context, code-switching is a major discourse strategy used to represent linguistic and cultural diversity (Bleichenbacher 2008: 28).

Another main function of fictional multilingualism is humour (comic function) (Delabastita 2002). Multilingualism can be exploited to produce humorous situations through, for instance, cases of interlingual misunderstanding or the meaningless use of foreign languages (Chiaro 2007). The centrality of humour is to

be found especially in comedies where misunderstandings caused by multilingual discourse produce comic effects.

A tripartite categorisation of the functions of multilingualism in films has been recently proposed by De Bonis (2014, 2015a, 2015b). The three main functions he identifies are: giving a realistic rendering of the linguistic situations depicted, creating conflict and causing confusion. As regards realistic rendering, multilingualism functions as “a vehicle for the audience to experience the globalisation of our world against which the plots of multilingual films are essentially based” (De Bonis 2015b: 53). These films often display the coexistence of different languages which do not interact with one another, as in the case of *Babel* (González Iñárritu, 2006) or *Gran Torino* (Clint Eastwood, 2008). The function of creating conflict is often found in dramas which portray situations of conflict such as war (*Inglourious Basterds*, Quentin Tarantino, 2009), immigration (*It's a Free World*, Ken Loach, 2007) or racism (*Crash*, Paul Haggis, 2004) where “lingua-cultural identities are sharply depicted and strongly maintained on screen, giving rise to communication problems between characters which can be hard to solve” (De Bonis 2014: 170). Finally, the function of creating confusion is mainly found in comedies that represent the multicultural nature of contemporary society, where multilingualism creates humorous effects because “lingua-cultural identities appear to be mixed up on screen in a somewhat disorderly fashion” (De Bonis 2015b: 54), as in the case of *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (Joel Zwick, 2002) and *Spanglish* (James L. Brooks, 2004). However, it is important to stress that all these functions may be working together within the same film.

## METHODOLOGY

Within this paper, the aim is to illustrate the transfer options adopted for the transmission of multilingual discourse to an Italian audience, exploring how the language has changed over time, especially in light of major technological changes that introduce new media, greater diversity in the target and source contexts, as well as expanded visions of multicultural and multilingual societies. The descriptive TS methodology is applied to complete a qualitative study as described by Díaz-Cintas (2004) and Assis Rosa (2018). This methodology is intended to illustrate the macro-strategies that three successful television shows apply complemented by the identification and evaluation of micro-strategies present in individual episodes. Venuti (1995) recognizes macro-strategies as examples of language variation in TTs classified from the most foreign to the most domesticating. Categorizing micro-strategies, on the other hand, requires the AV translator to describe examples of multilingualism by exploring the different taxonomies used. Corrius and Zabalbeascoa's (2011: 119–120) model provides the template for which ST and TT languages are identified. Five major possibilities in the translations exist, namely:

- L3 TT3 = L2 (when the L3 of the ST coincides with the L2 of the TT)
- L3 TT = L3 ST (when the L3 of the ST remains unaltered in the TT)
- L3 TT = L1 (when the L3 of the ST is substituted with the L1 in the TT)
- L3 TT ≠ L1, L3 ST, L2 (when the L3 of the ST is not rendered through the L1, the same L3 or the L2)
- L3 TT = ∅ (when L3 segments of the ST are deleted in the TT)

Since there are examples of code-switching and code-mixing within the context of multilingualism, the present study expands the above-mentioned categories to include L3 TT (+L1) = L3 ST (+L1) which will be the marker when the sociolinguistic phenomenon is retained within the dubbed version, or L3 TT (+L1) = L3 ST (+L2) which will be the marker when L3 elements are retained but first language expressions are translated to their L2 equivalents. Chaume's (2012: 132) classification of AV translator techniques is applied to analyze AVT modalities during instances of language variation, especially in subtitling, re-dubbing, dubbing, no-translation, or liaison interpreting. To conclude, Ranzato's (2016) taxonomy is applied to how cultural references are translated, including loaning and substituting. By combining these taxonomies and tools for this analysis, there is a robust mechanism that evaluates the range of modalities, languages, and culture-specific aspects within the subjects.

