UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Translating and Creating Sound Symbolic Forms in Italian Disney Comics: A Historical and Linguistic Inquiry

Pier Simone Pischedda

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds

School of Languages, Cultures and Societies

August 2016

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my two supervisors, Dr. Gigliola Sulis and Prof. Jeremy Munday for believing in this project from the get-go and for providing impeccable mentorship during these last four years of research. I would also like to thank Dr. Martin Thomas for acting both as a committee member for my upgrade and as an internal examiner for my viva.

A special thank you also goes to the British Arts and Humanities Research Council, which decided to fully fund this research project through a BGP (Block Grant Partnership) award in Italian language and culture and to Karen for agreeing to proofread a considerable part of this thesis.

This research project would not have been possible without the inspiration and help of those people who have supported and mentored me throughout the academic journey that has led to the completion of this thesis. In particular, I owe a huge thank you to Prof. Andrea Carosso, Prof. Rossella Bernascone and Prof. Antonio Romano at the University of Turin in Italy for providing central ideas on translation studies and linguistics theory that represented the basis for my initial PhD application. Another special mention goes to Dr. Jo Drugan and Dr. Dragos Ciobanu who both inspired me enormously during my time as a student and teaching assistant at the University of Leeds.

I would also like to thank all the staff at the various libraries I visited who have assisted me during the creation of the corpus, which represents a central part of this project. In particular, all the staff at the *Kluge Centre* at the Library of Congress in Washington DC, the *WOW Comics Museum* in Milan (Italy) and the *Centro Fumetto Andrea Pazienza* in Cremona (Italy).

Special thanks go to my dear friends Alvaro, David, Elisa, Gary, Maks, Pablo, Tom, Will and Vedran and to those people I have met during my research trips. In particular: Antony, Helena, Max, Thomas, Halim, Aaron, Jonathan, Ben and Brian, who have

warmly welcomed me to a new country and with whom I shared some amazing adventures in the USA. I would not have managed to complete this project without your moral support.

A final thank you goes to my mother, who has always believed unconditionally in my potential and who taught me that one's insecurities should not represent a barrier to fulfilling one's dreams and that passion, humility and hard work are the keys to success, both inside and outside academia.

Abstract

This research will seek to map the use and importation of sound symbolic forms, such as ideophones—including onomatopoeia—and interjections, into Italian through Disney comics. It will describe the slow and still on-going linguistic adaptation involved, which has been influencing the Italian language for the past eighty years by encouraging lexical experimentation and spurs of creativity on the part of Italian cartoonists and translators. Scholars tend to dismiss the topic here analysed by affirming that Romance languages have been deeply affected by Anglophonic influences, but these assumptions are rarely backed up by empirical data. Systematic studies on the creative potentials of Italian sound symbolism or on the influence of English ideophones and interjections based on an extended corpus are scarce. Similarly rare are studies on the use and function of ideophones across languages. This is a chance to look at how a single linguistic phenomenon (i.e. sound symbolism) has been moulded into a language through eight decades of assimilation and, more specifically, to study how the Italian language and Disney comics published in Italy have adapted in order to accommodate and successfully employ sound symbolic forms.

Table of Contents

Lists of Figures, Tables and Charts

Figures

Tables

Charts

Introduction

This PhD thesis seeks to offer a historical and linguistic analysis of the use and translation of sound symbolic forms in Italian Disney Comics. The linguistics branch defined as 'sound symbolism' studies the relationship between the sound of an utterance and its meaning (Hinton, 1994, p. 1-2) and it is concerned with those 'marked words depictive of sensory images […] noted for their special sound patterns, distinct grammatical properties and sensory meanings' (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 654). In simpler words, these are words that try to depict, capture and imitate sensory perceptions, in an iconic (i.e. ideophones) but also non-iconic (i.e. interjections) fashion. They not only include depictions of sound (animal calls such as *bow-wow*, *oink*, *cock-a-doodle-doo* etc. or environmental noise such as *bang, boom* or *rumble*) but also smell, movement, touch, 'kinaesthetic sensations, balance, and other inner feelings and sensations' (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 656). They are often called onomatopoeia, an acceptable but sometimes limiting term, since it only refers to depictions of sound, which might be a satisfactory definition for some languages but not others. Despite the focus of this project being mainly on ideophones, due to their similar linguistic function and evocative nature, data regarding interjections has also been collected and will, in certain contexts, also be featured during the analysis. The idea for this project arose because there proved to be little, if any, published research on the use and history of Italian sound symbolism, as indicated by Dovetto (2012, p. 204), particularly in those written media where it is often employed, such as comics. I believe this fact corroborates the intrinsic originality of this thesis' research topic.

Since the 1930s, imported (American) English Disney comics have been institutionalising the use of sound symbolic forms, especially ideophones, in Italian mass media, offering an original use of a device that had previously been employed mainly, and relatively infrequently, in Italian poetic and narrative compositions (see its use within the Futurist and Decadent literary movements) rather than paired with images. The 'plastic presence' (Gasca & Gubern, 2004, p. 388) of English ideophones in foreign comics has been recorded since the 1930s. Although 'establishing their functional paternity is still quite a difficult task' (Gasca & Gubern, 2004, p. 388), the undisputed hegemony of North American comics on the international market is

undeniable since the early days of comics' industry. Ideophones were able to provide the Italian comic book with a newly-discovered sensoriality but they concurrently produced a dual effect: if, on one side, the device introduced new ways for visual and verbal elements to interact, representing by all means 'one of the best-known features of comic books' (Duncan & Smith, 2009, p. 154)—on the other side, it drew attention to a seemingly unpredictable—as it will be shown later—feature of the Italian language. Ideophones' closeness with orality and primordial language, combined with the Italian language's lack of familiarity with the use of these forms in comics, as suggested by Mioni (1990, p. 262), implied an 'absence of univocity in their use or function' (Chmielewska, 2011, p. 3), making it difficult to frame them into specific paradigms. In addition, practical difficulties arose for editors, creators and translators who had to deal with the device's 'aberrance' (Newman, 2001, p. 251), that is, its tendency to 'stretch' the system of languages by forcing them to depart from their normal structure.

Disney magazines in Italy have reflected approximately eighty years of the country's linguistic vicissitudes. In addition to this, they have been effectively 'embodying one of the miracles' (Boschi, 2012a, p. 503) of pre- and post-war Italy. They received such a great accolade that, six years after their importation (1937), Italian original stories (approved by Disney) started being published (Bono et al., 2012a, p. 79)—production that has continued without interruption until the present day. By the 1960s Italian stories were in the majority, and some of them have even been translated for foreign markets (Stajano, 1999, p. 15).

The majority of stories analysed as part of this project were included in the *Topolino* ('Mickey Mouse') magazine, which has almost-unremittingly published Disney stories in Italy since 1932. The choice of this particular magazine was motivated by several factors. *Topolino*'s 'linguistic physiognomy' (Verda, 1990, p. 58; translation mine) is altogether autonomous, personal and trendsetting. Its language is 'clearly distinguishable from that of other [Italian] comics' (Verda, 1990, p. 58; translation mine), and that is what makes it so interesting from a scholarly point of view. Neologisms and coinages have flourished in its pages and they have done so in crucial decades (1930s-60s) for the development of Italian as a standardised language.

The pages of this publication have been the catalyst for the development of a specific linguistic register in Italian comics, effectively 'exploiting the peculiarities and tendencies of contemporary Italian language while playfully intensifying them' (Pietrini, 2013; translation mine). They provided linguistic stimuli to young and older readers, who have thereby been exposed to a 'very rich lexical base' (Verda, 1990, p. 59), which in turn offers a fertile source of material for the researcher.

In summary, this PhD thesis will explore the linguistic implications of creating and translating ideophones—such as onomatopoeia—and interjections in Italian Disney comics. It will endeavour to investigate the way sound symbolic forms in both imported Disney US comics and original Italian stories have profoundly influenced the development of Italian sound symbolism in the last century. This research involves the creation of a corpus of ideophones and interjections from 210 Disney stories published between 1930s and the 2013 (cf. Section A in Appendix for the full list of stories). The corpus collection has been carried out in different bibliographic archives based in Florence (Italy), Cremona (Italy), Milan (Italy) and at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC (USA). The corpus will allow me to investigate how these forms have changed diachronically throughout the eighty years under investigation with the final aim of highlighting changes and patterns in both original and translated Italian stories.

The chapters are organised as follows: first of all, the inquiry will concentrate on sound symbolism theory (Chapter 1), in order to offer a substantial introduction to the general characteristics of sound symbolism in all languages and, in particular, in Italian and English. Subsequently, Chapter 2 will offer a theoretical approach to multimodality and interdisciplinarity in translation studies. Chapter 3 will provide a view of the methodological implications of this project and how the suggested research questions will be answered, particularly through the creation of a manually-compiled linguistic corpus. Chapter 4 and 5 will, respectively, focus on the theory related to the relationship between the visual and the verbal in comics and on the history of comic books and Disney publications in Italy. Finally, the central part of this

project is concerned with the linguistic phenomena linked to these sound symbolic forms (Chapters 6 and 7) and how these have been translated (Chapter 8). The conclusions in Chapter 9 will endeavour to bring together the information gathered throughout the empirical analysis in the two previous chapters in order to answer the main research questions.

Chapter 1. Sound Symbolic Language: Basic Theoretical Concepts

The following chapter acts as an introduction to the linguistic investigation of sound symbolic forms. In particular, it attempts to offer an overview of intra- and cross-linguistic studies of ideophones (and, briefly, interjections) and their divergent role and form across languages. It discusses both why there is so little scholarship analysing the use of ideophones in the Italian language and why that language seems to have relatively few sound-symbolic realisations. The findings show that there are both linguistic and cultural reasons behind a language's affinity for—or reluctance to adopt—iconic forms. I will demonstrate how distinct circumstances have led Italian speakers to experience a shortage of ideophones: primarily Italian's intrinsic morphophonological properties but also the influence of English sounds through the importation of American comics during the 1930s.

1.1. Defining the Ideophone

The term 'ideophone' initially came into use among early researchers in African onomatopoeia with the aim of investigating the different stages of linguistic evolution in African idioms (Tedlock, 1999, p. 118). The term was first applied by Doke in 1935 to refer to Bantu languages and, since then, 'word classes identifiable as ideophones have been found in many of world's languages' (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 655). The term is now employed not only with reference to the study of African sound symbolism, but it is also 'widespread and used to refer to any kind of language iconicity' (Liberman, 2005, p. 33). The most recent widely-accepted definition of 'ideophone' is formulated by Dingemanse (2012, p. 655) who describes it as a 'marked word that depicts sensory imagery'. This definition was purposefully designed to be general, 'capturing the fundamental cross-linguistic characteristics of ideophones while leaving room for details and differences to be spelled out for individual languages' (Ibid.). Dingemanse's open definition is valuable as terminological usage among scholars in the field has been uncertain for decades. While the term *ideophone* indicates the word or expression itself, the phenomenon in which native speakers think that there is 'some kind of meaningful connection between a sound, or cluster of sounds, and properties

of the outside world' (Crystal, 2007, p. 250) is referred to as 'sound symbolism', 'phonosemantics' or 'phonaestesia'. Adjectives such as 'iconic' and 'sound-symbolic' are generally used as attributives to refer to the discipline. A recent definition by Casas-Tost (2014, p. 40) reinstates the same concepts, defining ideophones in a similarly general way as 'phonetically driven words […] with enormous expressive capacity'.

Ideophones are marked in the sense that 'they stand out from other words' (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 655) as they show distinctive features that are not always applicable to the rest of the language system they are used in. From a purely theoretical linguistic perspective, ideophones are usually characterised by 'uncommon phonological elements' (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 40), simple morphology (the use of affixes, suffixes or inflected forms is rare) and a predisposition to drift away from the canonical orthographic and phonotactic system of languages (Gadducci & Tavosanis, 2012, p. 114). In a clear attempt to express originality and 'sophisticated playfulness' (Anderson, 1998, p. 108), ideophones are constantly challenging accepted norms of language (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 655). This is often achieved through the use of 'affective markers', linguistic phenomena such as morphological reduplication (i.e. *toc toc*, *drin drin*), vowel alternation (i.e. *tic toc, ding dong, bim bum*) or consonantal and vocalic lengthening (i.e. *brrrrr*, *screeeek*, *brrruuum*) that express iconicity through unconventional linguistic stratagems (Mioni, 1992, p. 87; Beccaria, 1994, p. 524; Tedlock, 1999, p. 119; Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 40). These phenomena bear witness to ideophones' predilection for 'language diseconomy' (Anderson, 1998, p. 107)—that is the use of linguistic ploys that are often linked to 'primitive and defective speech' (Anderson, 1998, p. 108) and do not seem to be recurring in canonical language usage. As a consequence, most forms do not have a stable spelling (Bueno Pérez, 1994, p. 20), thus tending to accept (and possibly foster) both linguistic creativity and syntactical flexibility. Note that these characteristics have been found in many languages (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 655). A detailed analysis of how these ideophonic diseconomies reveal themselves in Italian Disney comics will be offered in Chapters 6 and 7, where examples from the corpus compiled in the course of this study will be discussed.

The marked nature of ideophones goes hand in hand with the classificatory difficulties within this area of scholarship. 'Not only is the use of the term 'ideophone' not always completely agreed upon, but there is also no completely agreed-upon set of features characterising ideophones' (Smoll, 2012, p. 2), as the term is often used to describe forms that vary across languages in terms of linguistic features. It follows that, as ideophone inventories are elaborated in different ways across languages, any categorisations will never (and should not) claim to be strict or all-inclusive. For instance, in certain African languages ideophones are usually adverbial and not onomatopoeic, as they are not trying to evoke sounds but, more frequently, whole situations and modes that other languages can only paraphrase by using several words. So in those cases it is erroneous to call them onomatopoeias. On the other hand, in studies that focus on Asian languages, they are usually called 'mimetics', 'expressives' or 'descriptives' (Smoll, 2012, p. 2).

1.2. Terminological Clarifications: Ideophones/Onomatopoeias/Interjections

The approach used for the current study is to use the term 'onomatopoeia' to refer to that sub-group of ideophones that depict sonic events. The term 'Ideophone' thus becomes an epithet for those words that evoke all sorts of events through linguistic and non-linguistic (i.e. visual) iconicity, from sound and motion to emotional states and manners (Dingemanse, 2008). As confirmed by Dingemanse (2008), 'the sound-only connotation of *onomatopoeia* is the main reason for advocating the more general term *ideophone'*. Further support for this terminological approach lies in the fact that most of the scholars who have focussed their studies on sound symbolic forms in original and translated Italian comics (Mioni, 1990; Beccaria, 1994; Pietrini, 2009; D'Achille, 2010) have named them *ideofoni* ('ideophones'). Nevertheless, one should always keep in mind that as much as ideophones are an open class, the same openness applies to their classification. It follows that offering examples of how ideophones act and how they represent sensory images in specific contexts seems the best path to follow in order to fully grasp their function and modalities.

Despite the fact that ideophones are sometimes classified as interjections in dictionaries, ultimately they should not be considered as such, as there is linguistic evidence that shows that the two categories should be kept separate. Interjections are a 'typical case of emotional language' (Poggi, 2009, p. 1)—words that have an inherently emotive function and are usually uttered by the speaker in order to openly express feelings and attract other people's attention. They can either have 'expositive value' (D'Achille, 2010, p. 174; translation mine), when they are expressing the speaker's feelings—see *toh*, *bah* in Italian or *ew*, *yuck* in English—or an exhortatory one if they are employed to provoke a reaction—see *ehi!* or *hey!*. In the genre of the comic, these are usually but not always included within the speech balloon due to their enunciated nature. Despite sharing their holophrastic function—that is their tendency to be used as single words—with interjections, ideophones diverge from interjections as they use iconic and symbolic patterns to convey meaning, a characteristic not (completely) shared by interjections, which are generally crystallised forms whose meaning relies on arbitrary conventions. Furthermore, interjections do not feature unusual morphophonological patterns (see phono-morphological repetition, for example) as frequently as ideophones do. While interjections are usually present in dictionaries and categorised as such, ideophones represent a grammatical class open to different interpretations and categorisations (D'Achille, 2010, p. 174). As explained by Poggi (1981, p. 51), the classification is sometimes uncertain, depending on context or interpretation. Thus, certain words can be both interjection and ideophone. To cite an example, *uffa* (*oof* in English, used to express boredom or annoyance), can be perceived both as interjection, since it is the exact word articulated by the speaker, and as ideophone, in the form of an iconic rendition of a grumbling act.

It was decided, for the purpose of this thesis, that three terms will be used, interchangeably, to refer to these phonetically driven words: (1) 'iconic'[1], (2)

[1] The term 'expressive/iconic' was used to refer to 'the different modes of signification of ideophones' (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 655) by Diffloth (1972), one of the first scholars to dedicate extensive research to the status and role of ideophones in natural languages.

'expressive'[2] and (3) 'sound symbolic' words/forms. These three terms will be employed to refer to both ideophones and interjections. When the analysis focuses on one category in particular, this will be clearly stated.

1.3. Mediators of Iconism

Anderson (1998, p. 99) suggests that expressive sound symbolic words, ideophones in particular, have both external and internal bases. The external basis is the 'sonic, physical, psychological or affective stimuli that are imitated or represented by means of partial resemblance' (Anderson, 1998, p. 99)–in simpler terms, that which they are trying to depict, and this can be expressed through morphological, lexical or phonological strategies. The internal bases for iconism, on the other hand, are the actual cues that trigger iconic values, what Dogana calls 'mediators of iconic phono-symbolism' (1990, p. 116). The following mediators are based on Anderson (1998, p. 99) and Dogana (1990, p. 116-18) and refer to general symbolic features of language that can be experienced by speakers of all languages. Some of these mediators will be refered to throughout the analysis in Chapters 6, 7 and 8:

- Kinaesthetic: related to the 'physiology of articulation' (Anderson, 1998, p. 100), the way human beings practically articulate sounds and use their phonatory organs to do so. It is generally accepted and has also been proven by several studies (Dogana, 1990, p. 117) that, for instance, high front vowels are often associated with smallness and back vowels with largeness. The position of the tongue and the size of the oral cavity is, in these cases, the main origin of iconicity (Anderson, 1998, p. 100).
- Acoustic: related to auditory aspects of sounds, or, in other words, how the sound waves are perceived by our ears and elaborated in our brain. The specific variations and the main acoustic parameters are often the starting point of a series of 'synaesthetic experiences' (Dogana, 1990, p. 116; translation mine). This is very much due to the so-called sonority hierarchy, according to which more sonorous phonemes, such as vowels, liquids or nasals are perceived as continuous and soft, while the least

[2] The term 'expressive language' in regards to this project refers to the fact that this type of language is 'employed to represent something that arguably cannot be represented in language' (Epstein, 2012, p. 15), as opposed to literal language.

sonorous ones (i.e. unvoiced fricatives, affricates and stops) are linked to hardness and rigidity (Anderson, 1998, p. 103; Jawad, 2010, p. 47).

- Structural: related to morphological or syntactical structures. Examples are the iconicity resulting from the position of consonants and vowels within a word or the iteration and interaction of some of its constituents. As noted by Reid (1967, p. 47) 'words ending in consonant, have an inherent confining and limiting effect which words ending with a vowel sound do not possess', and the higher the number of consonants before a vowel the stronger that word will be (Reid, 1967, p. 16). Compare, for instance, the alternative version of ideophones that add a 'prosthetic s' (Marchand, 1969, p. 427) in front of the word, which automatically becomes stronger: *grunt* and its stronger version *sgrunt* or *squack*, the updated form of *quack.* While kinaesthetic and acoustic factors are generally considered valid across multiple languages, structural iconicity might be language specific. Italian speakers might find vowel-ending words more expressive (or, at least, more familiar) than consonant-ending ones, for instance.

- Graphemic: due to the close relationship between phoneme and grapheme, the graphical features of the latter can sometimes contribute to the general phonetic symbolism (Dogana, 1990, p. 117), what Anderson calls 'zigzag factor' (1998, p. 175). The expressive value of graphemes is in this case almost re-discovered by emphasising the native 'pictographic value' (Dogana, 1994, p. 117; translation mine) of the written sign. The stratagem is often used in comics—see the use of trembling font for an onomatopoeia representing an earthquake, for example.

- Socio-psychological: another factor that can influence the perception of certain types of linguistic iconicity is the psychological or sociological background of the receiver. Certain values attributed to words, graphemes and phonemes can in fact be explained by historical and cultural variables that exclude any kind of linguistic, visual or articulatory factor. An example in Italian is the derogatory and ironic values associated with the grapheme 'k' (not present in the official Italian alphabet), the so-called *kappa politico* ('political k'), which was used in post-war Italy to express discontent towards certain politicians ('Kossiga' rather than Cossiga) or ideals ('Amerikano') (Petrucci, 1977, p. 114).

Finally, the unique linguistic condition of ideophones also has a neural counterpart: neurological investigations (Hashimoto et al., 2006) have produced the first evidence that ideophones are processed 'by extensive brain regions involved in the processing of both verbal and non-verbal sounds' (Hashimoto et al., 2006, p. 1762). This confirms the special status of ideophones; they seem to serve as a 'bridge between nouns and sounds' (Hashimoto et al., 2006, p. 1762), not fully belonging to either of the two categories but representing, even neurologically, the passage from one type of stimulus to another.

1.4. Classifying the Ideophone

Several classifications for ideophonic categories have been suggested through the years, based on different areas of linguistics such as semantics, lexicon or other linguistic and non-linguistic factors. This is probably due to the lack of general rules for ideophonic usage applicable to all languages or, particularly, to specific language pairs in the case of bilingual analysis like the present one.

There have been several attempts at categorising ideophones according to that which they are trying to represent. For the purpose of this thesis, the three-way categorisation of Japanese ideophones (commonly called mimetics) suggested by Akita (2009, p. 11) is offered, as these three categories can be applied equally well to Italian and English sound symbolic forms. The categorisation has, however, been slightly modified in order to include all the English and Italian forms found in the comics analysed during the compilation of the corpus. These are the three categories suggested by Akita:

> Phonomimes (equivalent to onomatopoeias): these ideophones represent sounds, both from animate (human and animals) and inanimate sources (objects, machines, weapons, etc.)
>
> Phenomimes: these represent visual and textual experiences, such as manner of motion, light, taste, smell and temperature.

Psychomimes: these represent internal experiences –namely, bodily sensation and emotions.

Hinton (1994) and Frawley (2003) suggest a similar classification, one that distinguishes primary and secondary 'phonestemes'. Primary phonestemes can be either acoustic, what Hinton calls imitative (1994, p. 3) or non-acoustic, defined as synesthetic by Hinton (1994, p. 4). In contrast, secondary phonestemes are part of 'conventional sound symbolism' (Ibid., p. 5), which includes those forms that are considered iconic not because of their sonic attributes but because of the 'analogical association of certain phonemes and clusters with certain meanings' (Ibid., p. 5). An example might be the initial cluster /gl/ in English, which is often linked to 'reflected light' terms such as 'glitter, glow, glisten, glimmer, etc.' (Ibid., p. 5). Scholars have noted that, unlike the primary phonestemes, secondary phonestemes tend to be language specific in their 'choice of phonetic segments' (Ibid., p. 5).

1.5. Ideophones in Use

The peripheral status of the study of ideophones has long been preserved as a result of the dominant belief that languages are 'conventional codes' (Tedlock, 1999, p. 118) created arbitrarily by their speakers. Since Ferdinand de Saussure's lectures were made available to the general public in 1916, it has been common to introduce 'the issue of ideophones (under various names) only to quickly dismiss it' (Tedlock, 1999, p. 118). Despite the fact that scholarship has been concentrating more and more on problems related to the function and cross-linguistic aspects of ideophones, there are still some areas that remain under-researched. In particular, research on the practical use of ideophones has been sporadic, with an evident 'preoccupation with form and not function' (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 654). As highly flexible and adaptable devices, ideophones fall within various disciplines: 'semiotics, psycholinguistics, semantic typology, corpus linguistics, conversation analysis, and the ethnography of speaking' (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 654) to name but a few. It follows that the impact of scholarship in sound symbolism often extends far beyond its main (linguistic) field and can lead to multifaceted results and an interdisciplinary methodology.

The use of ideophones, either in written or spoken form, is often characterised by an effort to make the listener/reader feel as if he or she is actually taking part in the event being described. It is, therefore, an attempt to 'bring to life the narrated events in ways that ordinary words do not' (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 664), with clear limitations imposed by the phonetic and syntactic systems of each language. Considering that every language has its own phonological system, ideophonic coining 'is largely dependent on the phonemes and phonemic combinations of the language' (Marchand, 1969, p. 402). Kilian-Hatz's definition of ideophones seems to reiterate this same concept, emphasising their highly 'dramaturgic function' (cited in Voeltz et al., 2001, p. 2):

> Ideophones do not simply describe a state or event, but rather they *simulate* it, allowing the speaker to perform the event and raising the *illusion* that it is occurring at the moment of the utterance. (Kilian-Hatz, 2001, p. 155; emphasis added).

The ideophone 'bang' does not describe or allude to the explosion (as the word 'explosion' does) so much as it attempts to *perform* the explosion itself.

Regarding the imitativeness of ideophones, Assaneo et al. (2011) point out that the actual imitative value of ideophones is the subject of a challenging debate. The real acoustic properties of 'collisions, bursts and strikes are in fact very different from the string of consonants and vowels forming their onomatopoeic written forms' (Assaneo et al., 2011, p. 1), which are limited to a variable number of phonetic categories (Tsur, 1992, p. 18). For this reason, Assaneo et al. (2011) suggest that a better way to define the ideophone is to describe it as 'a transformation of a sound into *the best possible* speech element'. By defining it thus they are not intending to wholly reject the iconicity of language but rather reminding us of its limits, as 'every language has its own phonological system […] and is thus dependant on a particular set of phonemes and phonemic combinations' (Marchand, 1969, p. 402). When environmental sounds are transformed into speech elements not everything can be acoustically preserved. 'The choice of speech sounds is to certain extent accidental' (Marchand, 1969, p. 401). Iconicity comes also from tacit conventions among the speakers of a language and is closely dependant on the way natural sounds have been

converted in order to fit the language's alphabet and phonological classes (Bueno Pérez, 1994, p. 18; Catricalà, [no date]). Therefore, despite the fact that English cats might not exactly pronounce the word 'meow' when they are meowing, it is an accepted convention that that ideophone is the closest written representation of the sound emitted by cats. Same applies to the Italian 'miao' or the French 'miaou'. It follows that different degrees of iconicity exist, such that certain representations are undoubtedly closer to their real acoustic output than others (Beccaria, 1994, p. 380).