## DISCUSSION

The two tv series provide the opportunity to analyse the phenomenon of multilingualism on screen in two different genres: drama (*Peaky Blinders*) and comedy (*Jane the Virgin*), where linguistic polyphony plays different roles and functions, especially in terms of character portrayal.

### JANE THE VIRGIN

*Jane the Virgin* is an American romantic dramedy that was loosely adapted from the Venezuelan original *Juana la Virgen* (RCTV, 2002) and sarcastically subverted the genre. In the show, the lives of three generations of Venezuelan women living in Miami are depicted. Jane is a 23-year-old working as a waitress, studying to become a teacher, and dreaming of becoming a writer. Xiomara is her 39-year-old mother who aspires to become a pop artist while their 66-year-old grandmother, Alba, immigrated to the US and remains a devout Catholic. Other Latino characters dramatize the show, including Rogelio de la Vega who doubles as the narrator and Jane's father. The show was lauded as one targeting English-speaking Hispanic

viewers and a greater multicultural audience. The show is multilingual since it incorporates interlingual and intralingual varieties. The protagonist's grandmother largely speaks Spanish with a realistic Latino accent, thereby representing a first-generation character. Alba now understands English after living in the US for many years and speaks the language on occasion. Nevertheless, she chooses to use her native language, perhaps to retain her Venezuelan identity. For the English ST, Alba's Spanish turns are partly subtitled in English. According to Corrius and Zabalbeascoa's (2011: 119) taxonomy, this is classified as L3 TT = L3 ST because the language is unchanged, only repeated. Notably, the Latino accent is generally considered Spanish with no additional perception of variety, thereby creating a potential loss of cultural identity. This strategy is retained by conserving the original track, dubbing, or even combining it with subtitling. In the first season, Spanish dialogues are largely maintained and only partly subtitled; by the third season, they are no longer subtitled and an extremely foreignizing effect is felt among the Italian audience. Furthermore, Alba regularly adds English words in her Spanish speech, typical of Spanglish as demonstrated below:

Table 1. *Jane the Virgin*, S1, E12

Source text	Target text
Jane: <i>Abuela</i> , that's mean.	Jane: <i>Abuela</i> , ma che dici!
Alba: <i>Eh no, eso no es mean, es la verdad.</i>	Alba: <i>Eh no, eso no es mean, es la verdad.</i>
Subtitle: No, it's not mean, it's the truth.	Subtitle: No, non sono crudele, è la verità.

This could be considered an example of code-switching using the form L3 TT (+L1) = L3 ST (+L1). English and Spanish are both retained and explained through subtitling. English elements equally have the same format in the TT by leaving the Spanish parts intact. This requires re-dubbing as is evident in the next example:

Table 2. *Jane the Virgin*, S3, E14

Source text	Target text
Jane: Hey, <i>Abuela!</i>	Jane: Hey, <i>Abuela!</i>
Alba: Mm.	Alba: Mm.
Jane: What's wrong?	Jane: Che succede?
Alba: <i>Lo que pasa es que 'I went for it' con Jorge y fue humillante. Claramente no está interesado.</i>	Alba: <i>Lo que pasa es que "mi sono buttata" con Jorge y fue humillante. Claramente no está interesado.</i> [0]

Source text	Target text
Subtitle: What's wrong is 'I went for it' with Jorge. And I was humiliated. He's clearly not.	