The fact that oral language is ideophone's main mode of expression (Mioni, 1990, p. 258) is a further reason why they have been 'largely ignored by traditional descriptions of grammar' (Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz, 2001, p. 2). Their 'vivacity, rhythm and musicality' (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 41) result in them fulfilling a 'stylistic or poetic function, so it comes as no surprise to find them in many and varied contexts, as well as in different text genres' (Casas-Tost, 2014, 41). Indeed, the ease with which ideophonic neologisms are created and accepted into a language (Chapman, 1984, p. 156) has not only bestowed the device with a rare linguistic flexibility, but has also created interest among writers, who have learnt to exploit it in order to 'give free reign to their imagination' (Chapman, 1984, p. 133). Poems, stories, lullabies and traditional songs were in fact the first testing grounds for sound symbolic experimentations (Mphande, 1992, p. 118). Used to convey 'dramatic enhancement in narrative texts' (Mphande, 1992, p. 118), this linguistic device has led writers to a 'highly evocative onomatopoeic coinage and several ambitious attempts' (Chapman, 1984, p. 137).

The most modern evidence of the usefulness of ideophones is, at least in the Western world, to be found in advertising and literature for young readers, particularly picture books and comic books, in which the first ideophone appeared as early as 1896 (Crystal, 2007, pp. 250-2; Noss, 2003, p. 44). In the first case, ideophones are mainly used as mnemonic devices, to make a product more memorable for customers: 'Plop, plop, fizz, fizz, oh what a relief it is' (slogan of Alka Seltzer); 'Snap, crackle, pop' (slogan of Rice Krispies cereals); 'Bubble Yum. It's so much yum, yum, yum' (slogan of Yum Bubble Gum) and so on (examples mentioned in Crystal, 2007, p. 252). In the case of comics and picture books, the genres' propensity to mix different

modes of expressions, particularly verbal and visual signs, has given editors and cartoonists the chance to flaunt ‘a vigorous and bold invention of onomatopoeia beyond that of most literary writers’ (Chapman, 1984, p. 139) with the final result of successfully renewing some of the traditional forms. The study of ideophones in comics, in particular, also offers an important opportunity to engage in cross-linguistic analysis by comparing how different languages have used, created and translated sound-symbolic forms in a well-received and lively type of mass media.

1.6. Cross-linguistic Sound Symbolism

The semantic substance of ideophones is usually rather clear and direct. The main problem lies, rather, in their categorisation within the syntactical and grammatical system of a particular language. The great morphological and phonological flexibility of the device lends it considerable cross-linguistic variability. Despite some features of sound symbolism being detected across all languages (Oszmiańska, 2001, p. 149), words of this type undergo a certain degree of adaptation to fit the ‘phonemic and orthographic resources of language, thus they are likely to take varied forms in different speech communities’ (Chapman, 1984, p. 40). A cross-linguistic study of ideophones—like the present one—will thus show both the ‘common quality of human acoustic perceptions and also the disparities between their realisations’ (Chapman, 1984, p. 40). This comes to light when noticing the inconsistencies in the ways different languages represent animal noises (see Abbott, 2004). If one decides to include the concept of onomatopoeia ‘within the scope of the term ideophone’, as should be the case in this writer’s opinion, ‘the ideophone may be recognised as a feature of universal language’ (Noss, 2003, p. 41). The notion that ideophones are ‘conspicuously undeveloped and poorly structured in the languages of Europe’ (Diffloth, 1972, p. 440) and are only prominent in certain African and Asian languages should thus not be supported anymore, particularly in studies that delve into their extensive use within comics. Comic books published in Europe have indeed shown to foster sound symbolic use since their early days, to the point that languages have started exchanging ideophones through the comic book pages (Thomas, 2004). Hence

the claim that European languages have a poor system of iconic words, particularly when considering comics, should be considered inaccurate.

Cross-linguistic analysis of ideophones is slowly taking place, with certain areas that still deserve further attention (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 663). The results available so far show that certain languages have a greater propensity towards sound symbolic patterns than others. Languages such as Japanese and Korean, and certain African idioms, which are 'characterised by lexicons rich in words which come under the heading of ideophones or sound symbolism' (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 39), seem to have attracted more scholarship (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 39), while research is still in the early stages for Romance languages (Smoll, 2012, p. 1). Scholars (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 664; Smoll, 2012, p. 24; Delacruz & Tejedor, 2009, p. 50; Beccaria, 1994, p. 317) have come to the conclusion that generating a typological classification of languages according to their use of ideophones is a difficult (and perhaps not even useful) task, due not only to cross-linguistic discrepancies in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics, but also, and more importantly, because of the high degree of variability of forms and functions within each individual language (Smoll, 2012, p. 22). A more fruitful approach to the study of sound symbolism would involve an investigation of the common (or divergent) cross-linguistic properties, especially by focusing on the way ideophones are actually used or translated and how they affect and shape languages. 'Naturalistic corpus data is therefore likely to play an essential role in this enterprise' (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 657).

Linguistic properties are not the sole source of this cross- and intra-linguistic flexibility. A few scholars (Beccaria, 1994, p. 380; Oszmiańska, 2001; Crystal, 2007, p. 250; Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 41) draw attention to the cultural reasons behind the use of ideophones, stressing the importance of social norms and historical facts in determining the success or partial failure of the way sound symbolism is used for communication purposes. This is also generally true in relation to verbal and visual elements in interaction, as 'meanings belong to culture, rather than specific semiotic modes', hence 'the way some things can be said either visually or verbally is also culturally and historically specific' (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 2). The Japanese language, for example, has an extended array of sound symbolic forms that are

employed not only in colloquial contexts, as happens in many languages, but also in formal situations. Scholars agree that this is partly due to the 'kinaesthetic' nature of Japanese culture, which tends to favour 'silence and visual forms of communication' (Maynard, 1997, p. 180) — a characteristic that might also explain the notable success of comic art forms such as manga and anime in Japan. Oszmiańska adds that since the structure of ideophones is determined by linguistic rules, language structure will always 'overshadow the iconic principle' (2001, p. 154). For instance, the affinity of the English language for ideophones is frequently mentioned by scholars in the field (Gubern, 1974; Bueno Perez, 1994, p. 25; Gasca & Gubern, 2004; Delacruz & Tejedor, 2009). This affinity is almost certainly due to linguistic factors, namely the simple morphology of the language (see the abundance of monosyllabic words as mentioned by Mioni, 1992, p. 95) and its tendency to easily convert word classes (Newmark, 1996, p. 54)—characteristics that bestow the language with several mechanisms 'to adapt writing to the original sound' (Bueno Perez, 1994, p. 25; translation mine) in a more fruitful way. These characteristics make English thrive when it comes to creating ideophonic neologisms or adapting existing words for the pages of the comic. The poor affinity of Romance languages with sound symbolic forms seems to be caused by their inflecting nature, which might not offer the morphological flexibility needed in order to successfully create and use sound symbolic forms (Bueno Perez, 1994, p. 25; Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 239; Pischedda, 2012; Dovetto, 2012, p. 208).

English sound symbolism is more 'real and extensive' (Feist, 2013, p. 105) than Italian sound symbolism, and it generally fits more naturally into the general framework of the language (Feist, 2013, p. 105). Ideophones, particularly onomatopoeic words, have a much more prominent role in the language in use and particularly in the panels of comic books. As mentioned earlier, the distinctive isolating morphology of the language, together with the decisive role of English in the early days of production and circulation of comics have fostered considerable linguistic and cultural awareness of the English ideophone in the 20th century, both abroad and at home. The structure of English words seems to fit the need for the comic panel to feature vivid, immediate and short iconic forms. Various foreign languages have incorporated Anglophonic sound symbolism into their array of iconic expressions. Japanese is possibly one of the

few languages ‘so far largely uncolonised by Anglo-American sound-words’ (Thomas, 2004), probably due to the already intricate system of sound symbolic form present in the language.

Iconic forms indirectly affect the literary, cultural and historical contexts of a language and its speakers. As highlighted by Assaneo et al. (2011, p. 8), ideophones, ‘as any other word with a long tradition […], contain elements accumulated across history, elements beyond pure acoustic imitation’. Cross-modal relationships are therefore highly useful when attempting to explain the nature of verbal (but also vocal) sound symbolism (Assaneo et al., 2011, p. 8). In general, and particularly for this thesis, research on ideophone systems will also impact on more widely relevant fields such as language imitation and evolution, verbal art and cultural studies. But, more importantly, it will assist the everlasting inquiry into how sensory images are interpreted in vernaculars (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 664) and how environment may shape languages in particular ways (Smoll, 2012, p. 24).

1.7. Italian Ideophones

The Italian audience who read *Topolino* during the 1930s were part of a nation that was still very much linguistically-fragmented (Sabatin, 2011). In 1931, 21.1% of the population was still illiterate and, by 1951, 66% of Italians would still prefer to speak a dialect rather than the country’s official language (Sabatin, 2011). The ground-shaking social and political unsettling events that occurred between 1915 and 1945, particularly the two wars and the fascist regime, played a remarkable role in dictating the directions taken by the Italian language.

1.7.1. Researching and Defining the Italian Ideophone

While there are languages in which ideophones are ‘fully absorbed into the morphological system and are allowed to act as various parts of speech’ (Chapman, 1984, p. 40), there are also languages in which ideophones are restricted to particular

genres or do not seem to fit the linguistic structure at all (Smoll, 2012, p. 21)—the latter seems to be the case with Italian. The Italian sound-symbolic system is mainly constituted by ideophones imitating sound (Mioni, 1990, p. 262) and, sometimes, motion (Mioni, 1992, p. 88). Ideophones that convey feelings, frequently present in comics, are indeed usually borrowed from English, while Italian forms used to express emotions are generally interjectional and commonly found in dictionaries–see *uffa* (boredom, similar to the English *oof*) or *ahi* (used to express pain, as much as *ouch*). Those English forms that were adopted and have now spread in the Italian comic's pages—see *gasp*, *gulp*, *sniff*, etc.—are perceived as ideophones rather than as interjections since they are not officially part of the lexicon of Italian. These terms are lexicalised in English but are usually 're-categorisable' as ideophones when exported abroad, due to the simple English morphology that makes them look and sound so iconic and their common monosyllabic form (Mioni, 1990, p. 265). Mioni (1990, p. 265) agrees that in Italian these English forms are perceived as ideophones and should be considered as such, particularly considering that they are pronounced the Italian way, so /ro(a)r/ for 'roar' and /gulp/ for 'gulp' rather then /rɔ:r/ and /gʌlp/ although, in a later article (1992), Mioni changes his approach and includes these forms within the 'interjections' group. For the purpose of the current study, these forms were placed within the 'ideophone' category, keeping in mind that they can indeed be seen as belonging to both. They can be seen as interjections if one considers that they are trying to express emotions through actual pronounced speech—and that is also why they are often placed within the balloon rather than blended with the image—but they are also ideophonic in the sense that they do not officially belong to the lexicon of Italian (although some are present in dictionaries as 'interjections' or 'phonosymbolisms', as it will be later analysed in Chapter 6), a fundamental characteristic needed for a word to be considered interjectional.

There are no significant theoretical studies available on the use of ideophones in oral Italian, but one can undoubtedly say that the use of these forms in Italian is usually relegated to certain written genres or playful oral exchanges. The same can be said in regards to Spanish ideophones (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 41). As a result, ideophones are rarely used in formal Italian language, be it written or oral.

The first all-embracing piece of research on the linguistic properties of Italian ideophones was published in 1994 by Fernando Dogana (*Le parole dell'incanto*, 'Words of Enchantment'). The book aims to present an overview of the iconic potential of Italian words and phonemes and any other expressive exploitations of the vernacular through iconic words, including a meticulous and enlightening analysis of the symbolic value of each of the 21 graphemes of the Italian alphabet. Similar to Dogana's research is Nobile's analysis of the phonosymbolic values of Italian vowels, published in 2003 and entitled *L'origine fonosimbolica del valore linguistico nel vocalismo dell'italiano standard* ('The Phonosymbolic Origin of Vowels in Standard Italian'). In terms of comprehensiveness and strictly linguistic analysis, these two studies represent the only resources available.

Studies on the actual use of Italian ideophones are, indeed, slightly more numerous (Barbieri, 2014; Dovetto, 2012; Ficarra, 2012; Frezza, 2012; Gadducci & Tavosanis, 2012; Chmielewska, 2011; Ozumi, 2011; Beccaria, 2010; Celotti, 2010; Poggi, 2009; Eco, 2008; Ippolito, 2008; Semprini, 2006; Sanna, 2005; Pellitteri, 1998, Verda, 1990; Poggi, 1981) and will be referenced throughout this thesis.

The publication of Umberto Eco's essay 'Apocalittici e integrati' (English title: *Apocalypse Postponed*) in 1964 paved the way for scholarly debates on the comic genre and on the role played by ideophones. Eco's refreshing commentary on the cultural and linguistic role of mass media in Italy includes few but nonetheless important lines on the role of ideophones in comics (Eco, 1964, p. 147).

An important contribution to the study of Italian ideophones in new media was made by Mioni (1990; 1992) in two articles about their function in comics. Mioni's ideas were supported and further developed by Pellitteri with his book *Sense of Comics* (1998), which focuses on multimodality in Italian comics. Scattered mentions of the creation and of the problems in translating ideophones exist (Catricalà, 2000; Semprini, 2006; Eco, 2008; Ippolito, 2008 & 2008a; Gadducci & Tavosanis, 2008; Dovetto, 2012; Sinibaldi, 2012), but specific studies based on acquired data are scarce. Except for Pietrini's analysis of the role of ideophones as part of her research on the language of Disney comics, published in 2009, 'systematic studies based on extended

corpus are nonexistent' (Gadducci & Tavosanis, 2012, p. 114; translation mine). Missing also are investigations on how the use and creation of Italian ideophones in comics have changed over time—although there is a small number of unpublished academic dissertations (Franceschi, 2009; Mancini, 2010) and an academic article (Dovetto, 2012) that partly cover this—together with clear data regarding their impact on the Italian language in use.

1.7.2. Introducing the English Ideophone to the Italian Audience

In addition to scattered efforts to coin original Italian ideophones taking place at the hands of avant-garde disciples starting from the 1900s, the first widely known and possibly more influential attempts to introduce ideophones into the Italian language occurred during the importation of American comics (particularly the Disney and Marvel sagas) starting in the 1930s (D'Achille, 2010, p. 175; Ficarra, 2012, p. 81). This resulted in a slow and still on-going process of linguistic adaptation of these English sounds. There are therefore almost eighty years of 'ideophonic' English influence to take into account, and this affects any studies attempting to analyse the Italian sound-symbolic system, which inevitably result in cross-linguistic investigations. Welcoming English phonetic and morphological patterns into the Italian language in order to accommodate ideophones has had a considerable impact on the language structure itself. This has been noticed also for other languages (especially Spanish) that—much like Italian—are subjected to an ongoing sound-symbolic language stretching. According to some linguists and phonologists, ideophones in comic books are 'supplanting the native onomatopoeia and altering these languages at root' (Thomas, 2004). Recently, this phenomenon has been noticed in the Italian language as well. As mentioned by Lorenzetti (2003, p. 54), scholars have suggested that English words in general are distorting Italian grammar. First of all, they are forcing consonant-ending words into the Italian lexicon: a fact that is endangering one of the fundamental features of inflecting languages, that is the use of word endings to deliver grammatical information. Newman (2001, p. 251) calls this peculiar phenomenon the 'linguistic

aberrance of ideophones' (emphasis added) and has described ideophones with the epithet of actual 'language stretchers' (Newman, 2001, p. 252). In the case of Italian, this theory seems to be confirmed by D'Achille (2010, p. 174), who mentions how both original Italian and imported sound symbolic creations are phonetically composed of only one syllable whose nucleus only sometimes includes a vowel (see 'pss', 'brrr', 'zzz'), a rare structure for Italian, and often allow otherwise inexistent structures, such as the final /w/ of 'bau' (sound for dog barking; 'bow-wow' in English), which is normally never present in syllabic coda.

English ideophones have also had an influence on spoken Italian, which often features an interjectional use of English ideophones and interjections. See, for example, the diffusion of English interjections such as '(o)ops!' or 'wow!' (sometimes spelled *uau*) that entered the language through comics (D'Achille, 2010a). An even more recent phenomenon is the use of lexicalised English forms widely understood and used orally as holophrastic interjections, as in 'gasp', 'gulp', 'bang', 'boom', 'slurp' (Dovetto, 2012, p. 207; Pietrini, 2009, p. 168). These forms were not used before the advent of comics and they illustrate one of the many ways in which comics have influenced and are still influencing both written and spoken Italian.

The fast-paced creation of new Italian ideophones is shown by the fact that even fairly recent attempts to classify them, such as D'Achille's (2010, pp. 174-5) and Dardano and Trifone's (1995, pp. 433-4), quickly became obsolete and incomplete, failing to keep abreast of such an incessant creation of neologisms and techniques by Italian cartoonists (Eco, 2008). As noticed by Dovetto (2012), lexical experimentations by Italian cartoonists, in a plausible effort to create unique Italian sounds, were characterised by original spurs of creativity through the use of typical English morpho-phonological ploys transposed to the Italian language. Dovetto (2012, p. 205) illustrates her point by explaining that the ideophone *slam* (used for various violent sounds such as a door closing) has recently been substituted by Italian cartoonists with the Italianised form *sbatt*, an apocopation of the Italian verb *sbattere* ('to slam'), in a clear imitation of the English consonant-ending pattern. In the same way, jump became *zomp* (*zompare*, 'to jump') or the sound of a window opening was rendered as *spalanc* (spalancare, 'to open wide'). Cases like these prove that ideophones are

indeed shaping the language (of comics) at its roots, and that they are doing this by sharply altering morphological rules that have been established for hundreds of years. It is too soon to predict if these isolated experimentations will have any wider impact on the actual language in use, but thus far the influence of comics in the Italian language has been indisputable (Pietrini, 2009, p. 17); hence, every attempt at altering the language on the part of comics should be considered in all respects as a significant event deserving more careful consideration.

1.8. Conclusions

This chapter has begun to explore the linguistic role of ideophones within the Italian and English linguistic systems. The unique status of the device, confirmed by language, sociological and neurological studies, has led to interesting experimentations but also to complicated dynamics. Key to the understanding of this process is an analysis of each idiom's linguistic and historical background. Certain linguistic settings seem to foster a better affinity towards the device—particularly if compared to Romance languages, such as Italian and Spanish, that often have to rely on Anglophone renditions. Anglicisation has indeed overshadowed previous original attempts. Nevertheless, recent creations, particularly from cartoonists, bear witness to a willingness to stretch language again in order to enhance language iconicity.

It was deemed necessary, as a preamble to the methodology offered in Chapter 3, to provide an introduction to the concept of multimodality, as this is a common theme throughout all the three research fields covered by this project: (1) translation studies, (2) sound symbolism and (3) comic book studies. As such, the following section will introduce topics related to how multimodality affects the perception and creation of texts that present both visual and verbal elements in interaction. The analysis will start from the bigger picture by introducing relevant theories within translation studies and will gradually focus on the main inquiry of this investigation. This choice was motivated by the willingness to provide background literature on the issues covered by this research project and what theories, historically and currently, lie beneath it.

Chapter 2. On Interdisciplinarity and Multimodality in Translation Studies

Linking interdisciplinarity and multimodality in translation studies, this chapter will introduce the translation of ideophones and interjections by analysing a particular case of inter-systemic texts—texts with visual and verbal elements co-existing—that have been central to recent critical inquiries within the field for the last decade (Colomer et al., 2012, p. 1). The demand for strategies to translate the visual in connection with the textual has grown exponentially and empirical studies are very much needed (Lathey, 2010, p. 197-9).

Prefixes such as multi-, inter- and poly- are abundant when talking about texts 'merging' verbal and visual elements. Oittinen (2008, p. 5) describes them as a polyphonic form of art, Zanettin (2008, p. 20) defines them as multimedia texts, while Lewis (2001, p. 242) writes of polysystemic texts. Mitchell (1994, p. 89) suggests an all-embracing term, 'imagetexts', that can be used to refer to the 'interaction of verbal and visual codes in composite synthetic works', such as comics, storybooks, picture books, audio-visual texts etc. In such genres, the narrative takes shape through different elements—primarily, the written text and images, but also other elements such as sound bubbles or movement lines (Oittinen, 2008a, p. 11), as is often the case in comics. The multimodality of imagetexts also entails sensorial effects (or 'modes', as they would be called in multimodality studies) coming from unexpected elements: the way in which the pictures are positioned and their shape, font and colour of the text, convey semantic information as well (Pierce in Oittinen, 2008a, p. 6). It is vital at this point to stress the fact that it is not only 'imagetexts' that show multimodal elements. Even media that are considered as being mainly textual (ie. text-only novels, for instance) are now perceived as featuring a certain degree of multimodality, with the only difference that in imagetexts this characteristic seems to be more prominent.

Barthes (1977, p. 26) suggests that imagetexts commonly express collaboration between verbal and visual elements but can, at times, display tensions between the two—when one element takes precedence over the other the priority can seem to

shift, forcing the reader to continuously shuffle between the two modes. While this theory still applies, since Barthes' work there has been a wealth of empirical research[3] in multimodal analysis showing that precedence of one mode over another is not always the case. His theory that the meaning of images is always related to and dependant on the textual elements is indeed now considered outdated (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 18). The key notion to keep in mind is that now semioticians consider the visual component of a text as being 'an independently organised and structured message, connected with the verbal text, but in no way dependant on it' (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006, p. 18).

That these multimodal genres have common characteristics explains why scholars often find interesting links between them: when talking about comics, Frezza (2012, p. 39) compares them to audio-visual material, writing that both use text and images to create diegetic mosaics; he likewise stresses the inter-disciplinal, multi-polar and multi-dimensional perspectives of these genres (Ibid.). Similarly, Chiaro (2009, p. 142) observes that issues in audio-visual translation are similar to those experienced in comics—to the point that same translation strategies can be used for both audiovisual material and comics in translation—with the difference that, in comics, sounds are only 'written' and not spoken as in audio-visual texts. Both genres place emphasis on sensorial aspects and comprise a fusion of sensory elements (mainly visual and verbal, but not only). Eco describes the reception of these 'sensorial' texts as a 'shuttling back and forth between expression and content' (Eco, 2001, p. 94), resulting in what Jakobson calls a self-reflexive language: by using a specific expressive form or 'anything that strikes the senses' (be it a picture or a word), the reader is prone to appreciate not only the effect caused but also the stylistic strategy. Such self-reflexivity, according to Eco, complicates the role of the translator because it is difficult to recreate this effect in the target text.

[3] Kress and Van Leeuwen's *Reading Images: A Grammar of Visual Design*, in particular, is now considered the milestone work in multimodality studies. The second edition, in 2006, is the one that spread the word 'multimodality' within academia, especially among linguists and translators.

2.1. Translation Studies and Its Interdisciplinarity

Recent research trends reveal that the interdisciplinary nature of translation studies is continuing to increase (Venuti, 2012, p. 4; Munday, 2012, p. 22). One of the first scholars to introduce the concept of interdisciplinarity to translation studies was Snell-Hornby in 1988. Her integrated approach, formulated in order to 'bridge the gap between linguistic and literary oriented methods' (Manfredi, 2008, p. 29), is considered one of the first steps towards an interdisciplinary endeavour in the field. She, in fact, refers to translation studies as a 'multidiscipline'—that is, a discipline able to 'accommodate' other disciplines and embrace their methodologies and theoretical aspects. This pivotal characteristic has its advantages and disadvantages: on the one hand, it makes a thriving research field that people from different disciplines can contribute to and benefit from; on the other hand, the resulting exponential growth of theories, which can easily overlap (Venuti, 2012, p. 5), creates confusion for any newcomer to the discipline. This is true not only of the discipline as we know it today but also has influenced the way it originated and developed, slowing the process by which translation studies has become a distinct and independent field. Nevertheless, translation studies' interdisciplinarity has also deeply benefited the discipline, allowing it to form 'new links between different types of knowledge' (Munday, 2012, p. 34).

Although years have passed and knowledge of the intrinsic dynamics of the translation act are clearer, there is still an evident 'lack of general consensus' regarding the scope and structure of the discipline (Holmes, 2004/1988, p. 183). In its formative years, roughly around the second half of the twentieth century (Munday, 2016, p. 7), translation studies was primarily concerned with achieving equivalence between the target and source text. Those theories are now often considered limiting and have been substituted by a target-oriented approach, in which importance is given to the reception of the translated text, the process, and its product. In particular, the creation of Vermeer's *skopos theory* and Toury's (1980 & 1995, p. 25) introduction of a descriptive theory of translation studies during the late 70s led the way to new perspectives in the field, which allow a total 'change of paradigm' (Tabbert, 2002, p. 305): the source text, while maintaining its importance to the

translation process, no longer constituted the central element on which to base translation strategies. Instead, the target text environment—its cultural and historical characteristics—became priorities, fostering a shift to a receptor-centred, flexible and free approach that Venuti (2012, p. 149) describes as a 'decisive advance in translation research'.

Processes of translation are becoming progressively more interdisciplinary as translators focus more on a given text's multimodality. Key to the way the discipline of translation studies accommodates different disciplines is that it also encompasses different types of texts, channels and media. Translation studies not only refers to the translation of textual systems but sometimes involves other channels of communications such as music, dance, and the visual. As much as it is possible to translate between verbal and non-verbal types of material, it is not rare to find texts in which different semantic layers co-exist and which have been defined by Oittinen (2008a, p. 6) and Zanettin (2008, p. 12) as inter-semiotic or inter-systemic texts. Semiotics is the study of the 'process of interpretation and human cognition involving signs' (Peirce, 1932, p. 229)—in other words, the study of a sign and/or system of signs, the meaning it carries, and the way people interpret it. In the sense that a sign can be anything—a word, an image, a book, a page, or anything that carries meaning or a symbolic value—inter-semiotic texts can be perceived as a box rich in semiotic elements and of signs originating in different media. This study aims to show some of the challenges involved when translating a particular type of inter-semiotic text in which visual and verbal elements co-exist together: the comic book.

2.1.1. Different Voices, Different Agents

The co-existent semiotic (i.e. sign), semantic (i.e. meaning) and graphical (i.e. image) systems interplaying in texts involving both visual and verbal elements present a challenge for the translator, who must unravel different elements, understand them, process them, and then codify them in the target language—all while making sure relationships between different layers of meaning remain consistent (Ippolito, 2008a, p. 94). The final text is the result of mixing different systems/modes involved and their

semantic properties. In order for the target text audience to enjoy the final product, the relationship between these 'layers of interpretative activities' (Zanettin, 2008, p. 12) needs to be left intact. In such an environment, the interpretive role of the translator is even more important in maintaining these layers for altogether different languages and cultures. Evidently the translation of imagetexts is a practice that must respond comprehensively to the current theoretical movement in translation studies towards target-orientedness.