For the instance recorded in table 2 above, Alba is unhappy that Jorge does not seem to reciprocate her romantic interest. Within the ST, her Spanish is complemented by an English idiom previously suggested by her niece and daughter. A direct equivalent is used in the translation and the dialogue is redubbed in Italian leading to the maintenance of code-mixing between the two languages. Xiomara is the second generation and speaks English with a nearly imperceptible accent. She, nevertheless, shows her Spanish roots whenever she sings. In its Italian rendition, Xiomara no longer has any accent but her Spanish songs are retained without subtitles. Jane is born and raised in the US and speaks English with no accent. Although she understands Spanish, she is not fully bilingual and often struggles to explain concepts to the rest of her family as Beseghi (2019: 58) noted. Therefore, code-mixing is evident as Xiomara and Jane use Spanish terms in their English expression for greetings, the names of food, or family ties. This code-mixing is retained in the Italian TT. In another example, Rogelio speaks Spanish when he interprets the telenovelas and speaks to Alba; otherwise, his English is heavily accented in his daily life. He also resorts to code-mixing. In the TT, his Spanish lines are preserved but the accent disappears, thereby eradicating his Spanish identity. Code-mixing is also used for Mateo, Jane's son in the third season. As a representative of the fourth generation, the boy only speaks English but uses familial terms in Spanish, including *abuela* for grandmother and *bisa* for great-grandmother. The former is retained in the Italian TT but the latter is neutralized in favor of the Italian equivalent, *bisnonna*.

## PEAKY BLINDERS

*Peaky Blinders* is an English crime TV series created by Steven Knight and broadcast by BCC One and Two from 2013 up to nowadays. It comprises 5 seasons and 30 episodes revolving around the members of the Shelby family who, by the name of *Peaky Blinders*, run illicit trafficking of guns, drugs, and liquors but also gambling in Birmingham during the first 30 years of the twentieth century.

Considering their influential status over the urban zone they control, their outfits and their recent past, it would be fair to assume that these gangsters are British people: the authority they exert is indisputable; they wear luxurious clothes following the current fashion trends; characters such as Thomas and Arthur served the British army during WWI, the former being awarded a gallantry medal for his bravery and honour. Moreover, the nickname of the gang itself – *Peaky Blinders* –



recalls the homonymous and well-known British criminal organization operating in Birmingham between 1890 and 1910: the reference to such a national phenomenon emphasizes the relationship between the Shelbys and England.

Notwithstanding, as the plot unravels, the audience learns about the peculiar origins of the criminals who, occasionally, define themselves or are defined by the enemies as “gipsies”. Such term is mostly employed to offend the *Peaky Blinders*; however, it is worth remarking that it refers to the linguistic and cultural legacy of a specific ethnic group, the Gipsies – also called “Romani” –, who originated from India. This centuries-old population had its own language – known as “Romanian” – and traditions. As the studies by Potot, Pantea, Otovescu – just to mention a few – demonstrates, during the eleventh century, the Gipsies initiated a diaspora which led them to Ireland, UK and USA. Now, in episodes 1 and 2 of Season 1, we learn that the Shelbys come from a Romani line; more specifically, their ancestors first set in Ireland and then moved to Southern England. As Jiménez argues, the *Peaky Blinders* display some undeniable Gipsy features, for instance:

- they are organized in a clan, each member has a specific role;
- they are always on the move, thus recalling the nomadism typical of the Gipsies;
- they love horses, just like the Gipsies: such detail is particularly remarkable not only if we consider that the Shelbys run a horse racing gambling system, but also if we focus on the protagonist of the TV series, Thomas, who owns several majestic horses and takes care of them admirably;
- they celebrate both weddings and funerals following the Gipsy rituals;
- they believe in sorcery and some of them can even practice magic. In this respect, Aunt Polly is worth mentioning, since she can predict the future by looking at the bottom of cups or detect pregnancy just by touching a woman’s breast;
- lastly, apart from the Brummy, they can speak a variation of Romanian known today as “Anglo-Romanian” or “broken Romanian”, that is, they alter the intonation of the utterances as well as the pronunciation of some words under the influence of English.

In the first example, the Shelbys go to visit the gypsy village and are confronted by three members of the Lee clan.