Katharina Reiss's 'text type' theory and Vermeer's 'Skopos theory' (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984[4]) are particularly relevant in the case of inter-semiotic texts since the translator is seen as a 'key player in a process of intercultural communication and production of the *translatum'* (Munday, 2008, p. 80). The target text's and translator's purpose—maintaining interplay between different inter-semiotic systems—needs to be the main concern in order to produce a functional target text also in view of focusing on what the audience expects. The central concept of these approaches is the focus on the purpose, or *skopos,* of a translation, around which translation strategies might be based. The final aim is that of producing a 'functional adequate result' (Munday, 2008, p. 79) known as *translatum*. The first version of the theory was conceived in the 1970s. In 1984, Reiss and Vermeer revised their typology to include (Celotti, 2010, p. 34) a new text type that Reiss (1971/2004, p. 172) defined as the 'hyper-type'—or 'multi-medial'—text type. The need for a new type, argued Reiss, arises from the increase in the production of texts in which meaning is delivered through non-verbal modes, such as images, music, orality etc. The fact that Reiss modified her internationally acclaimed theory to accommodate multi-medial[5] texts demonstrates the critical importance of these texts. Moreover, it suggests that scholars have had to adapt—or even overturn—their previous theories in order to accommodate imagetexts in such an interdisciplinary and variegated field.

[4] Note that the English translation for this work was published much later, in 2013.

[5] Reiss' definition of 'multi-medial texts' corresponds, in this thesis, to 'multimodal texts'.

2.1.2. Aesthetic Effect, Ideophones and the Young Reader

Following Reiss's text type theory, Newmark (1988, pp. 39–44) added three more categories that, according to him, are needed to create an all-encompassing text type theory: aesthetic, phatic and metalingual text types. The first of these is of particular interest since it refers to those texts in which the 'language used is designed to please the senses' (Newmark, 1988, p. 42) and which causes what Eco calls an 'aesthetic effect' (2001, p. 93).

Eco (2001, pp. 92-3) states that poetry is the text type in which the aesthetic effect is more present, which is why poetry is one of the hardest genres to translate. But the effect is arguably at work in every art form in which expressive strategies are sensorially available to the observer—in other words, in all 'self-reflexive' texts. Eco also suggests that figures of expression are used to convey expressive effects together with their self-reflexivity (Eco, 2001, pp. 93-4) and these include, among the rest, all figures based on phonosymbolic effects, such as ideophones and interjections.

According to Eco, when these figures of expression are used, or when we are dealing with text conveying aesthetic patterns, the translator should aim towards 'rewriting' (Eco, 2001, p. 94). Rewriting is necessary when adhering strictly to the source text would cause an irrevocable loss of meaning (Eco, 2001, p. 57). Languages differ substantially in the way they assign values to phonological patterns. In such a situation, the only solution available to the translator is—in theory—to completely change the form but also the substance of the source text, making it impossible to reach any equivalence in form or substance. The whole aesthetic effect therefore needs to be created through other phonological and/or syntactical means in the target language (Ippolito, 2008a, pp. 253-4). The reality of the situation is that often sound symbolic forms remain unchanged for various reasons, as will be shown later, which results in the meaning being jeopardised for the target readers. Eco defines this as an 'anomalous' but 'not infrequent case in the typology of interpretation' (2001, p. 94), which suggests it might pose more challenges than usual. Such a widely recognised problem in the translation of aesthetic effect has nonetheless met with relatively little critical attention; practical approaches for such translations remain

scarce despite their well-documented emergence as a source of concern. Nevertheless, readers have learnt to make the most of a *foreignised* environment and have, through the years, learned to interpret sound symbolic forms through visual cues. The result of this is a kaleidoscopic landscape of ideophones filling the page of the comic—an intersemiotic portrayal mirroring the clash of various constraints: first of all, (1) the impelling need for these forms to be translated; secondly, (2) format-based constraints (i.e. the image) and (3) cultural-based restraints—such as the prestige of the source language, English in this case, which could lead translators to leave these expressive forms intact (Chmielewska, 2011, p. 3). If one adds to this the fact that the intense sensoriality of imagetexts makes them the perfect genre for relatively new readers, such as children and young people, who might not have mastered the language yet, the urgency to research this subfield of translation studies becomes apparent. Of course, adults are also known to be avid readers of comics, and this also particularly true for the Disney comics published in Italy, but the fact that younger readers represent a large part of the target audience cannot be overlooked. Literature for young readers, thanks to the 'simultaneous use of different semiotic systems', is characterised by an ability to 'stimulate and nurture innovation' (Beckett, 2012, p. 2). Children, as newcomers to their mother tongue, 'have an intense awareness of and sensual relationship with language' (Lathey, 2010, p. 204). Editors and translators of these types of texts make abundant use of figures of expression and expressive language (Epstein, 2012) in view of young readers' tactile and playful engagement with sound. It is therefore unsurprising that Disney comics include more than double the number of ideophonic forms compared to comics marketed solely towards adults (Gadducci & Tavosanis, 2012, p. 124).

2.2. Translating Sound Symbolic Language in Comics

The translation of comics and, by extension, the translation of sound symbolism, remain significantly under-investigated topics within translation studies (Borodo, 2015, p. 22). The need for more research into this area means that recent papers on the matter have often been focused on the multimodality of the translation process

for this particular medium, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. This is particularly relevant in the case of expressive and sound symbolic (i.e. ideophones, onomatopoeias, interjections) language in translation. The key concept in this case is that 'meaning is not only communicated by language but also many other modes […] that in concrete circumstances possess equal meaning-making potential' (Borodo, 2015, p. 23).

Ideophones and interjections have even been defined as a 'casualty' in the art of translation (Teilanyo, 2001, p. 228). Since different languages create and process sound symbolic forms in different ways, the task of transposing them to another language is often challenging. Valero Garcés (1996, p. 227) proposes four main reasons why ideophones, in particular, have been long forgotten in theoretical discussion of the translation of comics: (1) they are difficult to analyse and classify as they do not appear to behave morphologically and lexically like other words (also mentioned by Kunene, 2001, p. 183), (2) they are forms whose expressive strength is influenced and strengthened by other elements within the page of the comic (i.e. punctuation, typographic and graphic signs), (3) they do not often work through clear conventions as they are prone to originate from spurs of creativity hence their volatile nature and, finally, (4) they are often associated with literary genres that are considered frivolous or 'not that serious' (comics, picture books, manga, cartoons, advertisement and/or children's literature in general). Valero Garcés postulated her theory almost twenty years ago. The study of sound symbolism in translation has made some progress since then, and scholarly work has been published on the subject. However, much work remains to be done, particularly when it comes to the use and semantic value of these forms (Dingemanse, 2012, p. 654). Therefore, the postulations of Valero Garcés retain their relevance and utility.

Although there are conventions when it comes to the cross-linguistic equivalence of certain established sounds, see animal cries (Lathey, 2016, p. 96), the same certainty does not apply to the multitude of senses and situations covered by these iconic words. If no equivalent can be readily found, the translator is forced to use his or her imagination in order to go as close as possible to the semiotic and sensorial environment experienced by the source-text reader. There is an impelling

need for translators of sound symbolic forms to get accustomed to dealing with 'standard expressions in both source and target languages before making strategic decisions on whether, or how, to translate such a vivid use of language' (Lathey, 2016, p. 64). At the moment, there is a sense that translators are left on their own when it comes to making decisions regarding these forms. A 'touch of foreignization […] is likely to spark interest in sound and language' (Lathey, 2016, p. 96), so strategies for certain types of media have been adopting this approach. See, for instance, the rising tendency to keep Japanese ideophones intact in manga translations, often with an accompanying gloss translation (Ficarra, 2012, pp. 58-9; Inose, 2011, p. 250; Jüngst, 2008, p. 67)—this choice being justified by the growing interest in the Japanese writing system of avid manga readers. On the other hand, scholars agree that translating ideophones from certain African languages will always involve an evident loss of meaning as African ideophones cannot usually be translated but 'may only have their import approximated in annotations and glossaries' (Teilanyo, 2001, p. 220). Mphande (1992, p. 119) emphasises this point when he uses the expression 'textual genocide' when discussing the translations of African ideophones in the hands of missionaries and disciples. This 'disappearing act' (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 40) is not as visible in other language pairs. In particular, when it comes to translating English ideophones into Romance languages, despite some retention of source text material, there are generally scattered efforts to localise ideophones for the target audience (Valero Garcés, 1996, p. 229).

In this project, use will be made of a categorization drawn from Delabastita's project (1989) on audiovisual translation. Chiaro (2009, p. 142) defines audiovisual translation as 'the transfer from one language to another of the verbal components contained in audiovisual works and products.' Zanettin (2014, p. 1) adds that 'since comics are multichannel rather than only verbal texts, the study of translated comics is usually seen as part of audiovisual translation' and the constraints experienced when translating comics and audiovisual materials are thought to be similar (Chiaro, 2009, p. 142). On this basis, it was decided to make use of Delabastita's analytic framework for

the present project[6].

Kaindl's research (1999, p. 275) suggests that out of all the linguistic elements in a comic book it is ideophones within the artwork that are 'most likely to be retained from the source text', although practices differ across genres and languages. Zitawi's research into the translation of Disney comics into Arabic, for example, found that there were 'almost no cases' of retaining ideophones in their original form (2008, p. 142). So, one can say that even though the default option is 'non-translation', 'all other visual adaption strategies can and also have been employed' (Zanettin, 2014, p. 2). Ideophones often belong to the pictorial elements of the comic strip and 'nowhere is the intersection of the linguistic and visual in […] the comic strip more apparent' than in the use of ideophones (Lathey, 2016, p. 94). This results in words in the comic book having not merely a verbal meaning but being 'also embodied with a visual, almost physical force' (Zanettin, 2008, p. 13), a force that needs to be transposed by the translator as much as possible in an attempt to retain the verbal power of the original. The shape and design of letters designating sound in comics are often quite separate from the dialogue, although, as my project will show, often ideophones do try to infiltrate the diegetic narration as well, and are to be found inside speech bubbles.

Despite the fact that the translation of comics has often been defined as a typical case of 'constrained translation' (Grun & Dollerup, 2003), that is a translation that is highly constrained by the visual aspect (which can sometimes limit the degree to which the image can be modified), recent scholarly work from Borodo (2015) and Zanettin (2014) suggests that the visuals 'should not be merely be seen as an obstacle' (Borodo, 2015). Images can indeed be a 'resource' (Celotti, 2010, p. 35) as they can help the reader understand more about the nature of the sound symbolic form. In those cases in which the sound symbolic form has been retained, for instance, it is the image that acts as semantic conveyer. What sounds and letters might struggle to express is indeed conveyed thanks to the image, which makes up for the unavoidable loss of meaning, and acts as a 'graphical support' to the expressive forms (Delacruz &

[6] Note that Sanna (2005) opted for this same choice as part of her research project on the translation of comics into Italian.

Tejedor, 2009, p. 57). The long-term use of this repetition strategy can indeed lead to positive outcomes: the readers start self-educating about the meaning of foreign words—words that sometimes start being employed in spoken every-day language and can successfully be comprehended by readers and speakers, fostering linguistic awareness and cultural exchange. The reader then starts appreciating these foreignisation strategies that lead to the creation of a sectorial language of comics. Examples are the various English localised forms that have invaded Italian Disney comics or the retained Japanese ideophones in the translation of manga into Italian. This is to say that foreignisation strategies applied to sound symbolic forms are not necessarily prone to confuse the reader. Of course, a complete transposition of the sonic experience to the target-text environment might lead to more familiar-looking forms—but it is also thanks to the image, which acts as a bridge between the foreign expression and the source-text reader, that the untouched form gains some sort of semiotic substance. The process has shown to be quite successful, particularly in Italian and Spanish retention of English ideophones, some of which are now easily understandable and seen as either sectorial language of comics or even as not foreign at all by Italophones and Hispanophones (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 248).

2.3. Conclusions

This chapter has offered a literature review on the dynamics involved when translating sound symbolic forms in texts that host verbal and visual modes collaborating and cohabiting together, comics in particular. The multimodality resulting form this synergy has been highlighted and assumptions have been made on how this can affect the translation strategies for this text type. Phonosymbolic elements such as ideophones and interjections, in particular, test the translator's ability in various ways. These forms would, in theory, require a complete change of form and substance of the source text but this has not always been possible because of graphical, cultural and linguistic reasons, and this led, in certain cases, to a foreignised target-text environment. This 'issue' becomes even more crucial if we consider that children and young people represent a considerable part of the comic

book's audience and one can understand how it can jeopardise their understanding of the different elements in the page but also, at the same time, foster foreign-language awareness. Recent research has started to consider the relationship between verbal and visual modes as beneficial and not just as a mere constraint for the translator. This research aims to align itself with this approach in order to analyse how verbal and visual modes in Disney comic books have come together to welcome sound symbolic forms.

The following chapter (3) will offer the methodological approach used for this thesis.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1. Aims and Research Questions

As well as attempting to fill the gap in the research on the creation and translation of Italian sound symbolic forms, my project also offers a detailed linguistic account of the phenomenon. The aims and questions of my project can thus be summarised as follows:

1. To offer an account of the historical relevance and linguistic consequences of the Italian importation of English ideophones and interjections through US Disney comics and consequent Italian original creations. This will be investigated through close analysis of a corpus of sound symbolic forms, collected from both Italian originals and translated Disney stories published in Italy between 1932 and 2013 (Chapter 6 and 7). The main questions include: (1) What are the main linguistic processes detected? - (2) Where are the forms most likely to be positioned? Inside or outside the balloon? Does this change depending on the type of form? – (3) What are the phonomorphological modifications detected? How do these affect Italian- and English-borrowed forms respectively? – (4) How have the forms changed diachronically? Were there any clear turning points throughout the eight decades under analysis? Were these caused by any particular historical events?
2. To present an analysis of the translation strategies employed by translators of ideophones and interjections in Disney comics through the scrutiny of a corpus of translated stories selected from the 1930s-90s, decades after which original Italian stories constituted the majority of the publications (Chapter 8). The main questions include: (1) Is the apparent 'translation conservativism of comics' (Noss, 203, p. 51) applicable in the case of the translated forms as found in the corpus? – (2) What are the different translation strategies used and how have these changed over time? Do they vary depending on the type of form employed? If so, in what ways? – (3) Are the results in line with the analysis offered by Valero Garcés (2008) on the translation of English ideophonic forms into Spanish? How do the two languages compare? – (4) Do position, ideophonic type and strip colour influence the chosen translation strategy?

3. To use the results of the previous two phases (point 1 and 2) to offer an overview of the use of expressive sound symbolic forms (both ideophones and interjections) in Italian Disney comics since their advent, highlighting the lexical changes involved and the resulting distancing (or conciliation) from English ideophonic forms (Chapter 9). Some of the questions include: (1) What do the results presented in in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 tell us about the use and translation of sound symbolic forms in Disney comics since the 1930s? – (2) Were any specific patterns detected when it came to analyse the Anglophonic influence from a diachronic perspective? – (3) Were there any project limitations? – (4) How can the results of this thesis benefit the fields of study it addresses? – (5) Are there any preliminary ideas on future research paths that this project could lead to?

Before the presentation of the data analysis in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, which address aims 1 and 2 as detailed above, a Chapter (5) that grants a general introduction to comic books in Italy has been provided. As well as focusing on the first attempts at publishing *fumetti* in Italy, the advent of Disney comics and on the development of an original Italian comic book tradition, Chapter 5 will also endeavour to support the fulfilling of certain aims that are tied to historical events and to contextualise the linguistic analysis in order to better understand the trends in comic book publishing in Italy over the period under scrutiny. Linguistic choices occur within cultural contexts hence the importance of including this section within the thesis.

More specific research questions and paths of inquiry are offered in the introduction to the relevant chapters (p. 82 for Chapter 5, pp. 95-6 for Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, pp. 177-78 for Chapter 8).

3.2. Research Phases and Corpus Creation

The empirical analysis has been performed through three fundamental phases: phase zero, which involved the collection of the materials, and phase one and two, each of which has been backed up by a set of data from extensive corpora. Firstly, there will be a diachronic descriptive analysis of the use of ideophones in Italian Disney comics (named Phase 1, corresponding with aim 1 in the previous section). Secondly, there

will be an investigation of the translation strategies employed for the devices (i.e. Ideophones and interjections) in these same comics (Phase 2, which corresponds with aim 2 in the previous section). The first investigation will be essential to the success of the second, as it prepares the linguistic and historical groundwork required for a detailed analysis of the translation strategies employed and for the successful fulfillment of aim 3.

3.2.1. Phase 0: Collection of Materials

The Italian corpus collection has been carried out in two Italian libraries, based in Cremona and Florence, between 26th May and 29th June 2014.

Most of the corpus was acquired at the *Centro Fumetto* ('Comics Centre') *Andrea Pazienza* in Cremona (Lombardy) and at the *WOW Comics Centre* in Milan (Italy). The centre comprises a museum, a library and an Italian comic archive. The archive owns Disney comics published during the following years: 1946-1949 (publisher *Nerbini*), 1967-2012 (publisher *Mondadori*). The collection of the early material (1932-1942) was carried out in the National Italian Library and the *Biblioteca Marucelliana*, both in Florence. The *Biblioteca Marucelliana*, a section of the library, owns most of the first Disney comics imported into Italy by the publishers *Nerbini* (based in Florence) and *Mondadori* between 1932 and the late 1940s.

In summary, the majority of the corpus has thus been compiled in Cremona, during a four-week period in June 2014. On top of this, a week was spent in Florence to access earlier Disney magazines. I am grateful to the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council for securing partial funding for these trips through an 'AHRC Research Training Support Grant'.

Most of the Disney material published in the US is available at the Library of Congress in Washington DC (USA). During the first few decades (30s-50s) US Disney stories were published in newspapers (*Sunday pages* and *Milwkakee Sentinel* mainly), with only a few frames of each story being published each day. Some of those stories were also later republished in magazines.

I had identified 100 US stories that were published in Italy and added them to the list of stories I aimed to analyse. In order to do this, I had used the most comprehensive and well known online I.N.D.U.C.K.S. (International Network of Disney Universe Comic Knowers and Sources) Catalogue of Disney stories (accessible at http://coa.inducks.org), which includes a complete online directory of all the Disney comics ever published, classified by country. The system allows users to check the countries (and magazines) where each American story has been published. Having created a list of the 100 translated stories that I aimed to examine and knowing which archives hold them allowed me to plan my archive visits accordingly. In order to visit the Library of Congress I am grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for securing a four-month IPS (International Placement Scheme) fellowship. The fellowship included a living stipend and granted recipients official Library of Congress researcher status and the opportunity to benefit from the library's vast bibliographic collections.

3.2.2. Phase 1: Diachronic Exploration of Ideophonic and Interjectional Creations in Italian Disney Comics

The preparation for the analysis involved collecting sound symbolic data from selected Italian Disney comics (both translations and Italian original creations) from different decades, from 1932 up to 2014. Following approval from each archive, through the use of a digital camera, pictures of the different stories were taken and then stored digitally for future analysis. The work at the archive did not include any in-situ analysis of the actual stories. The stories were analysed by the author of this thesis soon after the collection phase had ended and the data was manually included in the corpus throughout a 12-month period between June 2014 and June 2015. Every interjectional and ideophonic form found was inserted in the corpus (repeated forms within the same story included). Initially, the plan was to use a specific, more advanced piece of software to collect and analyse the data but, after consultation with other scholars, it was decided that a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet file would have represented the most appropriate option. Every found form was included in the corpus and categorised according to different parameters as it will be explained later in this chapter.

The corpus created includes roughly 20+ stories per decade, for a total of 210 stories (for a list of the selected stories cf. Section A in Appendix). For certain decades (1930s, 1940s and 1950s) the number of stories is uneven or slightly inferior, due to historical and logistic reasons: in the early 1930s stories ideophones and balloons were avoided, with the traditional Italian rhyming couplets being used instead (Boschi et al., 1990, p. 20). It was not until the end of the decade that sound symbolism started appearing. Publication was suspended from 21st December 1943 to 15th December 1945 due to War World II. Magazines published during the 1950s are extremely rare and sometimes impossible to obtain (even from national archives). To deal with this problem, reprints of 1950s stories, which have appeared throughout the decades, have been sought out. This stratagem ensured that an adequate number of 1950s stories would enter the corpus.

Out of the 210 stories selected, 126 were original Italian creations, while the remaining 84 were Italian translations of US comics. Note that the majority (72) of the translated stories will be also employed during the second phase of the analysis, as I will describe later. Even from a preliminary pilot study it became apparent that there was a high variability in the number of forms in each story. The final analysis confirmed this as the length of stories indeed varies across magazines and decades (Rota, 2003). These factors affect the numbers of ideophones per text. The final compiled corpus includes 4681 forms. The decision to pick an even number of stories from each decade, possibly distributed through different years, is motivated by the will to ensure a consistent representativeness across time, in order to comply with the project's main aim of detecting change through time.

In summary, the corpus will facilitate a comparative reading of ideophones and interjections in translated Disney comics mainly from the 1930s-90s (particularly the famous comic book *Topolino*, 'Mickey Mouse') and in original Disney stories by Italian cartoonists, commencing with the first full length one (approved by Disney) published in 1937 with the name of *Paolino Paperino e il mistero di Marte* ('Donald Duck and the Mystery of Mars') (Stajano, 1999, p. 2). These types of corpus are defined as unidirectional, bilingual parallel corpora (McEnery et al., 2006, p. 48), which are often

recommended for translation studies projects as they 'provide greater certainty as to the equivalence of particular expressions' (McEnery et al., 2006, p. 94).

The following table (1) offers numerical data on the total number of stories and forms found in the compiled corpus:

Table 1. Table offering data on the total number of stories and forms included in the corpus

Total number of stories	**210**	
Number of stories (original v. translated stories)	126 (original)	84 (translated)
Number of forms found (original v. translated stories)	3224 (original)	1447 (translated)
Total number of forms	**4681**	

Time frame[7]	**Number of forms**	**Number of stories**
1932-42	717	37
1945-59	844	36
1960-87	1525	74
1988-2004	786	31
2005-2013	809	32

The corpus has been included in the CD-rom provided together with this thesis. Each form in the corpus has been inserted in a spreadsheet file and classified according to different mark-ups and manual annotations:

- ID code
- Date of First Publication
- Magazine (and author, if relevant)
- Publisher
- Italian Story Title
- Name of Creator (and Translator, if available)
- Translated or Original Italian Story?

[7] These are the time frames used to organise the anlysis in Chapter 6, as it will be explained later (pp. 98-102).

- <u>(If translated) US Source Magazine</u>

- <u>(If translated) US Story Title</u>

-<u>(If translated) Form in Source Text</u>

- <u>Sound Symbolic Entry</u>

- <u>(If translated) Translation Strategy</u>

- <u>Language of Origin:</u>

- English (eg. *boom, bang, knock knock*)

- Italian renditions of English forms (eg. *crasc* instead of *crash*, *coff* instead of *cough*) (cf. figure 1)

- Italian (eg. *sbatac, spalanc, toc toc, drin drin*)

- Other Language

- Uncertain[8]

-Non-language-specific (eg. mmmm, bzzzz, zzzz)

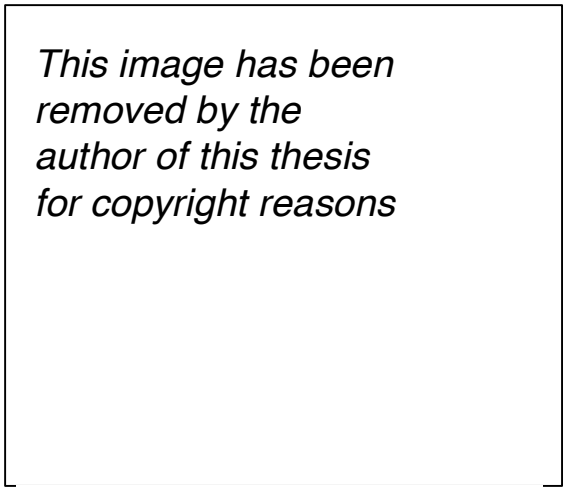


Figure 1. Example of Italian rendition of the English word 'cough' taken from the story *Wizards of Mickey, issue 2*, published in October 2006.

- <u>Position</u>:

- Inside Balloon

- Outside Balloon

- Cross-Cartoons (form appearing across two different cartoons; cf. figure 2)

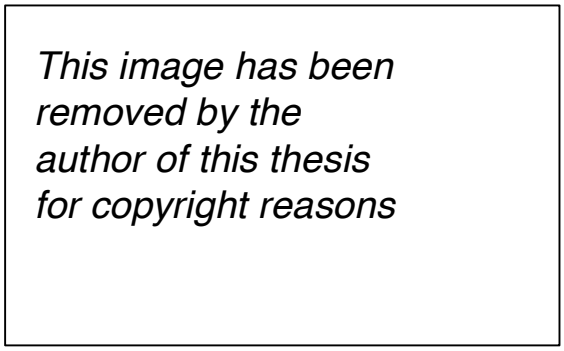


Figure 2. Example of a cross-cartoon form taken from the story *Wizards of Mickey, issue 2*, published in October 2006.

- Caption

- <u>Visual Information</u>:

Description of scene depicted and information on the graphic features of ideophones (colour and/or peculiar characteristics of visual appearance).

- <u>POS (Part of Speech) Classification (proposed by Mioni, 1990, pp. 261-64)</u>:

[8] For this and subsequent classifications, the term 'uncertain' was applied to those forms that did not appear to belong to a specific category. The uncertainty of such forms will be used as a chance to reflect on the semantic value of sound symbolic words and the issue will be at times brought up and discussed further in the final chapters containing the main analysis of the corpus.

-Interjections (or exclamations): single (or 'non-sentence') words pronounced by speakers to express different emotions. Often followed by an exclamation mark. Primary interjections (classification offered by Poggi, 1981, p. 69-72): these can either have an emotive function (attempting to show an emotion, such as *ahi, ohi, urrà, ehi*) or a conative function (requiring attention from the interlocutor, see *uff* for boredom, *mah* for doubt, *ehm* for hesitation, *ohibò* for astonishment). Secondary interjections: greetings, congratulations, imprecations (*Help*!; *Damn*!; *Good*!).

- Ideophones: any descriptive iconic rendition intended to depict sensory images, which can be sounds (in which case they are usually called 'onomatopoeias'), movements and also, but less frequently, feelings, tastes, colours or manners.

- Series (Mioni, 1992, p. 92-3): a series of ideophones and/or interjections used to depict one single event or situation (eg. *vroom smack, zoom screeek, bubble bloh*)

- None/Uncertain: as explained by Poggi (1981, p. 51), the classification is sometimes uncertain depending on context or interpretation. Thus, certain words can be both interjection and ideophone.

- <u>Function</u>:

- Sound (eg. *bang, brum, clic din*)
- Motion (eg. *zing, fling, zip, zam*)
- Taste (eg. *slurp, gnam*)
- Smell (eg. *sniff*)
- Emotion (eg. *gasp* for surprise, *mumble* for heavy thinking, *sgrunt* for disapproval)
- Heat: Fires, lights, rays/beams of lights and sources of heat usually represented through ideophones such as *woosh*, *swoos*, *fooosh*, *tzzzz*
- Other (eg. *zzzzzz, mmmmm*)
- Uncertain
- n/a if it's an interjection: since interjections are always emphatic as they are trying to represent emotions, this classification was deemed unnecessary for this particular category and consequently marked as 'n/a'.

- Type:

- Environmental. Ideophone used for inanimate objects (common examples include explosions, punches, hits, falls, etc.).

- Human. Ideophones that attempt to imitate sounds produced by human beings or convey their emotional state (including interjections).

- Animal. Ideophones used to represent animal cries.

- Mechanical. Ideophones used for artificial and/or technological noises (eg. vehicles, machines, electronic gadgets, weapons, etc.).

- Meta-Ideophone. Ideophone pronounced by the character within a complete sentence (i.e. 'the car went *vroom'*).

- Miscellaneous. Ideophones that cannot fit in any of the previous categories.

- Type Description: Description of the event depicted

- Lexical Function:

- Lexicalised (eg. *pugno, sibilo, salto, crack, slap, splat*). To be part of this category the ideophone needs to be in a dictionary (dictionaries used: 'De Mauro Dictionary of Language in Use', 2000, for Italian and 'Merriam Webster Online', 2016, for English). The most extended Italian dictionary is Battaglia (2004/1996) although this is not a dictionary of language in use so it only includes some of the ideophones and interjections of English origin (cf. table 44 page 164 for more information on this), hence why it was deemed appropriate to use De Mauro for the main analysis although Battaglia will, at times, be consulted and referenced throughout the investigation.

- Semi-lexicalised (eg. *spalanc, sbatt, sgrid*). Mioni (1990, p. 266) calls them 'Italian new formations with zero suffix' (translation mine). Morgana (2003, p. 169), instead, defines them as 'pseudo-Anglicisms' (translation mine). These are truncated Italian forms that try to imitate those typical Anglophonic forms ending with consonants.

- Not Lexicalised (eg. *vrrrr, brum, crac, zzzzzz*). Also defined by Anderson (1998, p. 124) as 'paraverbals'.

- Linguistic Ploy (proposed by Dingemanse, 2012):
    - Apophony, also called Vocalic Alternation (eg. *clic clac, ding dong*)
    - Syntactic Doubling, also called Reduplication (eg. *din din, cri cri, toc toc*)
    - Vowel or Consonant Lengthening (eg. *vrooooom, brrrrrrrr, grrrrr*)
    - Portmanteau (see the English *ring* + the Italian *drin* that becomes *dring* as mentioned by Dovetto, 2012, p. 205)
    - N/a if none were recorded
- Phonotactic Structure: Information regarding consonantal/vocalic distribution.

After the collection of corpora has been completed, spreadsheet auto-filters have been utilised in order to obtain a selective reading of figures—hence the importance of having different columns, as each of them have been closely analysed in order to draw the required data.

3.2.3. Phase 2: Translating Ideophones and Interjections in Italian Disney Comics

The second phase of my inquiry involves analysing English to Italian translations of ideophones in Disney comics. Its main aim is to present an examination of the changes over time in the translation of ideophones in Disney comics. This investigation is situated within the field of product-oriented descriptive translation studies (Holmes, 1988/2004, p. 184-90) as it aims to provide a large-scale diachronic analysis. The results feed into what Holmes calls 'the theoretical branch' of translation studies and attempt to produce a historical analysis of the translation strategies relevant to the specific phenomena considered (i.e. sound symbolic forms). The project is restricted by several factors as it concentrates on particular linguistic devices (expressive forms) in a specific medium (Disney comic book), context and time (Italian publications between 1932 and 1992).

Despite the fact that in the majority of cases English sounds were retained, which is one of the reasons for the strong presence of English sound symbolism in Italian today, scholars (Mioni, 1990; Pietrini, 2009; Dovetto, 2012) have pointed out that

some efforts to translate ideophones can indeed be detected, particularly in the early years of the importation process. The examination of the alterations of the translation strategies in regards to ideophones will allow for analysis of an under-researched area within the discipline of translation studies. As well as clarifying the ideophonic interconnections of the two specific languages considered here (Italian and English), the analysis of the corpus will try to theorise the evolution of translation strategies for this device throughout the eight decades of its occurrence.

Each of the translation strategies was catalogued according to Delabastita's classification as shown below (1989; also cited in Kaindl, 1999, p. 275). This classification was originally conceived for subtitling localisation but it has proved to be effective in other texts where pictorial features are present.

– Repetition: form left intact.
– Deletion: form removed.
– Addition: form has been left but small spelling and phonetic changes have been applied. See the English 'beep beep' that becomes 'bip bip' in Italian.
– Partial Substitution: form has been localised and the same type of ideophone/interjection has been used. Eg. English lexicalised ideophone 'crawl crawl' becomes 'striscia striscia' thus keeping the lexicalised form in Italian as well.
– Total Substitution: form has been localised but a different type of ideophone or interjection has been used. This includes instances in which there has been a semantic change during the process.
– Creation: Form was absent in the source text and was therefore consequently added by the Italian translator.
– English alternative: The English form of the source text was translated using a different Anglophonic term in the Italian text.

The first part of the corpus analysis involves a close examination of each of the translation strategies described above and a report of their occurrence and variability across different decades and situations. I analyse how strategies for translating English

ideophones evolved over time, focusing particularly on whether specific sounds, emotions or settings tend to be localised more often than others.

The second part developed after an extensive review of similar studies including those in respect of other languages. As well as allowing an integration of my study with current research trends, this cross-linguistic approach permits the creation of theories based on the behaviour of other languages in analogous circumstances (i.e. when translating English ideophones). In particular, studies on this particular topic are available for the linguistically similar Spanish language (Garcia de Diego, 1968; Castillo Cañellas, 1997; Martinez Fuentes, 2003; Gasca & Gurbern, 2004; De La Cruz Cabanillas & Tejedor Martínez, 2009; Gubern & Gasca, 2009; Valero Garcés, 2008; Balteiro, 2010). Therefore, an assessment of the correspondences and/or discrepancies of my results with these inquiries can clarify whether the way languages create and translate ideophones might be influenced by their linguistic typology. My study might thus confirm that the inflecting nature of certain languages (e.g. Italian and Spanish) and their lack of morphological flexibility might in fact not provide the 'elasticity' in word formation needed in order to create sound symbolism, as suggested by various scholars in the field (Santoyo, 1984; Martinez Fuentes, 2003; Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 239; Pischedda, 2012; Dovetto, 2012, p. 208).

Here is a list of the hypotheses I have formulated, the methodology I aim to apply in order to prove (or refute) them and the questions I intend to answer:

(1) Constrained approach examined: Scholars have described the translation of comics as being subjected to a 'constrained translation approach' (Zanettin, 2008, p. 20), highlighting the fact that there is less freedom on what can be translated since the visual can influence how much one can write/translate, for spatial or graphical reasons (Zanettin, 2013). The apparent 'translation conservatism in comics' (Noss, 2003, p. 51) deeply affects the way translators deal with ideophonic forms. In view of this, I am expecting words inside balloons to be localised more often due to the easiness in changing their content, particularly when compared to the challenges involved when modifying text within images.

(2) Localisation over time: From a first inspection of early comics I expect ideophones to be localised more often during the first couple of decades of importation (30s-50s) with a consequent exponential retaining of English sounds through the decades. I intend to analyse whether this process was gradual or if it involved a sudden switch to English sounds—to the clear detriment of Italian sound symbolism—and possibly to elaborate on the historical and linguistic motivations behind this choice.

(3) Investigating opposite tendencies in translation: Ideophones, and expressive language in general, have a unique role in the system of languages in terms of their reliance on the symbolic and immediate effect on the reader, and as they belong to an 'area of language where the relationship between the word and the auditory experience is close by nature rather than by conscious artifice' (Chapman, 1984, p. 37). A total substitution of the target text's term is therefore a commonly used strategy, particularly since 'adhering strictly to the source text would cause an irreparable loss of meaning' (Eco, 2001, p. 57), and it privileges a target-centered approach in order to reach 'equivalence of effect' (as theorised by Nida, 1964, p. 159) rather than equivalence of lexicon, grammar or form. The naturalness of the target text thus becomes a priority, what Nida calls 'dynamic equivalence', that is the need for the final translation to represent 'the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message' (Nida, 1964, p. 166). One would therefore expect strategies of 'substitution' to be favoured. The reality is that often 'the source language form is borrowed and transliterated with the assumption that its meaning is either transparent or can be deduced from the context' (Noss, 2003, p. 51). This practice, together with the limits imposed by the comic format itself, as explained in point 1 of this list, have been forcing translators to accept that images cannot sometimes be changed or translated, thus disturbing the dynamic equivalence imposed by ideophones and creating a tense translation environment constituted by opposite forces. I seek to investigate how this apparent conflict, defined by Noss as a real 'dilemma' (2003, p. 53), between the need for naturalness shown by ideophones and the constrained environment imposed by comics is dealt with, which of the two strategies prevails, and to expound on the possible reasons for this.

(4) Italian vs Spanish Translation Strategies: Valero Garcés's research (2008, pp. 237-49) on the translation of ideophones from English to Spanish in imported American comics is the most recent similar study available. The following points summarise the conclusions reached by her study, which I aim to compare with my own final results following the corpora analysis:

- Two main strategies can be identified: the ideophone is either translated or left unchanged (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 241).
- English sound symbolism usually tends to be retained, particularly when the ideophone is outside balloons (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 240). Since the start of the importation of American comics during the 50s the prevailing tendency has been to leave English sounds untranslated, with minor localisation of certain types of ideophones.

- Ideophones in black and white stories tend to be localised more often (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 240; also mentioned in Martinez Fuentes, 2003).

- Mechanical or artificial sounds are usually retained while 'sounds produced by animals, unarticulated sounds produced by humans (including interjections) and sounds used to show feelings or attitude' tend to be translated more often (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 241-43; translation mine).
- When a sound is produced by a human (i.e. interjections), it is usually translated with a Spanish equivalent, if one exists. See 'atchoo' translated with 'aatchis', or 'ahem' rendered with an 'ejem' (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 242).
- Sometimes creative ideophones in English are translated with better-known English ones, which have become part of Spanish tradition (see 'sob' or 'sniff'). This shows that some English ideophones are perceived as being part of the Spanish language (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 242).
- Spelling is often adapted. See 'he he' for laughter translated as 'je, je' (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 243).
- A higher percentage (75%) of English ideophones has been retained in the last 15 years (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 243).

- A higher percentage of English consonants (particularly the non-Spanish letter /k/) has been retained during the last ten years (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 245).

3.3. Conclusions: Final Results

The results reached following Phases 1 and 2 will be used to fulfil the objectives as part of aim 3, which involves the use of the results of the first two phases to offer an overview of the use of expressive sound symbolic forms (both ideophones and interjections) in Italian Disney comics since their advent.

Firstly, I will offer an overview on the linguistic discoveries that came to light through the corpus analysis, with a detailed description of use of ideophones and interjections in Disney comics in the last eighty years. I will highlight major shifts in their use over time, and expound on the reasons for these.

Secondly, I aim to offer an account of the translation strategies used for ideophones and interjections and their diachronic change throughout the eight decades under investigation. In particular, a great emphasis will be given to the ongoing Anglophonic influence on Italian forms[9].

Dealing as it does with such a young field of study, my project aims to foster scholarly debate in the field of Italian sound symbolism and translation studies. My primary intention is to provide the research community with a close analysis of a specific linguistic phenomenon, in the hope that the evidence offered might help to clarify the behaviour, function, translation and use of expressive sound symbolic devices in Italian Disney comics. Before delving into the corpus analysis, two more chapters will be offered. These focus, respectively, on the stylistic and practical use of sound symbolic forms in imagetexts (Chapter 4) and on the history of the comic book format in Italy (Chapter 5).

[9] Unfortunately failing to receive a reply from the Disney company meant that, for certain claims, only partial justifications could be provided. This is particularly relevant to the discussion regarding the restoration of images in the case of textual deletions (pp. 191-92) and the placement of text (pp. 199-201) as offered in Chapter 8. A clarification from Disney regarding how much of the image could (and has been) modified would have helped offer more substantial claims in this case.

Chapter 4. Use of Sound Symbolic Forms in Imagetexts

Drawing upon a broad range of disciplines, such as literary theory, visual semiotics, pragmatics, sound symbolism and media studies, this chapter will explore and define the relationship between words and pictures in imagetexts. It will then apply these findings to the discourse concerning the use of expressive iconic forms in comics, in order to elucidate the ambivalent relationship that these intrusive sensorial elements have with images as presented in comics.

The central part of this chapter will concentrate on the comic book as a separate genre, characterised by a peculiar cohabitation of textual and visual cues. In particular, I will show how the presence of 'lettering' (e.g. textual features) fosters the dynamicity and the expressivity of the genre but, at the same time, poses issues when it comes to defining its close amalgamation with the visual image.

Firstly, I will introduce a historical review of debates on the text-image relationship, with the aim of placing these within the media revolution that has been taking place since the turn of the 20th century. Following this, a section will be dedicated to the perception and decoding of visuality and textuality in imagetexts, both as separate entities and when they operate in conjunction. Consequently, the attention will briefly shift to an analysis of how readers perceive and interpret this dual modality.

Key to the application of such a linguistic and semiotic approach is a view that the relationship between images and words in imagetexts is intrinsically close. In view of this, I intend to elaborate on the written ideophone's collaborative but sometimes conflicting relationship with both verbal and visual elements. The aim is dual: first of all, I want to show how the presence of the ideophone shapes the way we perceive the conventions of imagetexts, comics in particular, in the hope that exploring its ambivalent role will shed light not only on the clear ludic intentions of the device but also on the concealed complexities linked to its use. Secondly, I intend to underline the important role of comics as tools for the creation and circulation of ideophones. The relationship of the ideophonic device with orality is very strong considering that it

is a printed linguistic phenomenon, and this becomes increasingly relevant due to the multimodality of our means of communication.

4.1. Brief Introduction to the Text vs. Image Relationship

The relationship between verbal and textual elements can be described as an 'extraordinarily ancient problem' (Varnum & Gibbons, 2001, p. xi) in the study of the arts and humanities. Indeed, even early writers—such as Plato, Horace and Aristotle—dedicated a copious amount of words to the examination of the possible differences, similarities and correlations between visuality and textuality. Even when attempts were made to combine text and images, as for example in German comics from the 1400s, 'words and pictures stayed separate, refusing to mix, like oil and water' (McCloud, 1993, p. 144). During the eighteenth century, an influential theoretical position on the text-image relationship was stated by the German writer and philosopher Gotthold Lessing (Varnum & Gibbons, 2001, p. ix): while words need to be written in sequence, stated Lessing, images are perceived as a whole, 'apprehended all at once'. For Lessing, this dissimilarity is enough to enable him to argue that painting and poetry belong to two totally different worlds, and that any concurrence of the two might lead to either a painting which is a 'speaking picture' or a text which automatically turns into 'a freakish kind of writing' (Varnum & Gibbons, 2001, p. ix). Images were strictly within the realm of visual arts—painting above all—while words were the core element of poems and narrative texts. The immediate, vivid and suggestive power of images was perceived as a serious threat, able 'to usurp the sacred domain of poetry' (Mitchell, 1986, p. 108), while the symbolic aura of words could only be preserved by keeping images at a safe distance. The theoretical prohibition on combining the two modes in one text was strengthened by the general conviction that images were ontologically inferior to texts. Images, as 'natural signs' (Mitchell, 1986, p. 79), were thought to be able to convey only 'a limited and relatively inferior sort of information, suitable for beings in a state of nature, such as children, illiterates, savages and animals' (Mitchell, 1986, p. 79). The idea was that text was able to express a broader array of abstract and complicated ideas of a sort that images

could only try to evoke. This disparity was seen as presenting insurmountable problems in attempting a successful conjunction of the two modes.

4.2. A New Multimodal Era at the Turn of the 20th Century

The early decades of the 20th century witnessed the birth of a constellation of new artistic and literary movements that overturned common perceptions of textuality and visuality, both in conjunction and as separate entities (Mitchell, 1986, p. 47; Contini, 1970, p. 222). New ideologies 'tried to breach the frontier between appearance and meaning' (McCloud, 1993, p. 148), and did this through a continuous colliding of images and texts in various forms, staging what has been defined as the beginning of a tumultuous—and on-going—'war of signs' (Mitchell, 1986, p. 47). The upshot of these tendencies was an intense proliferation of new multimodal media and genres, which started during the first decades of the 20th century, persisted during the post-wars era and still continues nowadays, fostering a prolific production of hybrid genres and persistent renovation of existing ones (Mitchell, 1986, p. 55). Newspapers, advertisements, comics, graphic novels, children's books, picture books, films and television broadcastings—to name but a few—all host a mixture of visual and verbal elements and have radically revolutionised the way audiences receive and process information. One of the consequences of the introduction of these new genres was the sudden shift in the word-image balance: if after the invention of the printing press the word had somehow gained a greater importance, now the image was gaining public attention (Varnum & Gibbons, 2001, p. ix). Images appeared to be 'more direct, attractive and seductive than written texts' (Varnum & Gibbons, 2001, p. ix). Nevertheless, the shift was not exempted from the complexities involved in such a big revolution. As controversially asserted in 1957 by the American philosopher Suzanne Langer 'there are no happy marriages in art—only successful rapes' (Langer, 1957, p. 86)—a pugnacious statement that illustrates perfectly the 'sense of violence and violation associated with the conjunction of artistic media' at the time (Mitchell, 1986, p. 55).

4.3. Defining the Relationship Between the Verbal and the Visual in Imagetexts

The concept of 'imagetext' was already introduced in Chapter 2 (page 38). As a reminder, the term was coined by Mitchell (1986) to refer to the 'interaction of verbal and visual codes in composite synthetic works, such as comics, storybooks, picture books, graphic novels, audio-visual texts etc.' (Mitchell, 1986, p. 89). As such, imagetexts can be considered as a sub-category of multimodal texts, which are defined as works that 'present information across a variety of modes including visual images, design elements, written language, and other semiotic resources' (Jewitt and Kress, 2003). In such texts the relationship between the written text and the images is considered central in the pursue of expressing meaning for the target audience. In the case of comics, there are various typographic and image-like elements used and these will be analysed later in the chapter. What all imagetexts have in common is their intrinsic multimodality, which entails sensorial effects coming from unexpected elements: the way in which the pictures are positioned and their shape, and the font and colour of the text convey semantic information as well (Oittinen, 2008, p. 6), creating a multimodal environment filled with sensorial cues.

When discussing about multimodality, it is vital to cite the work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), who have summarised very satisfactorily what 'multimodality' entails and how it should be perceived:

> A spoken text is never just verbal, but also visual, combining with modes such as facial expression, gesture, posture and other forms of self-presentation. A written text, similarly, involves more than language: it is written *on* something [..] on some material and is written *with* something [..]; with letters formed as types of font, influenced by aesthetic, psychological, pragmatic and other considerations (Ibid., p. 41).

It is fairly easy to define the verbal and the visual separately, but when it comes to describe them in collaboration, ideas and definitions get complex and challenging (Mitchell, 1986, p. 116), as their co-relation seems to stubbornly refuse any attempts 'to make it a matter of neutral classification, a mere problem in taxonomy' (Mitchell, 1986, p. 47). Efforts to distinctively outline the two seem to produce straightforward results, as one becomes instinctively—and rightly—aware that the mode of written

language and that of visual image are ruled by ‘two distinct logics’ (Serafini, 2010, p. 88): written words are defined by the logic of ‘temporal sequence’ (Ibid., p. 87) while visual images are ruled by the logic of ‘spatiality, organized arrangements, and simultaneity’ (Kress, 2003). In text-based works ‘meaning is derived from position in the temporal sequence’ (Serafini, 2010, p. 87) and is decoded through linguistic signs shared by a specific language community, whereas in visual images ‘meaning is derived […] from spatial relations or visual grammar’ (Serafini, 2010, p. 87).

Sipe (2012, p. 5) suggests that the easiest and most natural way to talk about word-picture relationship is to use metaphors. Indeed, looking at the literature on the topic, metaphors drawn from other artistic disciplines are extremely common: theatrical performances, music sheets, cinematographic material and dance performances are the most cited ones. For example, words and images have been described as being involved in an ever-ending ‘musical duet’ and ‘a rhythmic syncopation’ (Sipe, 2012, p. 5-6) in which they incessantly take turns in order to entertain the audience; as the ‘silent dance of the seen and unseen’ (McCloud, 1993, p. 92); and as a theatrical stage, involving a ‘multitude of voices’ (Oittinen, 2008, p. 16). It appears that the intrinsically multimodal nature of this peculiar opposition needs theoretical inter-disciplinarity in order to be fully explained and justified.

When it comes to defining those texts in which visuality and textuality work hand in hand, dissimilar genres and formats differ substantially in the way they exploit the combinative potentials of words and images. This is due to the fact that—depending on media, format or genre—the author’s use of the different diegetic elements and, consequently, the audience’s expectations, in terms of how these elements are displayed, vary enormously. Thus, in certain contexts, readers-viewers expect images to simply replicate, illustrate and complement in visual form what the text is expressing (Wartenberg, 2012, p. 90). For example, in some picture books there is a clear ‘asymmetry’ (Wartenberg, 2012, p. 90) between pictures and text. In this format, pictures act as accompaniment to the text, often simply representing visually what the text is describing and only occasionally adding secondary meanings—and even when they do, they still depend on the textual in order to ‘make sense’ or exist. Divergent is the text-image connection within other media. In comics, for instance, the

image-text correlation is a necessary condition for the format to even exist, as images and texts are given 'equal ontological priority in determining the story-world the comic creates and in providing readers-viewers with the enjoyment they get from the comic' (Wartenberg, 2012, p. 101)—hence sharing an effective 'symbiotic relationship' (Khordoc, 2001, p. 172).

The debate concerning the reception, perception and decoding of visuality and textuality in imagetexts is still lively and on-going. While it is true on one level that both images and texts in imagetexts are perceived in the same way—that is visually, through sight—it is also accurate to assert that the two are decoded in different moments, even when so closely juxtaposed. This thesis is supported by scientific studies that provide evidence 'that different parts of the brain are responsible for conceptualising language and visuo-spatial input respectively' (Hudson Hick, 2012, p. 136). In the case of comics, in particular, the medium hosts an almost complete blending of images and texts—a feature that might ultimately convince its readers to assume that all of its elements should be viewed as components of the visual image; to the clear detriment of the textual parts, which effectively represent a pivotal aspect of the medium, as they provide its characters with voice, movements and, eventually, verisimilitude. On this view, it would be acceptable to state that in comics all text is, in principle, an image or 'a visual image of a word' (Wartenberg, 2012, p. 88), and operates as such. Nevertheless, affirming that the text itself ceases to exist is, at any rate, erroneous. Despite not being 'ontologically isolated from the comics' pictorial elements, as it happens in illustrated books, newspapers or captioned single-panel cartoons' (Hudson-Hick, 2012, p. 137), the comic's text still exists and, at the very least, one 'cannot seemingly read text at the same time one looks at an accompanying picture' (Ibid., p. 136).

Key to the understanding of the image-text relationship in imagetexts is to regard it as a fluid spectrum of different degrees of amalgamation that vary according to genre, format and medium. This unstable rapport includes a persistent power shift involving the two elements, which try to steal the spotlight from each other in order to gain the reader's attention and only momentarily seem to cohabit peacefully. As such, even visual and verbal modes that are in close proximity or which, supposedly,

are working 'in collaboration' might each convey separate nuances to the reader/receiver (Kess & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 20). This is precisely what isolates the imagetext as being part of an individual multimodal genre, characterised by an unreachable—yet tantalising—blend of visuality and textuality (Duncan & Smith, 2009, p. 145), each processed by the readers/viewers in two different mental moments and continuously vying for attention.

4.4. Reading the Imagetext: The Self-Regulating Reader[10]

As multimodal texts proliferated, scholars of linguistics were forced to re-think their approaches in order to accommodate the new phenomena. New ideas and theories emerged to fill the void—semiotics being at the forefront. As scholars specialised in the study of meaning-making, semioticians have produced various pivotal theories on the dynamics involved in the text-image relationship (Sipe, 2012, p. 5).

While scholars experienced a need to create new theories in order to mirror these new, emerging inter-systemic, more complex texts, readers also had to adapt to the abundance of signs at their disposal. Ultimately, 'images and texts mean things because readers bring experiences and understandings of images, language and the world' to them when reading (Ibid.). In such a multimodal and sensorial environment, the role of the audience becomes central. In addition to providing multiple levels of meaning and having the power to 'invite readings on different levels by all ages' (Beckett, 2012, p. 2), the co-presence of verbal and visual elements fastened within the intrinsic hybridity of imagetexts fosters a continuous evolution in terms of how the genre updates itself and how it speaks to its readers. Because of the different levels of meaning that continuously fight for attention, the reader is the centre of this 'semiotic conflict', acting as the individual who decides what to do with the different inputs.

It is no coincidence that many books targeted at children are of a multimodal nature. As well as taking sensuous pleasure and 'spontaneous delight in the colours

[10] The present research project will not provide any empirical evidence of the effect of sound symbolic forms on readers, as such discussion would require a set of completely different methodological approaches. Nevertheless, it was deemed necessary to provide the reader with a brief introduction to this specific topic.

and textures of pictures' (Nodelman, 2008, p. 12), children seem to enjoy the experimental freedom offered by imagetexts. Reading the imagery requires experience and allows 'acquisition at the viewer's pace' (Eisner, 2008, p. 69). During the continuous movement between written language and images in the development of comprehension, the reader is often required to fill the gaps between the two as desired (Kabuto, 2013, p. 14). An illuminating example of this is the unconscious, internal provision of sound and action in support of the images (Eisner, 2008, p. 69), what Peterson (2007, p. 579) defines as 'sub-vocalisation'. Comics, in particular, easily prompt their readers' 'natural habit of imagining the sound through inaudible speech movements of the lips and throat' (Peterson, 2007, p. 579). This practise establishes self-regulating 'spectators' who are basically performing the comic for themselves, 'just as a ventriloquist might bring a voice to a puppet' (Peterson, 2007, p. 579), creating a dynamic presence that fosters creativity and participation.