Here, Romanian is used to exclude someone from a conversation. In this scene, the Shelbys visit the Lees – a Gipsy clan – to buy a horse. While Tommy, Arthur and Johnny discuss, some young boys laugh at Arthur. Thus, Thomas approaches them and asks questions with a severe tone, as you have heard. The situation gets tense; thus, Johnny Lee intervenes in the conversation and, in order to stop a potential fight, he speaks Romanian to the boys. Such a choice can be interpreted as a secret code to convey the message to selected interlocutors – thus, excluding the Shelbys from the conversation. He probably ignores that they, too, can speak Romanian. The hypothesis is all the more plausible if we consider the response that

Table 3. *Peaky Blinders*, S1, E2

Source text	Target text
Tommy: Are you Lee brothers laughing at my brother? Are you? Eh? I asked you a question.	Tommy: Ridete di mio fratello per caso? Allora? Eh? Vi ho fatto una domanda
Johnny: Tommy, come on! Come on, it's just a crack. Get your family out of here and go enjoy yourselves at the fair before they start a war. (in Romanian) Go on. Go. They're from good people. Their granddad was a King. Their granddad was a King.	Johnny: Tommy, Tommy, basta! Sono ubriachi, lasciali perdere. Sali in macchina con i tuoi e andate a godervi la fiera prima di dare inizio a una guerra, è chiaro? (In Romanian with Italian subtitles). Smettetela. Sono brave persone. Il loro nonno era un re. Lee boy: Sì ma la madre era una zingara troia.
Lee boy: Yeah, but his mother was a Didicoy whore.	

Johnny gets: as a matter of fact, one of the boys has something to say, but refuses to answer in Romanian; instead, he selects English to deliver his offence baldly, so that the visitors may hear it loud and clear: “Yeah, but his mother was a Didicoy whore”. Not only does he use swearwords, but he also qualifies Thomas’ mother with the term “Didicoy”, which generally indicates an ethnic group related to the Gipsies, but here it is used in a pejorative tone. The offence is taken by the *Peaky Blinders*, who react by disfiguring the boys’ faces with the blades stitched in their hats.

In the next example, we see Thomas Shelby having a private meeting with Zilpha Lee, the matriarch of a Gipsy family, to end a quarrel between their clans.

The second case is drawn from the same season, Episode 4. Here, we assist with an opposite case: Romanian is used as the privileged means to strengthen bonds. While the woman conducts the conversation in English, Thomas, on the other hand, replaces English with Romanian when he has some relevant messages to deliver. The reasons for this switch probably lie in the fact that the leader of the Peaky Blinders intends to ally with the Lees. Hence, he performs speaks Romanian to emphasize common ground and claim membership – and possibly intimacy – with the hearer: as he said, they are family, after all. The strategy succeeds: the marriage between John Shelby and Esme Lee seals the deal between the clans and marks the beginning of a powerful alliance. The Italian translators decided to keep the L3, just like in the English version. Thus, in both cases they chose the “L3<sup>TT</sup> = L3<sup>ST</sup>” strategy, with actors speaking Romanian and subtitles on-screen that reveal the meaning of the foreign words.

Table 4. *Peaky Blinders*, S1, E4

Source text	Target text
Zilpha: Put your hand on the Bible	Zilpha: Metti la mano sulla Bibbia
Thomas: I don't believe. I know I didn't come here to lie. This war is cutting us all off. (In Romanian) A boy almost got killed. A boy.	Thomas: Non sono credente. Comunque non sono venuto qui per mentire. Questa Guerra ci sta decimando tutti. (In Romanian with Italian subtitles) Un bambino stava per essere ucciso. Un bambino.
Zilpha: You're all children	Zilpha: Siete tutti bambini.
Thomas: I say enough. Your boys tried to kill me and it didn't work. (In Romanian) I come here with a preposition.	Thomas: Adesso basta. Loro hanno cercato di uccidermi, senza riuscirci (In Romanian with Italian subtitles) Sono qui per farvi una proposta
Zilpha: (In Romanian) I thought he was your ally.	Zilpha: (In Romanian with Italian subtitles) Credevo fosse vostro alleato.
Thomas: (In Romanian) I plan to betray him.	Thomas: (In Romanian with Italian subtitles) Intendo tradirlo.
Zilpha: No wonder you won't touch a Bible.	Zilpha: Capisco perché non vuoi toccare la Bibbia.
Thomas: I have ambitions.	Thomas: Ho delle ambizioni.
Zilpha: You want to play a switch.	Zilpha: Uno scambio, non è così?
Thomas: I need your boys.	Thomas: Mi servono i tuoi ragazzi.
Zilpha: For what?	Zilpha: Per cosa?
Thomas: Kimber's not the brains. There's a gadze who runs the races. I'm collecting smart people. But I need strong men too.	Thomas: Kimber non è la mente. È solo un arrogante che gestisce le corse. Io sto cercando persone furbe. Ma mi servono anche uomini forti.