In summary, imagetexts provide the experienced and less-experienced reader with various opportunities to pro-actively participate in the creation of, not only meaning—through the offering of different sensorial elements and inputs—but also actions and sounds. This is the peculiar characteristic that separates, in terms of reading experience, text-only books from imagetexts: the great power given to their readers.

4.5. Lettering in Comics: Function and Use

The term ‘lettering’ refers to both the creation of new fonts with a particular shape and design and, by extension, to their positioning within the visual images of a narrated story (Ficarra, 2012, p. 41). The term ‘letterer’ denotes a professional responsible for both the drawing and the placing of ‘balloons, captions, sound effects, display lettering, titles, signs and logos’ (Chiarello & Klein, 2004, p. 83), and is often allowed to design new fonts, so as to fit his or her personal style. The process has had a high impact on the articulateness of those imagetexts that require textuality in support of the images, as ‘it brings the text to a direct involvement towards the expressivity of the text itself’ (Eisner, 2008, p. 2). As such, the practise of lettering is widely used in comics (McCloud, 1993, p. 9). To this end, Thomas (2000) explains that ‘lettering is to comic books what back-up singers are to music: often over-looked, but if done wrong, it's noticed in a bad way’. The process hasn’t changed since the 1930s, as most letterers still work by hand, although since the early 90s there has been a growing demand for digital lettering, and nowadays letterers and artists tend to work by mixing handwriting and computer-based lettering (Thomas, 2000).

As imagetexts become more and more hybridised, they often acquire and experiment with stratagems used in other cognate formats, including lettering (Sipe, 2011, p. 249). This being the case, lettering is slowly becoming a commonly used and generally relevant practise, not only for comics, but also for imagetexts in general. See, for example, the increasing use of comic-like lettering in picture books for young readers set out as diaries written by fictitious young protagonists—a sub-genre that has witnessed a gradual and growing interest in the last decade. Successful series such as ‘Diary of a Wimpy Kid’ (Kinney, 2007), ‘Big Nate’ (Peirce, 2010), ‘Dork Diaries’ (Russell, 2011), ‘Timmy Failure’ (Pastis, 2013) and ‘Middle School’ (Patterson, 2014) borrowed the use of lettering from comics—a genre that has made use of the device ever since its early days at the start of the 20th century—with the aim of enhancing the expressivity of the images accompanying the text (and vice versa).

In all these genres, lettering is mainly used to ‘convey imagined imaginary sounds’ (Hague, 2014, p. 64), such as dialogues, on-going and iconic sounds

(ideophones, onomatopoeia, interjections) and narration (through captions, pictorial elements, etc.). The different varieties of lettering designs and styles 'speak of an on-going struggle to capture the very essence of sound' (McCloud, 1993, p. 134), with the final aim of allowing the audience to 'become immersed in the narrative experience to a greater degree' (Peterson, 2007, p. 578). So as to better understand the motivations behind the use of lettering in imagetexts and the nature of the adjunction of textual features to pictorial elements, in the next section I will offer a thorough analysis of the comic format as the 'first genre' within mass media (Pellitteri, 1998, p. 89) to successfully implement and exploit the sonic potential of letters immersed in visual images.

4.6. Perceiving the Audial Through the Visual in Comics

After sight, 'hearing is the sense that has most concerned scholars writing on comics' (Hague, 2014, p. 63). It is undoubtedly thanks to the words—and, consequently, the perceived sounds suggested by the letters in sequence—if comics secure 'temporal substance' (Chmielewska, 2011; translation mine). Comics are indeed a silent medium, and when we read them there are no audial inputs of any kind. Nevertheless, in their own way, comics can be very raucous. There is an 'implied cacophony that is represented upon the comic's pages through visual forms such as onomatopoeic words, word balloons, and similar devices' (Hague, 2014, p. 63), that gives us the impression that we can actually hear with our eyeballs. This kind of stratagem has become a cliché, to the point that 'journalists find it irresistible to include 'pow!, blam!' and the like in headlines when writing about comics' (Hague, 2014, p. 64). The format seems to provide sounds that are only imagined and not actually perceived with the human organ that is supposedly in charge of that sense. Don Ihde calls it 'auditory imagination' (Hague, 2014, p. 65). In other words, the process is triggering a synesthetic experience for the

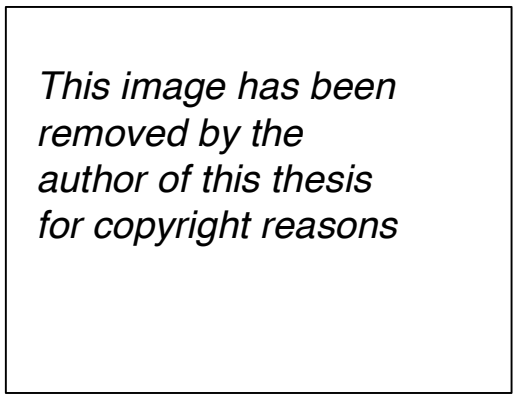


Figure 3. Example of text-balloons indicating people speaking and whispering respectively (from *Wizards of Mickey, issue 2*, Oct. 2006).

reader. Before delving into the nature of this synesthetic reception, it is fundamental to understand how in practice comics make use of text in order to represent actions, sounds and meaning. In this respect, Wartenberg (2012, p. 97-99) suggests that there are four ways in which text functions in a comic book:

- Text-balloon: 'this is the symbol that occurs within the pictorial space created by the frame of a comic that indicates the presence of a more or less enclosed space, generally within the frame of a comic' (Wartenberg, 2012, p. 97). That space contains linguistic elements that are understood as the words that a character is saying, whispering or thinking (cf. figure 3).

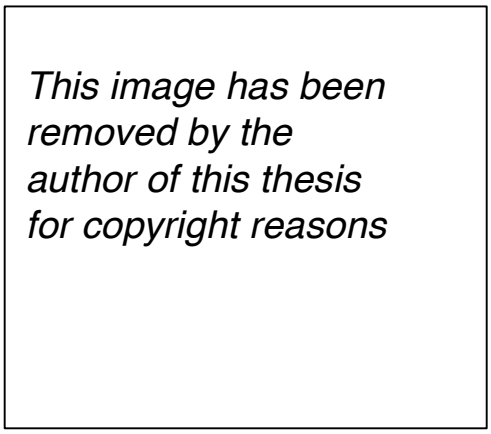


Figure 4. Example of a narration panel introducing the scene and of pictorial text used for signs (from *Wizards of Mickey, issue 1*, Oct. 2006).

- Narration or commentary: text present in captions preceding the image that explain and comment the scene depicted (see the 'and so…!' caption in figure 4).

- Pictorial use: Any text within the image that is not an ideophone or a text-balloon. See road signs, shops' names, posters, etc. (cf. 'plucked owl' sign in figure 4).

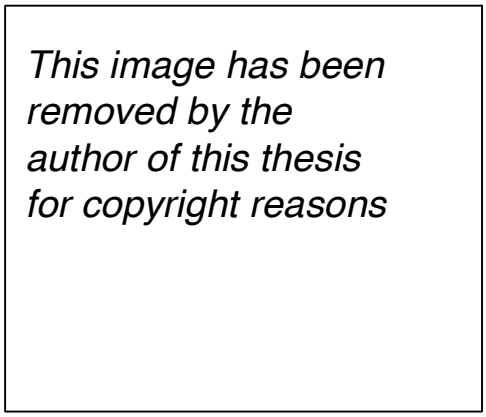


Figure 5. Example of intrusive sensorial text 'foossh' used to represent the heat and the sound resulting from a dragon's roar (from *Wizards of Mickey, issue 3*, Oct. 2006).

- Sound Symbolic/Iconic forms (both sonic and non-sonic events): 'Neither pure linguistic nor pictorial', they represent the 'translation of sensorial features of the depicted world of comics into visual form' (Wartenberg, 2012, p. 99). Often used to represent 'temporally extended processes' (Wartenberg, 2012, p. 100), they bring dynamicity and expressivity to the page of the comic book (cf. figure 5).

While text-balloons and narration text are physically separated from the image—to some extent still owning a textual status—in the case of intrusive pictorial elements and sound symbolic words the text is not confined within an only-text

border and is invading the actual image. This is what McCloud calls ‘montage’ (1993, p. 154), a practice through which words are treated and perceived ‘as an integral part of the picture’. This is exactly where the comic book gives its best in terms of multimodality and expressivity. The use of sonic elements represents an ‘alternative and unique representational system’ (Wartenberg, 2012, p. 100), a clever stratagem to make up for the lack of duration—in an effort to replicate what films already naturally do, 'as temporally extended objects' (Wartenberg, 2012, p. 100). Unable to function as films, comics make up for the lack of audial features by offering a synesthetic experience to the reader. Doing this they ‘try to be similar to film but distance themselves from static pictorial art such as paintings, since they deliberately avoid such symbolic means of representation’ (Wartenberg, 2012, p. 100), creating a distinct sensorial art.

4.7. Visual Senses as a Site for a Collaborative Text-Image Rapport

Visual sounds perfectly represent one of the rare cases in which textuality and visuality have learnt—at least momentarily—to cohabit peacefully, rather than standing in opposition to each other. Able to convey sound to ‘undoubtedly a greater degree than any other linguistic message in comics’ (Khordoc, 2001, p. 169), sound symbolic forms carry a meaning ‘that is not found only in the actual inscription but, most importantly, in their graphic representation, as they are painted directly onto the image, and in fact, are a part of it’ (Khordoc, 2001, p. 169). The different letters forming iconic words and their intense graphical nature contribute to the association of the word with a particular meaning, working as both text and image: the denoted meaning brought by the text is still present but, unlike text-balloons or captions (apart from rare exceptions), it enhances its expressivity through graphical features that resemble an image to all intents and purposes. The size, colour, type of font and the general graphical intensity of the ideophone will thus suggest different paralinguistic properties: for instance, a bigger font will evoke a louder noise, while a ‘boom!’ written in red will amplify its impact through chromatic eloquence. These are all visual symbolisms, which the reader learns to decode, and which are processed thanks to

'iconic conventions' (Morgana, 2003, p. 169; translation mine) established between the writer, the genre and its audience. Ultimately, a successful graphic ideophone is able to suggest, with higher intensity and unlike its sole design, real sensations and does this through two main factors: the evoked sound (through textuality) and the logo (through visuality) (Ficarra, 2012, p. 44). In summary, in the case of comics, lettering is not the simple transposition of a spoken dialogue but, rather, a representation of a 'drawn dialogue', in which the visual reading is the medium of its enunciation, unquestionably mimicking image-like qualities (Ibid.).

The power of this text-image collaboration is also shown by the fact that ideophones often manage to express senses that go beyond the sonic, assaulting the realm of movement and olfaction (Pellitteri, 1998, p. 129) (cf. figure 6), or the so-called 'non-sensory lettering' (Duncan & Smith, 2009, p. 157), used to express feelings and thoughts. While in some cases lettering seem to be able to—at least iconically—represent sonic inputs, comics can also stage and suggest senses, such as smell or movement, that challenge and push the symbolic power of words and their graphic representation. In this case, senses cannot even be subvocalised as happens with sounds, but are only evoked, forcing the reader to go beyond the sonic and to 'see' visual smells, almost creating a 'virtual reality' (Pellitteri, 1998, p. 137; translation mine). Unable to rely on the sonic iconicity of phonemes when devising non-sonic representations, comic artists rely heavily on the graphical features of graphemes, establishing a mutually beneficial text-image bond. For example, the grapheme Z commonly recurs in ideophones conveying movement (e.g. 'zip', 'zap', 'zow', 'zing'). The only plausible reason for this is the actual appearance of that particular letter, formed through the straight stroke of three lines, one after the other, in a sudden movement of the pencil—thus being the perfect graphical candidate to symbolise rapidity in motion.

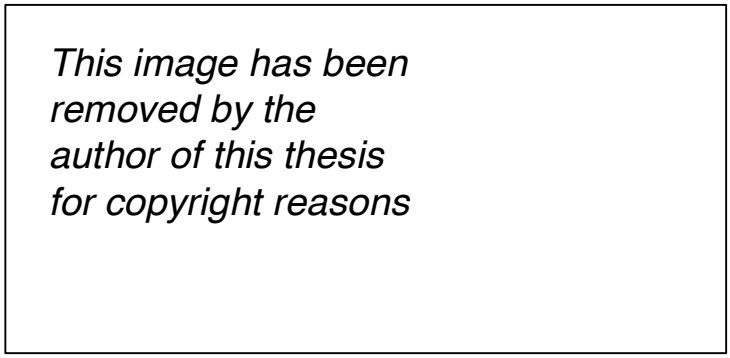


Figure 6. Non-sonic lettering, respectively indicating smell (*sniff , sniff*) and movement (*zoooooww*) (from *Wizards of Mickey, issue 2*, Oct. 2006).

To sum up, the cooperation shown by text and images when trying to convey sensorial features is remarkable, as the devices used concurrently exploit attributes coming from both textuality and visuality. Still, it is not always about peaceful co-operation: the text-image relationship still remains fluid and mutable. There are times when, even in the case of ideophones, the text-image pacific cohabitation momentarily malfunctions. The next section will try to expound on those instances in which ideophones engage in an ambivalent and antagonistic relationship with the image.

4.8. Visual Senses as Antagonistic and Censoring Devices

Despite the fact that ideophones 'may make it slightly more difficult to process visual information and to work out what is going on' (Hague, 2014, p. 65), they are not believed to defocus the mind as quickly and disruptively as perceived noises can. So, from a perceptive point of view, ideophones are not considered to disturb the reading flow, particularly when taking into account that they are part of the reading flow while noises are not. Nevertheless, there are other ways in which ideophones can situate themselves in an antagonist relationship with the visual image. In order to identify these moments of opposition we need to inspect specific audiences comics are targeted at.

Thus far, the analysis of the audience of imagetexts has deliberately been kept general. Specific genres are, however, aimed at particular audiences, and these can affect the way one perceives the relationship between the ideophone and the visual image.

Despite being a medium enjoyed by readers of all ages, the comic book can be perceived as a genre targeting children and younger readers. In the case of the comic books this research project will be taking into consideration—i.e. those published by Disney—the assumption is even truer. The company's main priority was, at least at the beginning that of entertaining and accommodating the younger audience (Stajano, 1999, p. 1).

Considered from this perspective, sound symbolic forms seem to suit the genre perfectly—they satisfy the comic book's need for ludic devices aimed at amusing the audience, and do this with simplistic phonosymbolic means—and take advantage of young readers' tendency to play with language. Children might not understand complicated syntax, but they can grasp the immediacy of these iconic words thanks to their reliance on basic and instinctive phonosymbolic patterns. 'As newcomers to the sounds and rhythms of their native tongues, children have an intense awareness of and sensual relationship with language' (Lathey, 2010, p. 204) and can instinctively 'play' with it and appreciate any device that does so.

Sonic events, in particular, perform a similar but emphasised role in comics. Curiously enough, ideophones (onomatopoeia, in particular) began to be associated with comics thanks to a television show rather than a comic book (Duncan & Smith, 2009, p. 156). The Batman cartoon series was broadcast in the United States and subsequently became an international success in the 1960s. Onomatopoeia in Batman is a prime example of the way imagetexts control the perceptions of children. The device is employed at strategic moments that, if viewed without such effects, might be deemed unsuitable for children. For example, when Batman punches an enemy, a big stylised 'pow!' or a 'zowie!' appears on-screen (Duncan & Smith, 2009, p. 156). The text distracts from, and sometimes literally obscures, the violence of the narrative, replacing it with simplistic and nonsensical interjections that have little relevance to the sound of a punch, let alone to how it might feel to receive it. That the device is mainly used in conjunction with noises suggests that it is used as a means to censor the violence of the actions it appears to represent. By means of visual graphics, onomatopoeia makes the viewer concentrate on the visuality and sensuality of the picture rather than the action itself, and therefore lowers the seriousness of the violent act and, as a matter of fact, it places itself in an antagonist relationship with the image. The playful text inserted onto the scene dampens the violent tone of the image so that the authors can insert violent scenes and justify them to young audiences by onomatopoeic cartoons.

The same censoring concept can be applied to comics. By means of 'verbal art', the reader is forced to concentrate on the stylistic and sonic aspect of the scene,

rather than the scene itself, which almost loses credibility in favour of a more humorous and carefree reading. Ideophones do provide the image with a more realistic, sonic, amusing and reassuring environment, thus giving importance to the scene taking place, but they also take power away from it by forcing verbal text into the picture and changing the way the image would have been perceived if the text were not there.

4.9. Conclusions

This chapter has shown that sensorial cues play a central role in the development of media that make use of both visual and verbal elements. When it comes to imagetexts, their relationship is even more crucial, as it is central to the understanding of the events taking place. Words provide the image with properties that it would not otherwise have, adding a new parallel dimension to the text and offering multiple readings and great diegetic power to the audience. In comics, in particular, the almost total amalgamation of the two plays a pivotal role in the creation of meaning: speech balloons make up for the lack of sound, motion lines extend images temporally, and description borders are used to introduce narrators external to the story. Most importantly, 'the ability to create the illusion of sound through visual devices is unique to comics. Theatre and cinema do not need to create the illusion, as actual sound is integral to these art forms' (Khordoc, 2001, p. 173). In literature, 'the illusion of sound is rather limited as it is represented mainly through narration' (Ibid.). In the case of comics, however, 'they are fundamental to understand the complex reading process required of comics readers' (Ibid.).

The sound symbolic word is part of those established conventions that make the comic a particular, multimodal and special genre of its own. It gives to the pictures sonic values that they would otherwise lack and it places itself between the verbal and the visual—it is a word, despite being often of interjectional origin, but it is also part of an image. It is stylised according to the type of sound it represents and is fully integrated with the pictorial element, using the graphic aspect of a word to compensate for the absence of sound. By varying the thickness, shape or colour of the

letters, the word is at the same time a conveyer of beyond-sonic qualities and also graphically bonded to the image, becoming both a verbal and pictorial element. As such, ideophones make comics a unique genre since they enhance the verbal/visual ambivalence that differentiates the format from any other media. Finally, I have briefly discussed how the ideophone is used in comics because its immediacy and expressivity easily hold the attention of young readers, encouraging their playful engagement with language through its experimental and adaptive nature.

Chapter 5. Brief History of Italian Comic Art

As previously specified in the 'aims and research questions' section (Chapter 3, page 50), this Chapter will endeavour to provide a historical overview of the comic book format in Italy and, in particular, on the circulation of Disney magazines in the country since their arrival in 1932. The positioning of this section before the analysis chapters is not a coincidence, as it offers the historical foundations which led to the linguistic production analysed thereafter. On top of providing information on the historical vicissitudes that led to the creation of an independent Italian school of Disney comics, the Chapter will also focus on the production of non-Disney comic books, to offer a brief account on the directions taken by the comic book industry in both pre- and post-war Italy and on the latest developments within the genre. As well as facilitating the creation of historical windows that will be employed to categorise the corpus data in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, Chapter 5 presents a number of events (the Fascist regime, a change in publication format and the arrival of technological advances, above all) that will prove essential when hypothesising on the reason for certain changes and shifts in ideophonic use. As will be shown, some events and format changes sidelined the use of sound symbolic forms while others have brought them back to the fore. The main questions include: (1) How and when was the study of the language of *fumetti* first approached by Italian scholars? (2) What was the format of the first original and imported comic books published in Italy? (3) What historical vicissitudes led to the importation of Disney comic books into the country? (4) What were the most successful comic book publications post-WW2 and what is the direction taken by the Disney comic book production in Italy nowadays?

Italian comics, known as *fumetti*, initially appeared during the first decade of the twentieth century. The term *fumetto* refers to only one of the many devices that characterise the genre, namely the balloon that appears to come out of the mouths of the characters and that includes words pronounced by those characters. This rather limiting choice of appellation led scholars such as Raffaelli (1997, p. 8) and Pietrini (2009, p. 19) to agree that the term in some sense reflects a negative attitude towards

the genre, at least in the early decades. The fact that the same term is used to define not only the balloon but also the genre itself, while in other languages the two concepts have separate terms (for example *bande dessinée/bulle* in French, *comics/balloon* in English, *Comics/Sprechblase* in German), might suggest that little thought was put into providing the genre with appropriate nomenclature. The term *fumetti* also has derogatory connotations: film or book reviews frequently define what is deemed to be a low-quality product as having *una trama da fumetto* or un *dialogo da fumetto* ('a comic-like plot' and 'comic–like dialogue') (Raffaelli, 1997, p. 7) when signifying that plots or dialogue are naïve, predictable or overly simple. Moreover, the adjective *fumettistico* is not only used to mean 'relating to comics', but is also a synonym for something that is 'conventional and trivial'. The following quotation from an Italian scholar of the 1950s sums up the general attitude towards comics at the time (Gadducci & Tavosanis, 2012, p. 113): *mozziconi di frasi, insulti, invettive… interruzioni inammissibili e onomatopee balorde* ('stubs of sentences, insults and abuse… unacceptable interruptions and silly onomatopoeic sounds'). Nowadays, while attitudes to comics are less dismissive than they were in the past, there is still a lingering sense that, as Pietrini (2009, p. 19) has pointed out, comics 'do not seem to be taken too seriously in Italy' (Pietrini, 2009, p. 19; translation mine).

These introductory notes highlight how the genre has been approached with prejudices since its early days, experiencing intellectual discrimination and despite being much loved by both young and adult readers, the comic genre has, as we have seen, been mostly viewed as unworthy of serious intellection and academic consideration. Over time attitudes to the genre have changed, with increasing numbers of intellectuals and scholars bringing their analytical skills to bear on it. In particular, Umberto Eco's publication of the volume *Apocalittici e integrati* (1964) during the 1960s, showed that the theoretical study of *fumetti* could be as valid as the study of any other category of text. Since then, comic books have undergone major changes and now the genre is generally respected, although residues of the early fights to gain recognition are still visible.

So far, scholarship has largely concentrated on semiotic, sociological and psychological analyses of the genre, and less attention has been paid to the comic art

from a linguistic point of view. Linguists seem not interested in the influence that comic art has had, and continues to have, on contemporary Italian language (Pietrini, 2009, p. 24). Comics produced in other countries have met with similar fates, even in those countries that have witnessed an explosion in the comic industry, such as the US or Japan.

While the official birth date of the comic book in the US is set on 16 February 1898 with the publication of the first comic strip featuring Yellow Kid, the origin of Italian comics is often traced back to 27 December 1908, with the first issue of the weekly *Corriere dei Piccoli* hitting the stands (Gadducci, 2006, p. 1). That was not, however, the first appearance of *fumetti*. Graphical narratives were found in Italian popular prints during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, in terms of pictorial and verbal devices, the genre was different from the types of comic that we are used to dealing with today. The first comics were not intended for a younger audience, but rather for bourgeois readers who enjoyed satirical content. Images themselves did not include any lettering. The text was generally kept to a minimum—authors preferred to insert captions describing the dialogues or the action taking place under the image rather than to insert words directly into the picture (cf. figure 7). The publication of this kind of *fumetti* became popular immediately prior to the unification of the Italian kingdom in 1861, and lasted until the start of the First World War (Gadducci, 2006, p. 3).

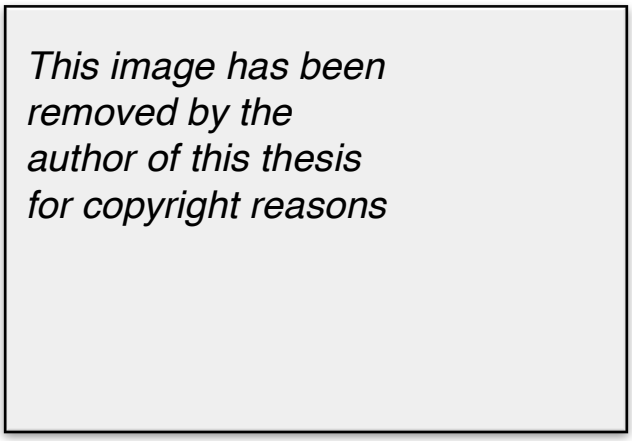


Figure 7. Comic by Frencesco Redenti in the Turin magazine Strenna del Fischietto published in 1859. Available from: http://dallasfood.org/2011/03/gianduia-gianduja-nutella-part-11/.

Due partly to the high level of illiteracy in Italy (72% in 1871, according to an official census), these comics were only read by the elite groups who could read and understand standard Italian and were interested in political and social themes. The first popular publisher to address a lower and middle-class audience and younger readers was Edoardo Pierino who, in Rome in the 1880s, published comics written in

dialect (Gadducci, 2006, p. 9). The comics were published in satirical periodicals and used a technique adopted by the more famous *Corriere dei Piccoli* a decade later—the insertion of rhyming verses under picture panels (Barbieri, 2014, p. 111). These verses were chosen over balloons since the latter were perceived as detrimental to children's reading skills. This convention also followed the Italian poetic tradition of rhyming couplets, thereby producing a more Italian 'look' without surprising the audience with too many graphical or textual novelties (Costa, 2012).

Il Corriere dei Piccoli, also known as *Corrierino*, can be considered the first Italian comic book to gain notoriety; it quickly became the first true modern magazine (Gadducci, 2006, p. 20). The magazine was first published in 1908 as a supplement to the Sunday issue of *il Corriere della Sera*, a renowned Italian broadsheet newspaper (Raffaelli, 1997, p. 60). *Il Corriere dei Piccoli* opted to maintain the nineteenth century practice of using rhyming captions for the cartoon images. Even adaptations of famous American comics such as *Yellow Kid, Buster Brown* or *Felix* were deprived of typical comic features such as balloons, motion lines or onomatopoeia. The American figures were given a new layout and rhyming couplets were inserted. While American comics were addressed to lower- and middle-class children, thereby jeering at the bourgeois lifestyle, Italian comics were expressly dedicated to the offspring of a well-off audience (Raffaelli, 1997, p. 61), mostly from the north of the country. The subversive endings of American comics were omitted entirely and the naughtiness of the rowdy American characters was substituted by rhyming couplets. The first story of the mischievous Mimmo Mammolo (*Buster Brown* in the US) ended with the educative line: 'Chi vuol fare

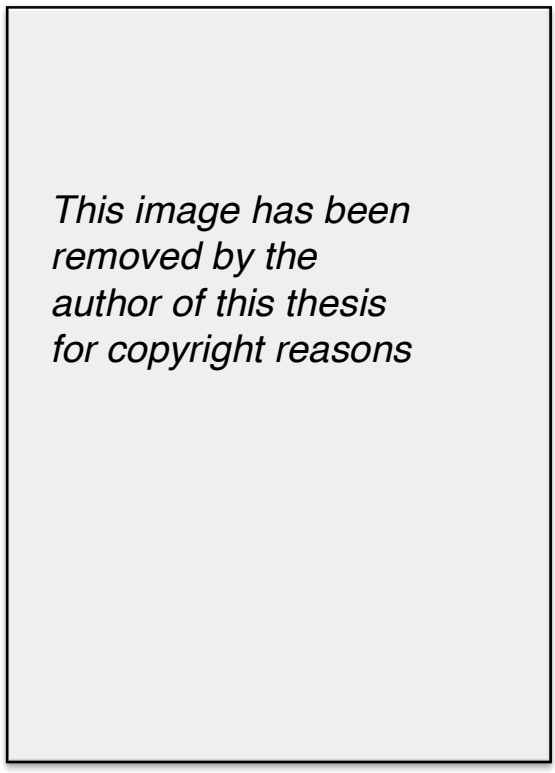


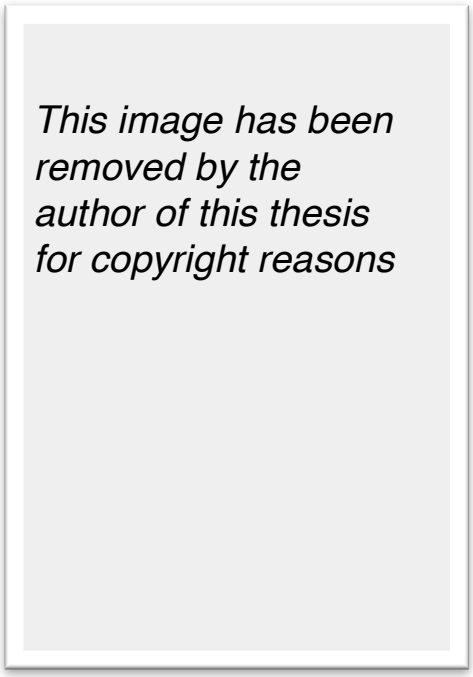
Figure 8. Cover of *L'Avventuroso* (issue 6, Nov. 1934), magazine featuring comic strips published by the 'Nerbini' between 1934-43.

l'altrui danno / ha le beffe ed ha il malanno' ('Whoever wants to hurt others / receives pranks and misfortune in return'). The moral seems to be: whoever tries to rebel against social conformism will be severely punished.

This format represented a real limit to the development of the genre in Italy. For years, it remained confined to an inflexible style, relegated to a childish audience and unable to move forward or explore new formats (De Giorgio, 2011).

The Florentine publisher Nerbini was instrumental in changing this. *L'Avventuroso* (cf. figure 8) was a comic book published by Nerbini between 1934 and 1943 and represented a real revolution for Italian comics. Following the American success of adventure comic strips, the publisher decided to experiment with the original American comic genre (with balloons) and had widespread success, comparable to the advent of Japanese manga during the 1980s (Raffaelli, 1997, p. 65). *L'Avventuroso* circulated 500,000 copies each week, reaching a wider audience when it finally abandoned captions in favour of more expressive balloons (Pietrini, 2009, p. 27).

Figure 9. Cover page of the first issue of 'Topolino' magazine published in December 1932 (*Topolino giornale*, *issue 1,* Dec. 1932).



5.1. The Early Days of Disney Comics in Italy

The idea for the creation of the character of Mickey Mouse was apparently the result of Walt Disney's inspiration during a train journey from Hollywood to New York City in 1928 (Stajano, 1999, p. 229). He was trying to think of a character that could compete successfully against the protagonists of the comic strips of that time, which happened to be cats: Felix the Cat and Krazy Kat. Choosing a mouse seemed the best solution to fight the dominance of felines in the comic industry.

Nerbini should be praised as the first publisher to realise the vast potential of the pictorial elements of comics, particularly for Italian children. On 31 December 1932, Nerbini published the first issue of a new comic book that built on the success of Disney's *Mickey Mouse,* called *Topolino* (cf. figure 9). The stories were not translated from English but were drawn by Italian authors and they appeared with traditional Italian rhyming couplets (Boschi et al., 1990, p. 20). After the seventh issue of the magazine, in February 1933, stories translated from the American language started being published together with original ones.

It is also worth mentioning another attempt made at importing Disney comics to Italy by the Turin publisher 'Frassinelli'. In 1933, the famous Italian poet, novelist and translator, Cesare Pavese, was entrusted with the translation of the American Disney classics. Pavese's translations were admirable, even those of peculiar American comic devices such as onomatopoeic sounds ('S-s-sing!… una freccia fischiò sulla testa di Michi'), that would subsequently lead to the genre's worldwide renown (Boschi et al., 1990, p. 18).

In 1935, the Milan-based publishing house, Mondadori, bought the copyright for publishing *Mickey Mouse* stories from Nerbini. Nerbini seemed to prefer to focus more on *L'Avventuroso* rather than on these American adaptations, which did not appear to have the expected impact on readers (Boschi et al., 1990, p. 23).

During the 1930s and part of the 1940s, Mondadori's strategy was to alternate the translation of American stories with new stories, entirely drawn and written by Italian authors, with Federico Pedrocchi being the most famous of these. Rhyming couplets were rejected in favour of a more comic-like style, with balloons and onomatopoeic sounds. The American comic style was officially accepted in Italy as well. New characters were gradually presented to the audience, and in 1937 the first Paolino Paperino (*Donald Duck*) comic was published.

In 1938, when Mussolini banned the importation of American comics, Pedrocchi was responsible for creating an emergency plan to gather the best Italian writers and illustrators to create new original stories. Due to Mussolini's regulation Nerbini slowly collapsed while Pedrocchi and his team managed to rescue the Mondadori magazine, actually improving the quality and increasing sales (Boschi et al.,

1990, p. 25). According to contemporary accounts, Pedrocchi was still allowed to use Gottfredson's American stories for inspiration owing to the fact that Mussolini's children apparently enjoyed Disney's stories (Stajano, 1999, p. 3). In 1942, with the direct involvement of the United States in the war, Disney stories were finally 'censored' and Pedrocchi decided to 'Italianize' the characters as far as possible—*Topolino* became *Tuffolino,* and Minnie became *Mimma*.

After closing down during the war, *Topolino* reappeared (with its original name restored by the fall of fascism) in 1947. It took the publisher a few years to regain the levels of success of the pre-war comics. For a couple of years, mainly reprints of those stories were published.

The genre became popularly established in April 1949, with monthly publications and a new smaller format. Since the contract with Disney forced Mondadori to periodically buy the rights for American stories, translated stories were still featured, together with some attempts by Italian authors to adapt them to a more European context. Guido Martina, Mondadori's memorable translator, was asked by the director of *Topolino* to start thinking about making new stories, with the same American characters but set in an Italian context (Boschi et al., 1990, p. 49). In a short time, Martina became a very successful scriptwriter.

Published in 1949, his adaptations of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (cf. figure 10) transposed onto the world of Disney are evidence of his talent as a scriptwriter, enabling multiple possible readings for different audiences. For example, Topolino-Dante's encounter with controversial characters such as Brunetto Latini or Taide (a homosexual and a prostitute, respectively) are craftily staged so that children are unaware of the reasons for

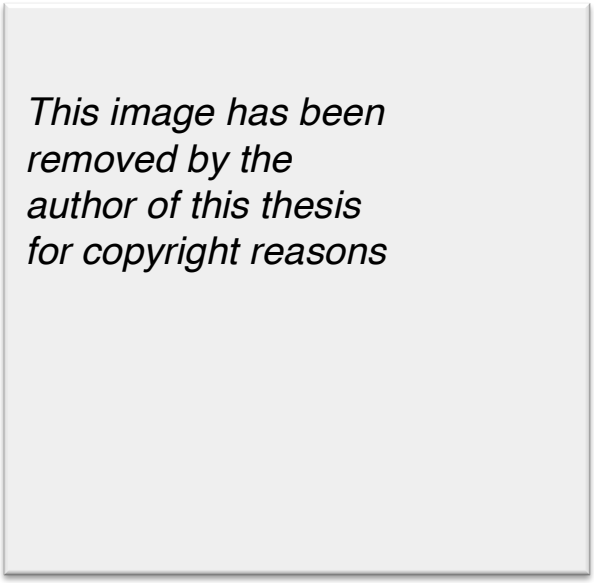


Figure 10. Disney adaptation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* published in October 1949 (*Topolino libretto*, *issue 5*, Oct. 1949).

the characters being in the *Inferno*, while adults are presented with innuendos to suggest why they are there. In the case of Brunetto Latini's homosexuality, little is revealed to a young audience when he shows overly exaggerated affection to Topolino-Dante: '*Oh… Lascia che ti baci! Smatch! Smattchch*' ('Oh… let me give you a little kiss! Smooch smooch!').

Since the post-war era, Disney comics in Italy have been drawn and scripted by Italian authors, beginning an independent and profitable business. Currently, the vast majority of Disney stories published in Italy are not translations of American comic books, but are produced originally by Italian cartoonists (Pietrini, 2009, p. 28).

5.2. Post-war Comics in Italy

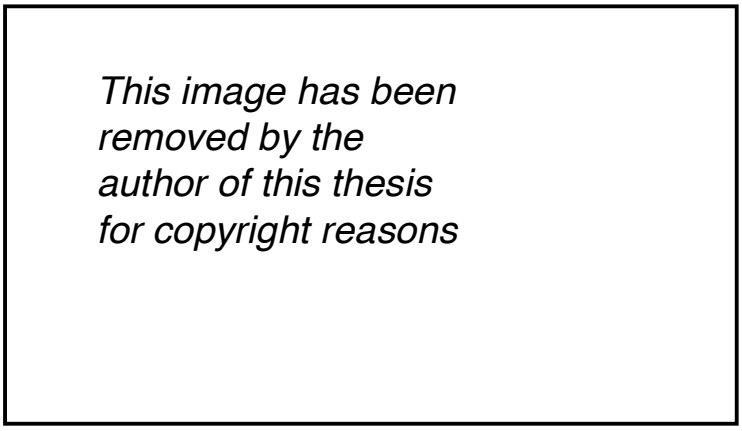


Figure 11. Example of a typical 'busy' strip drawn by Jacovitti (from *Corriere dei Piccoli, annate 1969-70;* also available from: http://deladelmur.blogspot.co.uk/2011/04/camomilla.html).

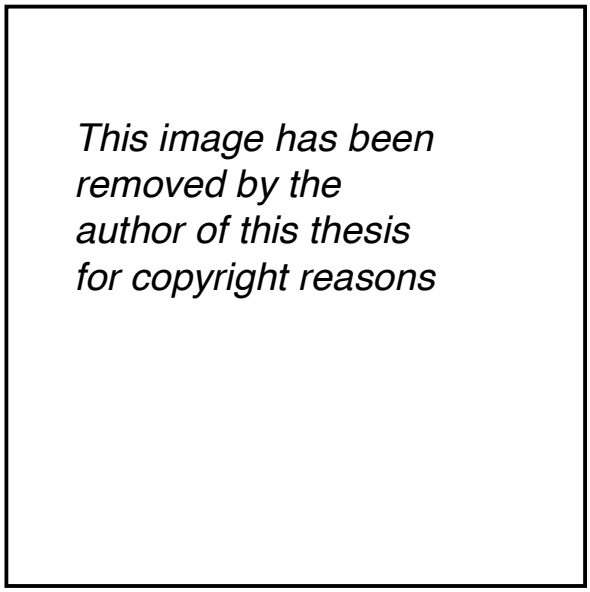
After the war, a new type of magazine, the so-called 'Catholic comic' (Raffaelli, 1997, p. 72; translation mine), was established, the most popular being *Il Giornalino*, edited by San Paolo. However, the name is perhaps misleading, as *Il Giornalino* does not only feature biblical parables in comic form. The weekly magazine plays host to the most talented cartoonists and adventurous stories and characters. Benito Jacovitti, in particular, who had started working for *Il Corriere dei Piccoli* in 1966 and then moved to *Il Giornalino* in 1978, is considered one of the most original post-war authors. His style has been defined as 'surreal and filled with unprecedented violence' (Novelli, 2008, p. 38; translation mine) (cf. figure 11). Even so, his comics were published in these Catholic magazines for years. The reason may lie in the highly humorous tone of his comics and the inventive use of the comic devices that Jacovitti exploits to undermine the established rules of comic books. Jacovitti's style has been defined as 'spaghetti western' due to the frequent Wild West settings with cowboys and guns. His most famous character is 'Cocco Bill', a carefree cowboy and the protagonist of

absurd plots. Jacovitti's frame is filled with characters, objects, lettering and balloons, creating fascinating paintings rather than simple strips.

Jacovitti is also famed for his mastery of language, and in particular for his creation of neologisms. In the 'exasperate' dynamism of his comics, language is frequently experimented with, mesmerising and amusing the reader. His skilful use of onomatopoeic sound adapted to the Italian language offered a truly novel experience in comic reading that completely changed the way the Italian audience perceived Italian comic books.

One of the most long-lived comic series within the spaghetti western genre is *Tex Willer* (cf. figure 12), the father of a genre with enormous success in Italy that firstly appeared in September 1948. During the post-war era, this kind of comic style seemed to be what the Italian population wanted, due partly to widespread curiosity about American culture (i.e. Hollywood cinema) and history after the US victory in war (Gallo & Bonomi, 2006, p. 93). Fifty years on, *Tex* is still published today, in four parallel issues and nine foreign publications (Pietrini, 2009, p. 28).

Figure 12. Comic strip with Tex Willer, famous hero of spaghetti western post-war comics. Available from: http://www.comixando.it/collezioni-ospiti/tex-willer/.



Contemporary to Cocco Bill and Tex Willer are the *Tiramolla* strips (cf. figure 13), created specifically for younger children. *Tiramolla* is a rubber figure created by Renzi and Rebuffi in 1952 (Pietrini, 2009, p. 28).

The 1960s are characterised by what people in the comic industry define as the 'negative hero' (Gallo & Bonomi, 2006, p. 111; translation mine). If, before then, heroes were usually good-willed, generous and with no apparent flaws, the Cold War era brought a new sentiment to the audience, who started requiring more realism. One effect of this changes was the creation of *Diabolik*, in 1962 (cf. figure 14). Diabolik

was a masked criminal busy robbing banks and was rarely doing what society considered the 'right thing', but the characterization had a realistic element and the audience quickly became fond of him (Gallo & Bonomi, 2006, p. 112). After *Tex*, he is considered the 'most long-lived' of Italian's comic heroes. In the wake of *Diabolik*, two other heroes were soon created, *Satanik* and *Kriminal* (Barbieri, 2014, p. 117).

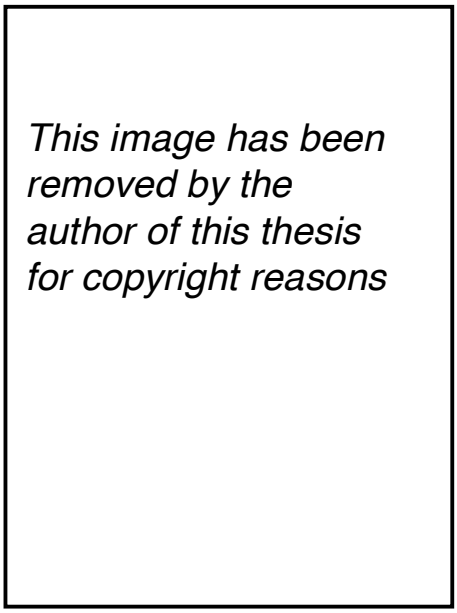


Figure 13. Tiramolla comic strip from the 1960s. Available from: http://fumettidicartarchivio.blogspot.co.uk/2012/11/tiramolla-60.html .

Other important experimental characters of comics and graphic novels introduced at the end of the 1960s are *Corto Maltese* (1967; by Hugo Prat), a Maltese-born sea captain often busy exploring the seas around South America (Bussagli, 2003, p. 74) and *Valentina* (1965; by Guido Crepax), a Milanese photographer whose dreamlike stories staged an 'authentic transformation of the language used in Italian comics' (Ibid., p. 336; translation mine) and introduced its readers to 'Italy's first refined erotic heroin in a graphic novel' (Ibid., p. 337; translation mine).

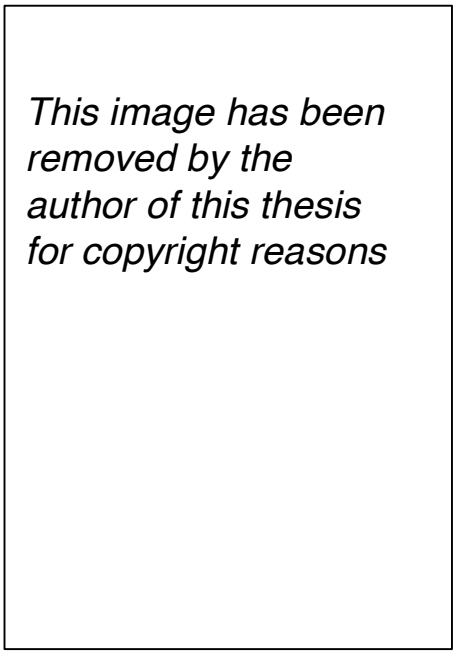


Figure 14. Image of Diabolik, famous 'negative hero' created in 1962 (from *Il Grande Diabolik*, Jul. 2011).

The success of the Italian comic industry in reaching adults as well as a younger audience made publishers realise that there could be other ways to exploit the business. This realisation paved the way, in the 1960s, for the creation of comic magazines such as 'Linus' and 'Eureka', which were supported by intellectuals and scholars (Gallo & Bonomi, 2006, p. 121). 'Linus', in particular, gained success partly because it features Peanuts strips. These magazines did not only include comic strips but they also quickly started fostering fruitful debates and cooperation among comic book artists, connoisseurs and

scholars—cooperation that, for instance, resulted in the creation of the *Enciclopedia dei fumetti* (‘Comic Book Encyclopedia’; 1970) (Ibid., p. 122). The 1970s also featured the birth of a classic character of Italian comic books, *Lupo Alberto*, a blue-coloured wolf, the protagonist of humorous adventures who soon became a real phenomenon (Pietrini, 2009, p. 32) (cf. figure 15).

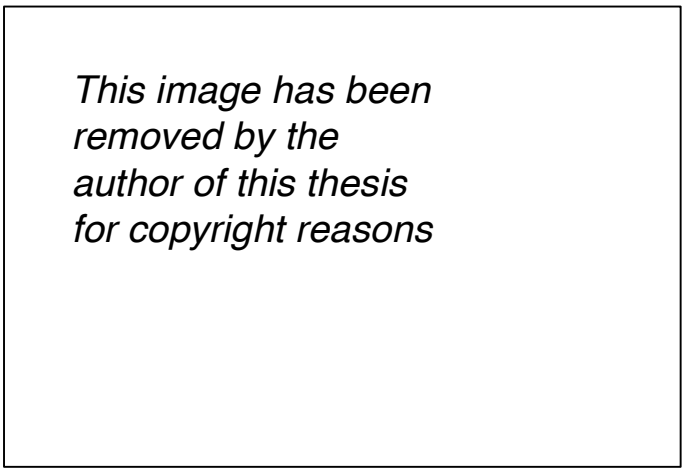


Figure 15. Comic strip featuring Lupo Alberto, character created during the 1970s (available from: http://6e20.it/it/eventi/lupo-alberto.html).

After a couple of decades of splendour, the comic book industry experienced, at the beginning of the 1980s, its first period of crisis—a crisis that did not relate to the language of comics which, by that time, was very well established in other formats, i.e. newspapers, advertising and in fashion-related literature (Gallo & Bonomi, 2006, p. 134). The crisis involved, instead, a considerable drop in sales, which was explained in terms of an evident ‘cultural impoverishment, the triviality of certain characters, a fall in originality and an ultimate lack of courage when experimenting with new tools and stories’ (Gallo & Bonomi, 2006, p. 134; translation mine). Other factors contributing to the drop in sales included the rising importance of television and videogames in the lives of youngsters (Pietrini, 2009, p. 32).

However, there were some positive developments even during these years of crisis. An important factor in the development of the comic book culture in Italy is the ‘Comics Center Andrea Pazienza’ established at the end of the 1980s (Barbieri, 2014, p. 163). These archives were, as mentioned in Chapter 3, central for the completion of the current project. The crisis also partially affected the Disney industry, whose comics slowly started being relegated to a genre for children. Although adults represented—and still do today—a large proportion of its readers (Pietrini, 2009, p. 32), they started leaning towards more refined, elitist publications.

During the 1980s, an important role within the industry was played by the publishing firm Bonelli, which created several characters who quickly became well-known, such as the disquieting Dylan Dog (1986), who quickly became a real 'cult' (Pietrini, 2009, p. 32) and Martin Mystère, the 'detective of the impossible'.

5.3. The Italian Comic Book Today

Despite the serious crisis that hit the industry during the 1980s and 1990s, the Italian comic book has been going through important transformations (Pietrini, 2009, p. 36) and has managed to secure a considerable number of faithful readers. The Italian comic book industry is nowadays dominated by two main publishers: Bonelli and Disney Italia (owned by 'Panini' publisher). Bonelli can count on 17 different storylines to publish while the Disney 'school' is now mainly directed towards a younger audience although collectors and older readers still represent an important part of it (Pietrini, 2009, p. 38). *Topolino* has still the largest market share although other magazines, such as the ones that publish reprints of older translated and original strips are among the most sold (i.e. *I Grandi Classici* and *I Classici*). It is important to mention the creation of the exclusively Italian character *Paperinik*, a technology-obsessed super hero, who is actually Donald Duck in disguise (cf. figure 16). He embodied, at the time of his introduction, the efforts of the Disney publisher to keep up with the super-hero genre and the post-modern Italian comic book (Stajano, 2009, p. 14).

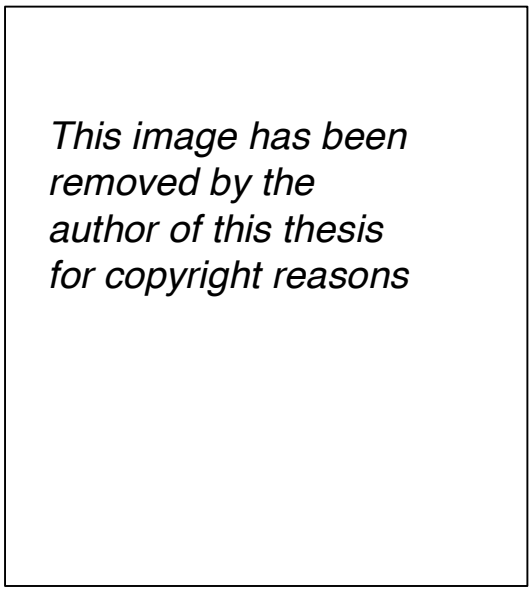


Figure 16. Paperinik in a story published in February 1989 with the title 'Paperinik e la città sporcacciona' (*Topolino libretto, issue 1742*, Apr. 1989).

An important step for Disney Italia was the transfer, in October 2013, of the publishing rights to the publisher Panini, which is famous for distributing, among other things, the Italian versions of Japanese manga and the Marvel superheroes stories

(Pietrini, 2009, p. 39). Recent (2014) parodies based on typical Italian fictional characters such as *Topalbano*, Andrea Camilleri's Detective Montalbano's alter ego in Italy's Mickey Mouse Universe (*Topolinia*), bear witness to a willingness to move away from the American influence, plot-wise, and revamp the genre in the same way that post-war parodies had done at the time (i.e. Dante's 'Divine Comedy') (Argiolas et al., 2014, p. 153).

Comic stories published in the last fifteen years have shown a general tendency to include within themselves an autobiographical or personal note. The author starts intervening in the story, commenting verbally and graphically on the scenes depicted (Barbieri, 2014, p. 179). Examples of this are comic books by Davide Toffolo, Paolo Bacilieri e Vanna Vinci.

The spread of broadband internet through the Italian peninsula has led to a few authors setting out on their careers by publishing blogs and eventually achieving success and publishing best-selling books. This is the case of Zerocalcare and Makkox, for example, who both became famous thanks to the comic strips they started publishing on their websites.

Chapter 6. Exploration of Sound Symbolic Creations in Italian Disney Comics: Linguistic Analysis

6.1. Introduction

The present chapter provides a summary of the linguistic findings that emerged during the diachronic analysis of a corpus of ideophones and interjections taken from 210 Italian Disney stories, both original and translated ones. The stories were published in Italy between December 1932 and January 2013, mostly in the *Topolino* magazine (cf. figure 17). The corpus, comprising 4681 forms (3887 ideophones and 794 interjections), aims to support an historical and linguistic analysis of the use of ideophones and interjections in Italian Disney stories. The stylistic, historical and morphophonological changes within these forms will be investigated in order to offer a detailed account of their evolution throughout eight decades. The main focus is on the use of ideophones, but issues related to interjectional forms will also be mentioned, as these were also catalogued in the process of compiling the corpus. Despite touching occasionally upon the relationship between sound symbolic forms and their English counterparts and equivalents, this chapter does not consider translation strategies for these forms, as this will be the main focus of Chapter 8. Rather, the aim of this and the following Chapter (7) is to offer an account of their tendencies and peculiarities from a linguistic perspective, regardless of whether they appear in translated or original stories. At times, the need for specific research data resulted in the focus being on original or translated stories in isolation from the version in the other language—when this is the

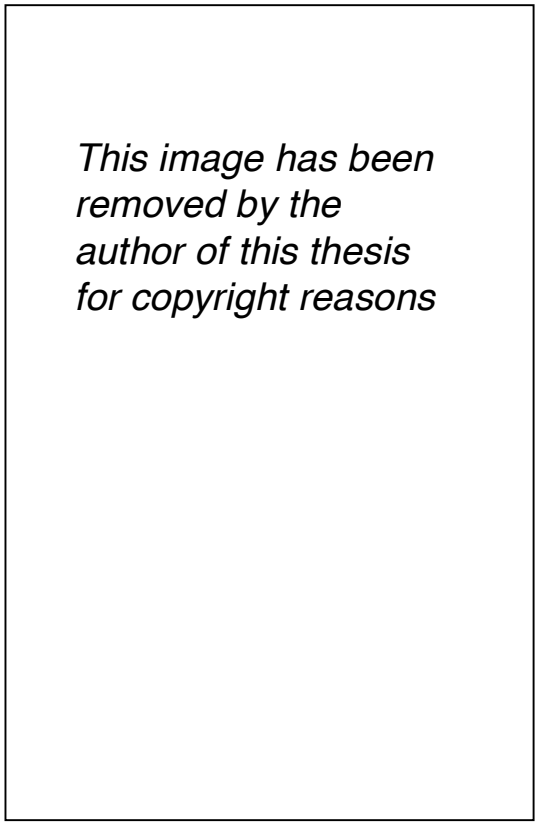


Figure 17. First issue of *Topolino* magazine published in December 1932 (*Topolino giornale, issue 1*, Dec. 1932).

case, it will be clearly stated. The aim of this project is to analyse what readers were presented with across the decades, regardless of whether they were holding a translated or original story, and this is one more reason to why the material has been analysed all together.