## CONCLUSIONS

Overall, a translational evaluation demonstrates that there is significant attention paid to preserving language variation based on the user. As a result, intra- and interlingual varieties, specifically at the lexico-grammatical level, are retained. In other words, television shows appear more foreignizing on the continuum of domestication versus foreignization when their Italian renditions are considered. Evaluated using Corrius and Zabalbeascoa's (2011) taxonomy, L3 TT = L3 ST is the most prevalent approach toward multicultural identity among Latino characters. Usually, code-switching using the effect of L3 TT (+L1) = L3 ST (+L1) is applied, specifically when English and Spanish are retained in the target version. Consequently, English expressions are usually translated into their equivalents. Code-mixing was also evident in all three television shows where culture-specific references were made. The loan strategy and limited substitution were applied. Part-

subtitles, for instance, were evident in *Jane the Virgin*'s earlier seasons but are eliminated in the third. Netflix may be seen as promoting the multilingual nature of its products through this action.

As far as *Peaky Blinders* is concerned, the use of Romanian is double-edged: on the one hand, it is used to strengthen bonds between people; on the other one, the language is used to set boundaries and exclude the hearers from the conversation.

Both the source text and the target text preserve Romanian in the scripts. The decision to leave the L3 unchanged is indeed remarkable if we consider that the Italian version overwhelmingly neutralizes all the variations related to English: the Irish dialect spoken by the inspector, the British one spoken by the policemen and the Brummy spoken by the *Peaky Blinders*, among others, are flattened in standard Italian in the dubbed version, while Romanian is left unchanged.

Hence, it is possible to say that including the Gipsies' language as well as information about the history and the culture of such a peculiar ethnic group in a successful television product as it is *Peaky Blinders* provided a wide audience with the opportunity to engage with an underrepresented population, whose legacy is worth keeping alive.

This study is part of the greater literature evaluating how race, ethnicity, class, and gender are reproduced and represented through the exploration of various language pairs and AVT modes (De Heredia 2015, 2016; De Heredia, De Higes-Andino 2019; De Higes-Andino *et al.* 2013). Chiaro (2008: 10) remarks:

[w]hen faced with translating linguistic variation on screen, the general tendency is the occurrence of a disappearance act, a Houdinesque illusion which occurs in ST where time and time again, the issue of difference is swept neatly beneath the proverbial carpet to remain politely ignored. But the problem is that ignoring variation doesn't make it go away (Chiaro 2008: 10).

Unlike this observation, the picture is partially changing due to the proliferation of information communication technologies that spread multiculturalism. Some quarters may claim that a foreignizing effect is evident, thereby limiting the audience's comprehension. After all, audiences rarely have the same level of familiarity with the language or cultures involved. Nevertheless, dubbing multicultural television shows seeks to break linguistic and cultural barriers to focus on representation (De Heredia, De Higes-Andino 2019). Consequently, the focus is on diversity rather than difference, which the media is especially useful in disseminating among younger viewers. Therefore, foreignization could be perceived as an objective of AVT in multilingual television products. The social activity involved is important for intercultural exchange (Ranzato, Zanotti 2018: 2).

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