The present chapter is divided into two main parts. The first focuses on the stylistic and etymological features of the forms in question (from section 6.2 to section 6.5). The second part, rather, will comprise an analysis of prominent linguistic phenomena linked to sound symbolic forms as captured by the corpus (section 6.6 to 6.8). The chapter's sections will be organised as follows:

- General Introduction (sections 6.1. to 6.3)

- Creating Sound Symbolic Forms and Etymological Matters (section 6.4): This section will focus on establishing the way new ideophones are created and through which linguistic processes they are borrowed from existing languages.

- Location of Sound Symbolic Forms (section 6.5): Analysis of the position of ideophones in relation to the other elements of a typical comic strip (images, balloons, captions, etc.). Statistical data will be offered on the most common position for the forms depicting similar sensorial inputs (sound vs. movement vs. emotion vs. taste, etc.).

- Observed Linguistic Features (section 6.6): this section aims to catalogue a few of the most noticeable linguistic phenomena—mainly dealing with syntax and semantics—that emerged during the close analysis of the corpus.

- Observed Phonomorphological Phenomena (section 6.7): this unit tries to delve deeper into the linguistic analysis in order to look at the phonological and morphological phenomena as detected through the corpus analysis. In particular, the phonomorphological modifications of both Italian- and English-borrowed forms will be investigated with the final aim of isolating specific alteration patterns.

- Diachronic Linguistic and Stylistic Changes (section 6.8): The historical analysis of the use of ideophones will focus on both diachronic graphical and linguistic changes as shown by the corpus analysis. The aim of this section is to offer an account of the visual and the linguistic changes undergone by ideophones throughout the eight different decades covered by the project. This particular investigation will provide the appropriate background information from which to extract more data that will be used to answer various research queries: (1) The first issues of the famous *Topolino* ('Mickey Mouse') magazine were deprived of balloons in favour of captions with rhyming couplets, typical of Italian picture books from the nineteenth century (Costa, 2012). This practice lasted for only eight issues of the magazine. Then the publisher, 'Nerbini', decided to opt for the original American format. What happened to ideophones during this process? (2) In 1942, with the United States' direct involvement in WW2, Disney stories were 'censored' and the Italian editor (Federico Pedrocchi) decided to 'Italianise' the characters as much as possible—*Topolino* became *Tuffolino,* and *Minnie* became *Mimma* (Stajano, 1999, p. 3). Does a perusal of the magazines published during these tense years (1940-43) show a degree of censorship imposed on English ideophones as well? (3) Tosti (2011, pp. 124-25) has shown that for the first few decades Italian Disney authors attempted—as much as possible—to 'Italianise' US stories in an effort to appeal to an Italian audience, by creating plots that included, for instance, famous Italian people or the country's latest events. Yet this successful trend was suddenly reversed during the 80s, when American scenarios started reappearing. Were ideophones part of this 'Italianisation to Americanisation' process as well? (4) Scrutiny of the first English translated stories (published 1932-36). When did the first ideophones appear? Were they localised or kept intact? (5) Scrutiny of the first Italian original stories (first published in 1937 and then after 1949). Did authors take advantage of the freedom of creating Italian Disney comics from scratch by inserting original Italian ideophones? Or do stories still show a dependence on English sounds? If so, in what ways?

The analysis in Chapter 7 will rather stress diachronic changes and will examine sound symbolic forms according to five different ideophonic types (environmental, human,

animal, mechanical, miscellaneous). The aim is to discover how they have affected and been affected by both internal (the comic itself) and external (social and cultural) factors. The investigation of the prevailing patterns of each type will allow for a closer look at diachronic changes throughout different previously-established timeframes. This type of analysis that focuses on comparing ideophones used for different functions and scenes is suggested by Dovetto (2012, p. 208).

There appears to be a considerable degree of flexibility in the use of the ideophone in comic books, which can lead to misinterpretations or uncertainties when categorising it (as mentioned by Dovetto, 2012, p. 204). There are times when the act or situation ideophones are trying to depict is as unclear as the accompanying images, thus offering highly polysemic material that leads to multiple possible readings. I have therefore dedicated a final remarks section to the ambiguity and linguistic elasticity of these forms, focussing on why they have been defined as 'linguistic rebels' (Kunene, 2001, p. 183) and on the general findings emerged throughout the corpus data analysis for this particular chapter.

This analysis will take its place within the discipline of linguistics as part of the emerging body of research into the ways in which languages have developed and harnessed sound symbolism as a means of expression.

6.2. Choosing Historical Windows to Analyse Ideophonic Use

The main analysis of the corpus will be organised according to different 'time windows', each chosen by virtue of the specific linguistic, historical and cultural vicissitudes that define their boundaries. This approach is considered particularly fruitful since the *Topolino* ('Mickey Mouse') magazine, which features the majority of these stories, is a rare example of a publication that has been published almost without interruption throughout its eighty-four years of existence. This peculiarity makes it a very revealing medium, as it allows scholars to gain access to historical data on the diachronic evolution of the language featured in its pages. As Verda (1990, p. 58) comments, *Topolino* is an important 'graphical and linguistic vehicle that faithfully follows the course of time' (translation mine) and perfectly embodies the interchange

of terminology typical of those mass media that were propagated in the decades around the two wars. Media that served as tools readily available to experiment with language in ways that other more established means of communication (newspapers and radio above all) might not have allowed at the time.

The time frames chosen to organise the current analysis and the rationale for their selection are defined below, and will be used as points of reference throughout the chapter. The information that led to the creation of these time frames has been gathered throughout the corpus analysis and thanks to the use of framework offered by several scholars in the field (Boschi et al., 1990; Verda, 1990; Stajano, 1999; Gallo & Bonomi, 2006; Becattini et al., 2012):

6.2.1. Pre- and during war (1932 to 1941): Pre-war years were characterised by a general insecurity and variability in the use of ideophones, in particular. Forms are often, and understandably, unstable, as cartoonists and translators were still coming to terms with the blending of images and text in a newly-discovered medium. The modalities of assimilation of English forms into Italian and creating original Italian sound symbolic expressions were still being investigated and experimented with. This resulted in a multi-faceted production of ideophonic forms that mirrored both the enthusiasm resulting from the freedom of creating new Italian forms and the struggle to adapt the English ones for the Italian audience.

6.2.2. Fascist censorship (1942): The ban of the use of original Disney stories resulted in the creation of an anthropomorphic 'Italianised' character, called *Tuffolino*, chosen to replace Mickey Mouse. The new stories, the ideophonic production of which will be further analysed later in this chapter, were written in the style of Italian comics from the early 1930s. There were no speech balloons and rhyming couplets appeared immediately below each cartoon (cf. figure 18).

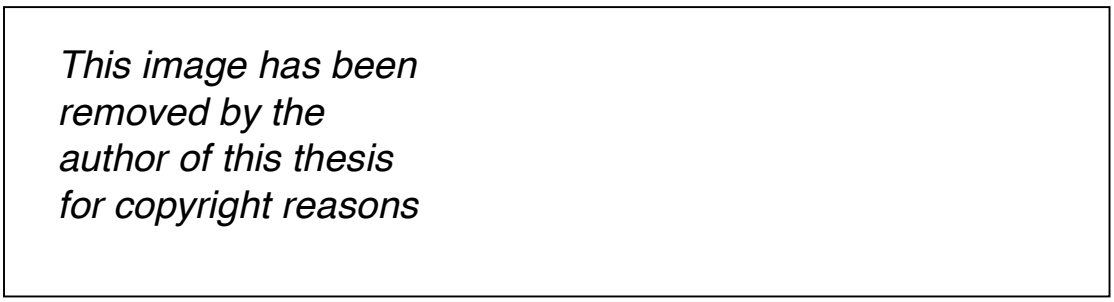


Figure 18. Strip from a Tuffolino story published in February 1942 (*Topolino giornale, issue 479*, Feb. 1942).

This approach meant that there was only sporadic use of ideophones and interjections. Nonetheless there are a few instances in which sound symbolic forms have been used and these offer interesting cases for study. They can be seen as attempts to preserve 'energetic' forms in an expressive medium that was momentarily constrained both by censorship and by a generally hostile environment in the publishing industry—environment that 'forced the Italian publishers to suddenly stop printing any stories written in America' (Stajano, 1999, p. 2-3; translation mine) and come up with original Italian ones.

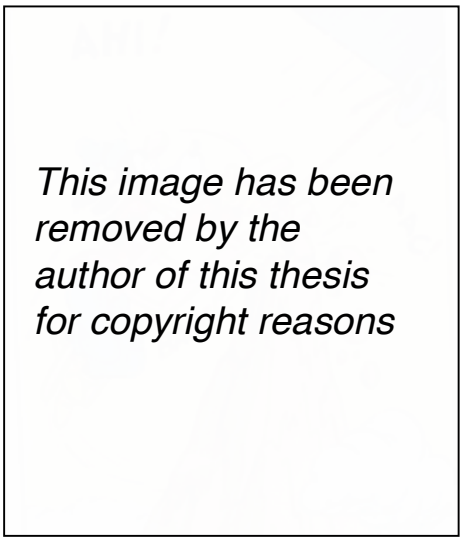


Figure 19. Example of Italian and English forms cohabiting in an original Italian strip published in October 1948 (*Topolino giornale, issue 713*, Oct. 1948).

6.2.3. Post-war and the 1950s (1945 to 1959): The post-war years were characterised by a clear willingness to revamp the genre in order to tailor it for a European (and Italian) context (Becattini et al., 2012, p. 49). The establishment of an Italian school of Disney scriptwriters and cartoonists, whose first story was published in 1948 with the title *Topolino e il cobra bianco* ('Donald Duck and the White Cobra') (cf. figure 19), provided Italian creators with more freedom to experiment with the genre. This resulted in the use of an eclectic and neologism-filled style through the employment of 'effective, exclusive and peculiar language' (Verda, 1990, p. 58; translation mine). As a consequence, ideophonic creations from the 1940s and 1950s were possibly the

most inventive and innovative of the whole corpus. Nonetheless, the English influence was still evident in certain forms and gradually increases throughout these years.

6.2.4. Pop Art Influence (1960 to 1987): The influence of the Pop Art movement was clearly visible in the graphical features of ideophones post 1960s (Gasca & Gubern, 2004, p. 388; Verda, 1990, p. 58). The ideophones of these years demonstrated increasing creativity in the use of graphic features to imitate the characteristic of the sense they are depicting. This is a time when, for instance, louder sounds started being represented by bigger fonts and brighter colours (cf. figure 20). Being subjected to a strenuous revamping and re-modernisation, ideophones were finally provided with more physical power within the comic panel, a fact that forced the reader to acknowledge their presence and relevance. Ideophones in Disney stories were again confirming their 'double personality' (Verda, 1990, p. 57; translation mine): if, on the one hand, Italian-inspired ideophones were constantly featured, on the other hand the influence of English became evident through the crystallisation of various English forms. This was also illustrated by, for example, a famous 1980 movie by Maurizio Nichetti, called *Ho fatto splash* ('I made a splash'), a title that officially validated the use of English ideophones in the language of Italian mass media (Verda, 1990, p. 57).

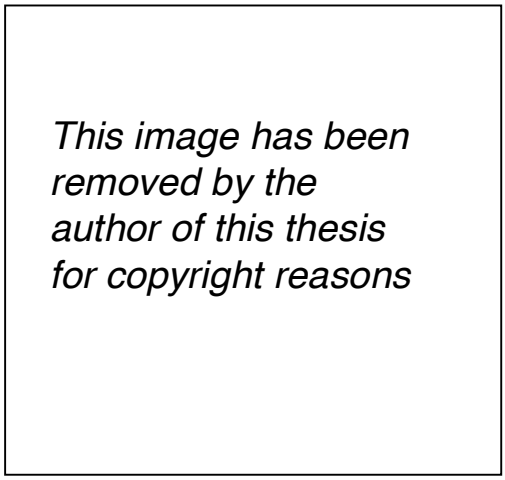


Figure 20. Example of ideophones occupying most of the cartoon in the original Italian story 'Topolino e l'uomo di Alcatraz', published in March 1963 (*Topolino libretto, issue 380*, Mar. 1963).

6.2.5. Anglophonic Supremacy (1988 to 2003): Confirming the increasing influence of English, stories published during the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 2000s show an unprecedented use of English forms. This is corroborated primarily by the ever-increasing use of English lexicalised forms to represent feelings (*sigh*, *sniff*, *gasp*, etc.), forms that have crystallised in and outside balloons since the end of the 1980s. The advances achieved through the use of digital tools to create comics have had a

clear impact on the creation of ideophonic forms, which are now filling the panel and, at the same time, these technical advances have turned the creation of ideophones into an almost-automatic standardised process. This was the era of 'techno-neologisms' (Stajano, 1999, p. 15; translation mine), new series and new layouts often 'inspired by superhero comics, perhaps with echoes to the Japanese manga' (Stajano, 1999, p. 15; translation mine) (cf. figure 21).

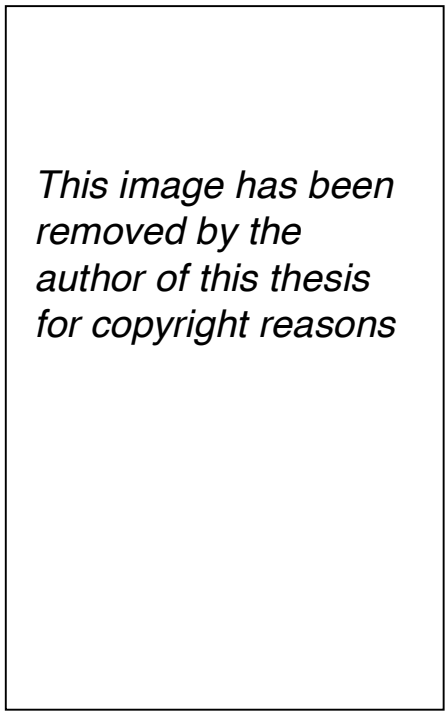


Figure 21. Ideophone-filled page from the February-1989 story entitled 'Paperinik e la città sporcacciona' (*Topolino libretto, issue 1742*, Feb. 1989).

6.2.6. Recent Tendencies (2005 to 2013): The stylistic and linguistic nuances of the last decade are very similar to the ones seen in the previous time frame. Nevertheless, it was worth offering a more recent time window in order to describe the tendencies of the last few years and to highlight any minor changes that may have occurred and that are occurring at the moment of writing this inquiry.

6.3. Number of Sound Symbolic Forms per Story and Diachronic Change

Even a cursory examination of the stories gathered together for this research revealed the striking way in which the cartoons became more and more densely filled with text and images through the decades. Indeed, when looking at the number of forms per story ratio as detected in the corpus, there has been an increase in the average number of ideophones (cf. chart 1 below)—from 10 ideophones per story in the 1932-42 timeframe to an average of 23.25 forms in the last ten years (2005-13). As expected, the average number of interjections has rather slowly decreased.

While the first decades feature stories where ideophones are timidly trying to find their place in the cartoon, later ones manifest a slow and steady attempt of these forms to find their place in the comic's landscape to the detriment of interjections, the use of which steadily declines through the decades. They do this successfully, becoming one of the most recognisable and characteristic features of comics.

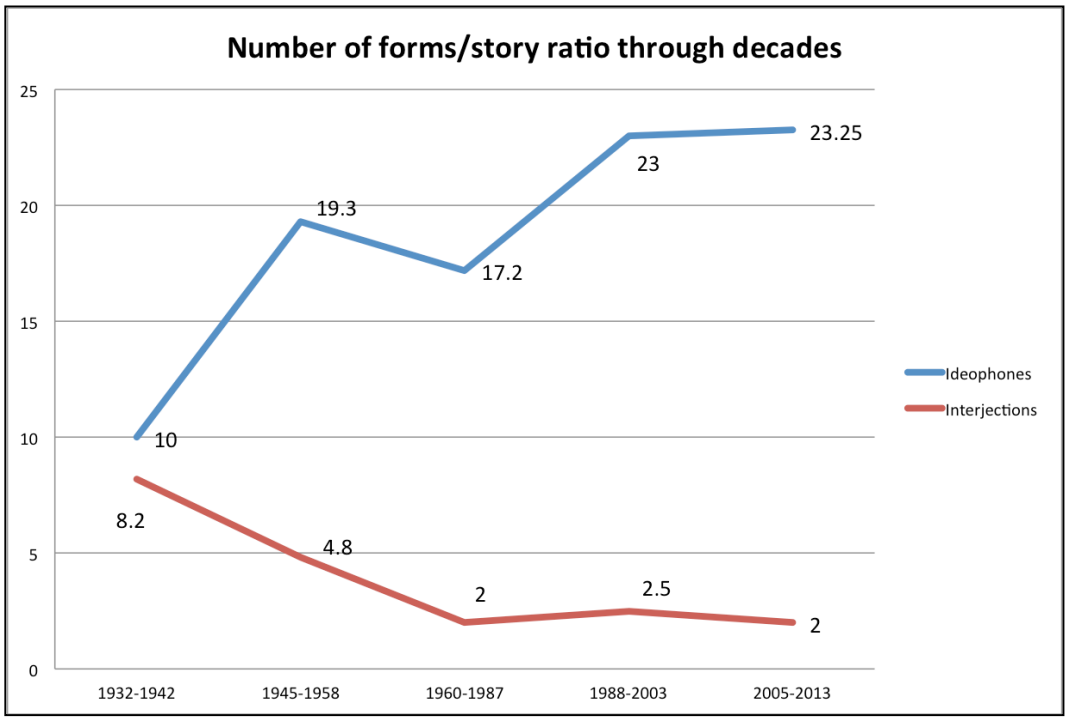


Chart 1. Chart with the average number of forms per story.

6.4. Creating Sound Symbolic Forms and Etymological Matters

From a lexical point of view, the sound symbolic forms collected together in the corpus of this research project belong to one of three categories: (1) non-lexicalised ideophones, (2) familiar ideophones and (3) lexicalised ideophones and interjections.

(1) Non-lexicalised ideophones are forms that are not used in Italian oral language, or etymologically explainable or present in dictionaries. This category seems the most linguistically-fascinating one, as these ideophones attempt to delve into the symbolic features of language and its phonemes/graphemes to evoke the most diverse senses, but to do so without using familiar words. Such forms include, for example, 'vowelless paraverbals' (Anderson, 1998, p. 110) that are not found in dictionaries and are used for a great variety of sensorial experiences. These are commonly found throughout

the decades. Cf. the following table (2) with some examples taken from each timeframe:

Table 2. Use of vowelless paraverbals through the decades.

Time frame	**Vowelless paraverbals**
1932-1942	*rrr* (1933): train running; *grr-r ff-ff* (1934): animal roaring; *zrpp* (1935): character sleeping; *s sss s* (1939): noise made by seat lowering; *crrr* (1941): character sleeping;
1945-1959	*fzzz* (1948): flying object; *zzsscc* (1948): snake hissing; *sptt* (1950): electrical wires; *crpff* (1950): character in pain; *swsssccc* (1956): object flying; *grgh* (1956): angry character
1960-1987	*swww* (1962): wheel spinning; *sccc* (1965): human sipping liquid; *crrr* (1972): object breaking; *ghf ghf* (1980): character in fear; *sffrrzzz* (1980): laser device; *fsss* (1981): spraying liquid; *zw-wb* (1984): character slipping; *kshhh* (1985): shower water flowing; *bll blll* (1985): toy floating on water;
1988-2003	*vvv* (1991): smoke; *crrrrkpk* (1992): door opening; *sww* (1994): moving arm;
2005-2013	*sssh* (2006): snake hissing; *wrrr* (2009): plane; wrrr (2010): digger; bzzw (2012): car moving

(2) Familiar ideophones, instead, are holophrastic forms often used orally and/or in informal speech that are widely known and understood but cannot be found in dictionaries ('De Mauro Dictionary of Language in Use', 2000, in this case). Their position within oral culture and their uncertain grammatical status due to the lack of any dictionary definition makes it difficult to categorise these forms. Some of these ideophones might possess etymological links to existing words. Examples seen in the corpus include: *(s)gnaf*, often used to describe people stealing things, found once in a

story from 1949; *gn(a/e)k*, used to describe the turning of a handle or an obstruction (1998); *sdeng* for the sound of a hit (1956, 1998); and forms which include the pata- affix such as patapunf*(ete)*, *patapum, patapun* or *patapam.* 'Familiar ideophones' are often used in child-like speech to depict a character falling or hitting an object, and are found in the corpus in stories from 1933, 1939, 1940 and 2012; (*s-)ciaff* (slap or punch; 1940); *pereppepé* (sound of a trumpet; 1982); *ploff/pluff* (entity falling into liquid-y substance; 1948) and *poti poti* (squeezing somebody's backside; 1984). The uncertain grammatical status of these familiar holophrastic forms, together with the fact that they are used in isolation as single-word sentences, might have prevented them from being officially adopted as part of the Italian language and from being included in dictionaries. Finally, (3) lexicalised ideophones and interjections can be found, which are forms that were already crystallised in the language before the arrival of comics and that are present in dictionaries. This category includes, for example, words that were originally borrowed from other languages and which were eventually listed in dictionaries, where they were categorised as *interiezioni* ('interjections') or *voce onomatopeica* ('onomatopoeic expressions'). Examples would include *sigh, gulp, gasp, voilà, pfft* etc., or other Italian words considered onomatopoeic, such as the sounds used to depict animal cries (*bau bau*, *miao, muu* etc.) and other expressions, such as *ciaf,* used to describe the sound of a slap and found 11 times throughout the corpus, and widespread Italian interjections. The following table (3) presents some of the most frequently used ideophones of Italian origin that belong to this category:

Table 3. List of Italian lexicalised ideophones.

Form	**Event described**	**First use recorded in dictionary (De Mauro, 2000)**	**First use in corpus**
cra	frog	1325	1949 (ID: 896)
bee	sheep bleating	14th century	1997 (ID: 3571)
cri	cricket	1400	1950 (ID: 1005)
bau	dog barking	1552	1934 (ID: 59)

miao	cat meowing	1565	1934 (ID: 64)
ciac	sound of waves	1665	1938 (ID: 360)
din	buzzer, bells	1778	1945 (ID: 739)
glu glu	drinking	1806	1935 (ID: 103)
pum	shooting	1876	1938 (ID: 361)
zac	cutting	1910	1936 (ID: 225)
drin drin	buzzer	1918	1939 (ID: 584)
ciaf	slap	1939	1936 (ID: 278)
ciuf	train	1970	1949 (ID: 877)
toc	door knocking	20th century	1935 (ID: 87)
gnam	eating	20th century	1940 (ID: 637)

In terms of word-creation three main linguistic stratagems can be detected in the new words found within the corpus: (1) borrowings from other languages, (2) blendings, and (3) clippings. Borrowings are words taken from the lexicon of a particular language, especially English, though German- and French-derived forms can also be found (see 'voilà' or 'pfui'); these forms can either fully resemble lexicalised words or can appear with slight morphophonological modifications. Some English examples include forms that have eventually been added to Italian dictionaries, often as interjections or onomatopoeic expressions. Examples are *gulp* (added to dictionaries in 1930, according to De Mauro, 2000), *boom* (added in 1931), *bang* (1941), *splash* (1950), *crash* (1956), *sniff* (1979) and *slam* (1999), which are generally classified as onomatopoeic words or, occasionally, as interjections.

Ideophones in English stories translated into Italian as covered by the corpus (1932-1992) are, for obvious reasons, more likely to be English-derived, with a considerable variability in their use through time. Evidence from the corpus shows

that translators working between 1930 and 1970 tried to localise these forms for an Italian audience. Later comics, on the other hand, are much more likely to retain the original English forms. There is an exponential use of Anglophonic forms after the 1950s, leading to a total lack of localisation in most panels published after the mid-1970s. The only exception is ideophones inside balloons, which are sometimes still localised, possibly due to the ease with which the contents of the balloons can be changed.

Blendings, instead, are two existing words (either lexicalised or non-lexicalised and sometimes coming from two different languages) joined together, usually as a portmanteau. Examples include *dring*, often used to refer to a phone ringing, which is a portmanteau of the Italian onomatopoeic word *drin* and the English lexicalised term *ring*. Despite being the least used linguistic ploy (1% of the total number of ideophonic forms, with only 39 forms present out of 3887), portmanteau terms allow resourceful cartoonists to create expressions that creatively exploit linguistic features, and are usually employed to describe events that include two different sensory stages. Notable examples include:

- *Dr-r-ring* (Nov. 39 - ID: 559): this is the first portmanteau word detected in the corpus, and a very common one, created through the blending the Italian (*drin-*) and English (*-ring*), both expressions that conventionally designate a landline ringing (also noted by Dovetto, 2012, p. 205);

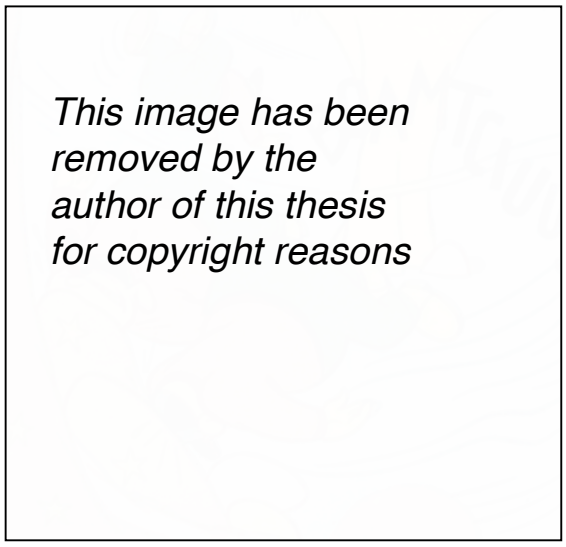


Figure 22. Example of portmanteau found in a cartoon from October 1953 (*Albi d'oro, issue 42*, Oct. 1953).

- *Boamtciuù* (Oct. 53 - ID: 1249): used to describe a character falling (*boam-*) and sneezing *(-tciuù*) at the same time (cf. figure 22);

- *Svlam* (Jan. 60 - ID: 1600): the scene shows the slamming of a door; the *sv-* depicts the motion while the *-(s)lam* evokes the noise following the slamming;

- *Grulp* (Apr. 70 - ID: 2071): this ideophone is used to describe simultaneous feelings of anger and surprise through the

mixing of two 'emotional' ideophones—*grr* and *(g)ulp*;

- *Aughasp* (Jan. 75 - ID: 2318): performs the same function as the ideophone above with the blending of *augh* and (*g)asp;*

- *Ronfiii* (May. 82 - ID: 2838): mix of *ronf* (used to depict characters snoring in Italian) and *fiiii* (used for whistling sounds in Italian), which perfectly depicts the two stages involved in a snoring act.

- *Sfrash* (Apr. 97 - ID: 3598): used to refer to the sound of a window glass breaking and is the union of the Italian (*s)fra(cassare)* (to smash up) and *(cr)ash*.

- *Roagrrr* (Apr. 97 - ID: 3653): animal call, used to describe the cry of a bear through the blending of *roar* and *grr*.

- *Briip* (Aug. 05 - ID: 3929): this is one of the new ideophones linked to modernity and technological advances. It is commonly used to describe the sound (-iip) and vibration (brr-) of a cellphone, as distinct from the sound made by a landline, which is generally evoked through the use of *drin* or *ring* or their portmanteau *dr(r)ing*.

- *Wrooar* (Mar. 10 - ID: 4306): the scene shows a rocket taking off. The affixation of a *w-* is used to represent the movement of the rocket, while the *roar* describes the roaring noise of the engine.

Finally, clippings (McGregor, 2011, p. 90) can be found, which are shortened or modified versions of existing words, what Mioni (1990, p. 266) calls 'new formations with zero suffix' (translation mine). Examples include *zomp zomp*, used to refer to a character jumping around and derived from the Italian verb 'zompare' (to jump), *spac spac* (from 'spaccare', to break) and *ronf ronf* (from 'ronfare', to snore). Marchand (1969, p. 448) tries to explain the pleasure of creating clippings, stating that this an experience similar to the 'technical enjoyment felt with new instruments and machines.' Marchand continues that it is not the same 'aesthetic pleasure which lies at the root of rhyme or ablaut reduplications' (eg. *tic toc*, *click clock*, etc.), as those are more based on alternation and sound polarity. In the case of clippings, the pleasure lies in the excitement of creating a new shortened word from an existing one in specific linguistic and cultural settings. The existence of clippings within Italian comic books provides evidence of the considerable influence of English morphological patterns within the Italian language of comics. To the point that existing Italian words

get modified and acquire new semantic and iconic value in view of the page of the comic's need for sensorial expressivity.

6.5. Location of Sound Symbolic Forms

Throughout four out of five time windows ideophones were usually placed outside speech balloons while interjections were placed within them. However, in the last time window (2005-2013) stories, due to visual and linguistic experimentation (but possibly also to changings in accepted conventions), forms are sometimes placed elsewhere in the panel. When it comes to positioning sound-symbolic forms within the cartoon, the majority (66%; 2545 forms out of 3887) of ideophones and ideophonic series are indeed placed outside the balloon, joining the so-called 'paraballoonic features' (Forceville et al., 2010, p. 65). As expected, the majority of interjections (94%—742 forms out of 794) are placed inside balloons. This is easily explainable as interjections are perceived as uttered expressions, and therefore are instinctively placed within the balloon's borders. Ideophones, since they represent senses and abstract images that are often linked to the main image, are more often and preferably placed around it rather than isolated within the balloon. One of the few exceptions to this, and that is why the percentage of ideophones inside balloons is slightly higher, is for those English ideophones used in Italian to express feelings (i.e. 'sigh', 'gasp', 'sob', etc.), which are often placed inside the balloon. This is due to the fact that those English-derived ideophones are used to express emotions, thus are conventionally placed directly inside the balloon nearer the speakers' mouths. In the corpus analysed during this research, 900 out of 947 ideophones expressing emotions are indeed to be found inside balloons. It follows that, since these English ideophones depicting emotions started being used in the later decades, there has been an increasing tendency to position ideophones inside balloons through these decades. Evidence of this, as shown in table 5 and chart 2 below, is that the number of ideophones inside balloons has, in the last ten years, overtaken the number of ideophones outside them.

'Emotion' and 'taste' are the only two senses whose forms are more likely to be placed inside balloons rather than outside them. This is understandable as they both express internal feelings rather than events (see 'motion', 'smell' and 'heat') or noises. The following table (4) summarises the position of ideophones according to the sense that they are trying to represent:

Table 4. Data regarding position of forms according to the sense they are depicting. Classification in first column is based on Akita (2009, p. 11) as mentioned in Chapter 1 page 25.

Classification	Sense	Total	Outside balloon	Inside balloon
Phonomimes	Sound	2352	**2020**	332
Psychomimes	Emotion	947	47	**900**
Phenomimes	Motion	510	**501**	9
	Smell	42	**28**	14
	Taste	54	23	**31**
	Heat	13	**13**	0
n/a	Other	85	**52**	33

Table 5. Position of ideophones and interjections through the decades. Cf. chart 2 for visual representation.

Time frame	Form	Outside balloon	Inside balloon
1932-1942	**Ideophones / Ideophonic Series**	**265**	109
	Interjections	10	**301**
1945-1959	**Ideophones / Ideophonic Series**	**525**	138
	Interjections	24	**144**
1960-1987	**Ideophones / Ideophonic Series**	**969**	409
	Interjections	8	**156**
1988-2003	**Ideophones / Ideophonic Series**	**467**	232

	Interjections	8	**67**
2005-2013	**Ideophones / Ideophonic Series**	309	**435**
	Interjections	0	**65**

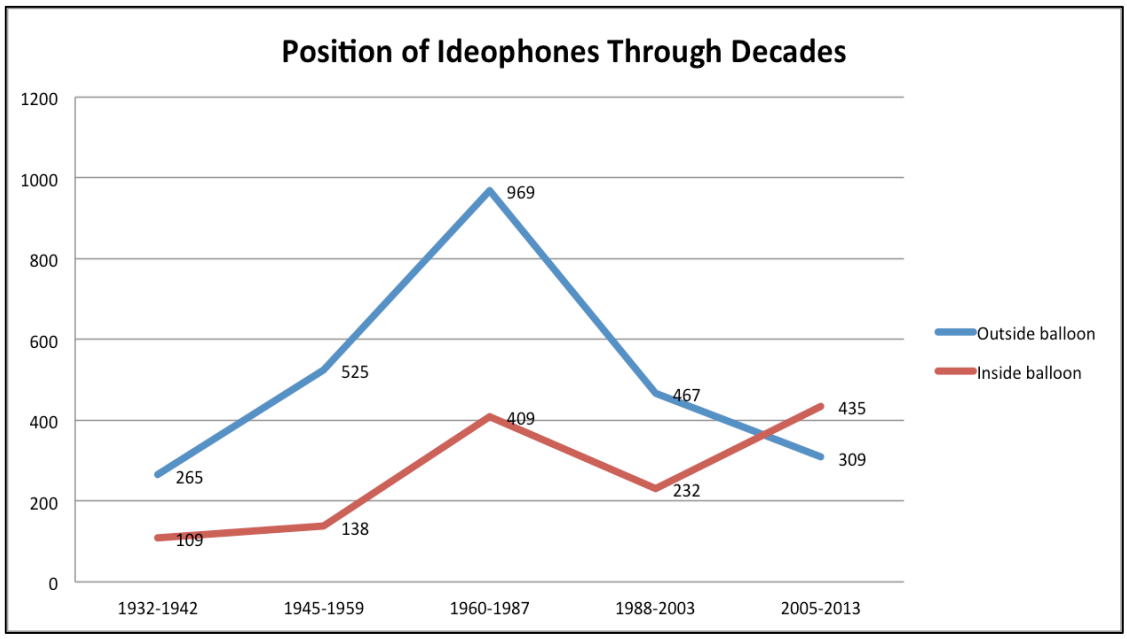


Chart 2. Position of ideophones through decades.

6.6. Observed Linguistic Features

The following sections aim to catalogue a few of the most noticeable linguistic phenomena—mainly dealing with syntax and semantics—that emerged during the close analysis of the corpus. Ideophonic forms, in particular, share the features of phenomena that are not useful or particularly fruitful in normal language, a property defined by Anderson as the 'grammatical diseconomy of iconic language' (1998, p. 108). These structures should not be seen as an evidence of the primitiveness of ideophones but rather as a vector of 'sophisticated linguistic playfulness in a concentrated form' (Ibid.). They deviate from the conventions of normal speech and do so to reach the audience in more memorable and expressive ways. They tend to be 'expressive or affective markers' (Anderson, 1998, p. 116) of iconism. Of particular interest, in this case, are the so-called 'affective markers of iconism' (Anderson, 1998,

p. 108), specific phenomena that are particularly fruitful in sound symbolic forms. This is to engage with studies (Kunene, 2001; Newman, 2001; Dingemanse, 2012; Smoll, 2012) claiming that the ideophone tends to employ the most uncommon phonological and syntactical structures of languages, and is thus notorious for being a 'linguistic rebel' (Kunene, 2001, p. 183).

6.6.1. Internal Variability

Occasionally the basic form of an ideophone, which may be a commonly used and thus well-known form, undergoes phonic and graphical modifications that produce alternative secondary creations, defined by Akita as 'superexpressive forms' (2009, p. 23). The following are only some of the variables detected, listed according to their intended meaning (the first form shown is considered to be the basic one):

Astonishment and surprise: GULP/glub/ulp/glab/guap(p)/ulb;
Fear: URGH/(g)urgl(e)/urg(h)/urk/urp/urf/unk/argh/erk;
Disapproval: GRUNT/sgrunt/sgrulf/grumf/sgrutt/grunf.
Animal cry: ROAR/broar/proar/pror;
Noise caused by explosion: BANG/sbrang/sbreng/beng/sbarabang;
Noise caused by hitting object: BAM/sbram/sbam/sbem/sblem;

These secondary forms are semantically identical to but graphemically divergent from the original. This shows, once again, the great degree of linguistic flexibility offered by ideophones, a flexibility that is possibly unobtainable by any other class within a language (Kunene, 2001, p. 183).

6.6.2. Productive Neology

Another typical characteristic of ideophones is their tendency to welcome neologisms and non-lexicalised forms in a more open fashion than in conventional language. The phenomenon is more pronounced among ideophones than interjections. While the interjection is a more crystallised category of language that gains an official status in the language through time, the nature of the ideophone is deeply flexible and

unstable. Neology therefore plays a big part in the creation of ideophones, as it fulfills the need to depict the myriad of sensorial experiences that are shown in comics. From a linguistic point of view, ideophonic neologisms are deeply linked to the sensory values attached to certain phonemes and cluster of phonemes, a sub-area of sound symbolism called phonaestesia. The analysis of the corpus suggested that certain ideophones might indeed become interjections over time, and this will be analysed later in this thesis.

When speakers/writers feel that the language does not already provide a successful term to describe a specific situation, one of the available linguistic strategies is to coin new forms that cover the requested iconicity. In this respect, the device certainly promotes linguistic imagination by forcing both the creators of comics and their readers to experience the more unexplored edges of the language system. Moreover, it keeps languages alive and vibrant by forcing their users to reflect upon the language system itself and to subvert established linguistic conventions.

6.6.3. Polysemy

Linked to the flexibility already discussed, polysemy refers to those instances in which a single ideophone is used to describe different and/or opposite situations or it has more than one meaning in a single context. It is not rare to witness one single form being employed in two different contexts or, alternatively, to observe the same event, act or emotion being expressed with divergent ideophones, sometimes even in the same story or panel.

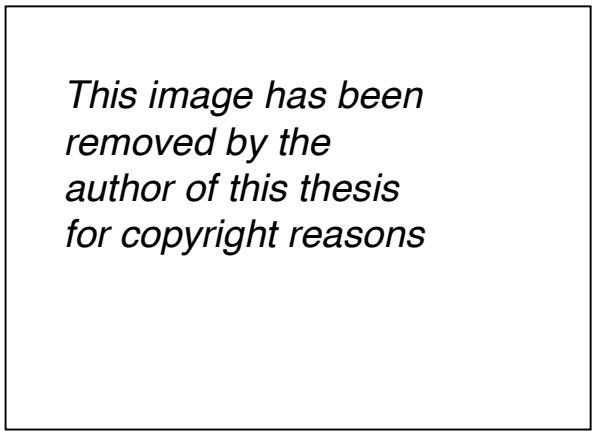


Figure 23. Example of English and Italian forms used in the same cartoon (*Topolino libretto, issue 2321*, May 2000).

Examples include the use of the Italian ideophone *ciuf ciuf* (equivalent to the English *choo choo*) not only for trains but also for rockets and the form *zzzzz*, widely used to describe a character sleeping, being employed for the sound of boiling potions. In the case of Italian comics, this polysemy is taken one step further, as both the Italian and English forms normally linked to a single

phenomenon are sometimes employed adjacently creating an interesting multilingual sensorial experience. For instance, in an original Italian story published in 1975 the pain felt by a character is expressed by inserting both the Italian and the English forms in two adjacent balloons, respectively *ahi* (this being an Italian interjection and not an ideophone) and *ouch*, which is an English interjection (cf. figure 23). Similarly, in another panel from May 2000 (ID: 3804) *arf*, *bau* and *growl* are inserted in the same comic to describe a dog barking (cf. figure 24). The Italian ideophone *cra cra*, which depicts the croaking of frogs (see the English *ribbet ribbet*), is also used to describe a flock of crows. Other examples include the appropriation of English-borrowed forms and the consequent departure from their original intended meaning. So the ideophone *sniff* may be used not only to refer to the action of sniffing but also to a character crying and *(g)ulp* may represent surprise and also fear. This shows once more the intrinsic polysemous nature of ideophones and the versatility of the device and its linguistic and semantic ambiguity. According to Akita the polysemy of ideophones has 'long been one of the unexplored fields of their study' as there have been 'few attempts to analyse its mechanism in detail' (2009, p. 57). It follows that even a small-scale examination of the use of this particular stylistic feature in comics could make a significant contribution to this particular research field.

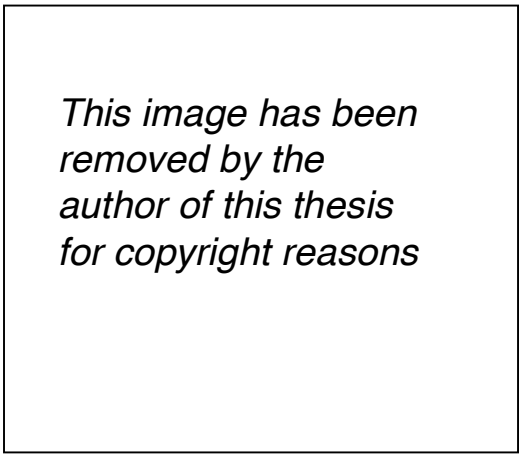


Figure 24. Example of Italian and English forms in the same strip (*Topolino libretto, issue 2321*, Jan. 1975).

6.6.4. Iterativity

This phenomenon refers to the tendency of ideophones to feature repetition, a characteristic shared by many iconic forms around the world (Anderson, 1998, p. 110). This characteristic of ideophones is considered one of their most productive features (Akita, 2009, p. 36). It enhances the mimetic and expressive power of these forms by representing 'temporally extended processes' (Wartenberg, 2012, p. 100) through lexical length and by conferring visual and iconic effectiveness. There are three different linguistic phenomena that use iterativity as a form of iconism (cf. chart 3 below for information regarding their percentage of occurrence):

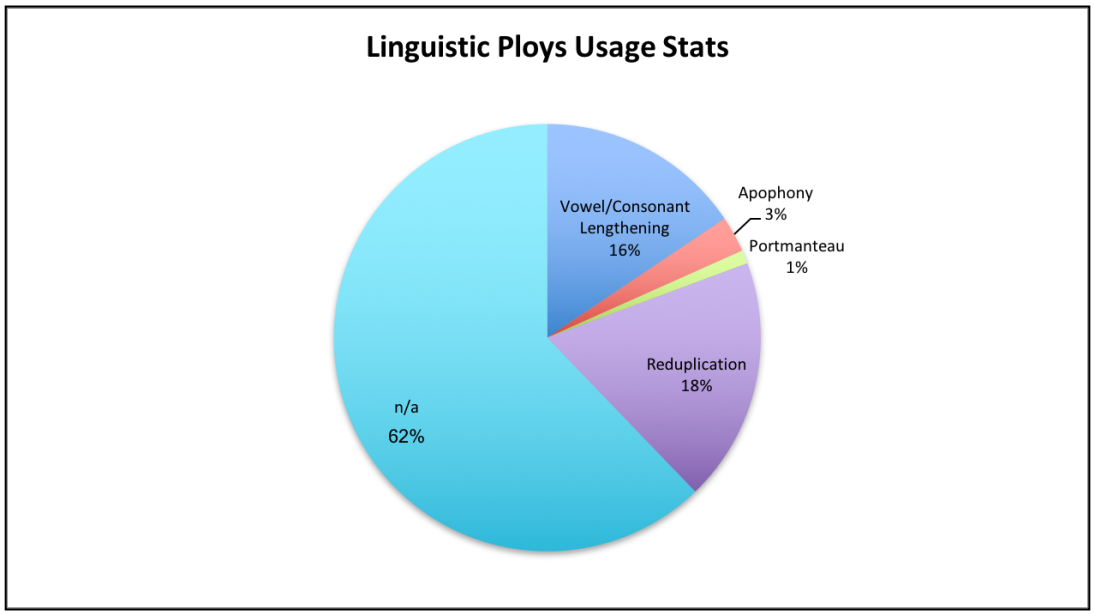


Chart 3. Linguistic ploys usage statistics. 'N/a' refers to those forms that did not involve any linguistic ploys.

- Vocalic and consonantal lengthening, also called phonological reduplication, is seen in forms such as *skreeeeek*, *bruuuuum*, and *gnammm*. This feature is, together with morphological reduplication, the most used in the corpus with 595 forms out of 3887 (16%);

- Morphological reduplication, which can be total (i.e. *sniff sniff*, *tut tut*, *crasc crasc*) or partial (i.e. *pepereppe*). This is a high marker of iconism (Anderson, 1998, p. 113) and it is in fact the most consistent ploy throughout the whole corpus, being featured in 705 forms out of 3887 (18%);

- Apophony (sometimes called 'ablaut'), which refers to vocalic or consonantal alternation (i.e. *pim pum pam*, *dlin dlon, tonk bonk*), has been considered as being of

particular benefit by Italian users, as it tends to stage a polar opposition that has been employed in some idiomatic expressions that are particular effective in oral language (i.e. *di riffe e di raffe*, *senza dire né ahi né bai*, *senza arte né parte*, *tric e trac*, *così o cosà, tra ninnere e nannere*) (Beccaria, 2010, p. 97-8). It is indeed 'widespread in Indo-European languages and it often involves the /i/-/a/ opposition' (Marchand, 1969, p. 429) (*pim pam, bim bam*, etc.) as the higher vowel tends to precede the lower one. The symbolism behind apophony is mainly due to the polarity that in this case assumes 'various semantic aspects' (Marchand, 1969, p. 429). Again, the main aim is to give a sense of playfulness through unconventional polar structures that are not necessarily semantically justifiable. The first lexeme in these forms is usually the one carrying an iconic function, the second one is there mainly to bring playfulness. This ploy is not particularly widespread in the corpus, with 104 forms out of 3887 (only 3% of the total).

6.6.5. Phonotactic Deviation

Ideophones commonly 'exhibit special features and […] idiosyncrasies in terms of their syllable structure' (Smoll, 2012, p. 5), tending to violate specific phonotactic constraints. In an attempt to convey expressivity through linguistic means, ideophones often contain adjunction and combination of phonemes and graphemes that would not usually be allowed according to canonical language rules but that become a vehicle of playfulness when transposed to the ideophonic world. A straightforward example of this practice involves the creation of the so-called 'vowelless paraverbals' (Anderson, 1998, p. 110) as discussed earlier on (page 103). The vowelless structure is not contemplated in Italian as it goes against many language rules. Vowelless paraverbals are also sometimes used for ideophones expressing mechanical sounds or strong emotions. The latter include the well-known *grrr* (anger), *tsk tsk* (disapproval) and *brrrr* (feeling cold) and the one-off example *ghf ghf* (fear). Omitting vowels is in these cases a fruitful stratagem, since forms without vowels are less sonorous, and are able to convey a harsh, rigid iconicity as a result.

Another common deviation involves combinations of phonemes that break Italian phonotactic rules in syllabic on-sets. The cases detected in the corpus are:

/t/, /d/, /v/ + lateral /l/—in forms such as:

- *tlac, tloc, tlin, tlip, tlop, stlok, tloing;*
- *dlen(g), dlin(g), dlon(g)*—often used for the sound of church and door bells;
- *vlac, svlam, svlac, svlek, vloosh, vlamf, vlap*;

/p/ and /s/ + postalveolar affricate /t͡ʃ/: in forms such as *pciù* (/pt͡ʃu/), used to represent two characters kissing, or *sciaff* (/st͡ʃaf/), *sciac(k)* (/st͡ʃak/) and *sciapp* (/st͡ʃap/) used for punches. These forms are sometimes used in spoken Italian and they not only break a phonotactic rule but also a graphemic one as the cluster 'sci', which would usually be executed with a voiceless sibilant /ʃi/, in this case has to be read as /st͡ʃ/;

/z/ + velar nasal /ɲ/: sgnap (/zɲap/) and sgnac (/zɲak/; although this one comes from the verb 'sgnaccare', which is actually lexicalised (present in De Mauro dictionary, 2000), thus being the only word in Italian starting with this combination of sounds. These forms are often used to depict characters biting and chewing;

/v/ + /r/: see *vrrr, vr(o)om(p), vruum* and *vritch vritch* (found only once in the corpus and employed to describe the action of tying a knot) most of them used to depict the noise of cars and other means of transport;

/p/ + /f/: see forms such as *pfui, pfing, pfuff, grumpf, pfiu, umpf, pfsh, crpff.*

6.6.6. Monosyllabicity

The use of monosyllabic forms is a common characteristic of iconic words (Anderson, 1998, p. 116). Despite not being a prominent feature—indeed not all monosyllabic words are ideophonic and not all ideophones are monosyllabic—monosyllabicity is still considered a marker for iconism, even if a latent one (Anderson, 1998, p. 116). Its

presence does not necessarily make the word ideophonic—or, at least, is not as evocative as when phonotactic deviation or phonological/morphological reduplication are used. When the ideophone does contain a vowel it tends to be included in a (C)CVC(C)[11] structure, which is indeed the most common syllable structure in both original (36.5%—1023 forms out of 2799) and translated (36%—330 forms out of 916) stories in the corpus. Examples include *whir*, *crash*, *smack*, *sciac*, *crach* from a 1933 translated story and *sbem*, *swiss*, *gnaf* and *svisc* from one of the first Italian original stories published in October 1948 with the title *Topolino e il cobra bianco* ('Mickey Mouse and the White Cobra'). The results in this case do not change cross-linguistically. The most common phonotactic structure among Italian- and English-derived ideophones (and also interjections) if considered separately is indeed CVC(C) for both (CVC for Italian and CVCC for English)—so still a monosyllabic word.

Brevity does indeed go hand in hand with expressivity as it perfectly meets the need for ideophones to be readily iconic. This is true particularly for onomatopoeias, as the inherent nature of sonic events is perceived as being quick and fleeting, a feature that thus pairs well with short monosyllabic forms.

6.6.7. Semantic Shift

Borrowing words directly from the lexicon of other languages has inevitably triggered some changes in these same forms over time and a certain degree of ambiguity in the interpretation of the meaning conveyed by certain lexemes, to the point that some of them have completely lost their original intended meaning. This shift can happen both with English and Italian words, although it does tend to happen for Anglophonic importations more often. The most-cited examples are probably the ideophones *mumble* and *smack.* The original meaning of 'to mumble', to 'say quietly in an unclear way that makes it difficult for people to know what you said' (definition from 'Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary', 2016) has been extended through the last 80 years of its use in Italian Disney comics (Eco, 2008). Indeed, the 'De Mauro dictionary of Italian language in use' (2000) indicated 1964 as the year of its first appearance in

[11] In this case 'C' refers to a 'consonant' while 'V' refers to a 'vowel', showing a typical monosyllabic structure with a vowel in the syllabic nucleus and consonants in both syllabic onset and coda.

written sources and listed it as an interjection with the following entry: 'English expression specific of comics language used to depict the act of reflecting, overthinking and it is sometimes accompanied by a whispered gabble'. 'Mumble' can now be found in panels that describe a character whispering, feeling angry and confused or, more frequently, lost in thought, full of doubts or sometimes even sick (cf. figure 25), thus plainly extending the initial English meaning. 'Mumble' appears in the corpus 20 times, for the first time in a translated story from October 1951 and constantly reappears throughout the decades (1953, 1960, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1972, 1979, 1994, 1997, 1998, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009) with its newly-acquired meaning. The lexeme 'smack' (first attested use in 1964 as recorded in 'De Mauro', 2000), for example, is used to refer to a kiss and only rarely to the action of kicking (only one occurrence in the corpus). It should be noted that to refer to kissing other Italian forms are often employed, such as *(p)cium, p(t)ciù, sptciuah* or the Italianised *smec* and *smuack* (the diachronic use of ideophones for the act of kissing will be analysed later in this chapter). Other significant examples include (number of occurrences in brackets): the use of 'slap' (54) and 'slash' (1) to describe a dog licking, 'zowie' (1) to indicate a character running, 'pat pat' (8) to describe an on-going fight (so not just a mere patting of shoulders), 'clap' (14) used for a character using his hands to hold onto a house's roof, so no clapping involved and the ideophone seems to simply be used to refer to the fact that the action involves the use of the character's hands and 'flush' (1) used to depict the emerging of a boat from the sea, rather than submerging as one would expect.

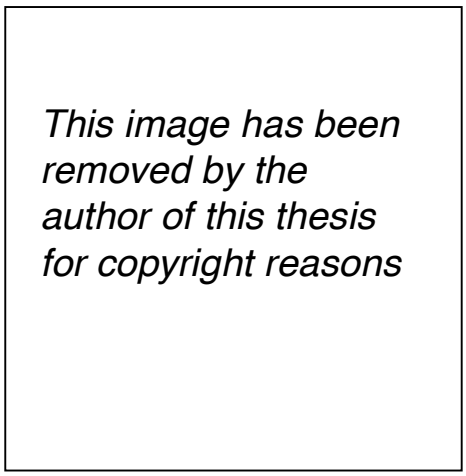


Figure 25. Example of 'mumble' used for a character who looks worried and deep in thought (*Topolino libretto, issue 610*, Aug. 1967).

6.7. Observed Phonomorphological Phenomena

The following section aims to summarise the changes influencing the phonetic and morphological manifestation of ideophones. The most prominent occurrence is the acquisition and consequent gradual phonomorphological and graphical alteration of both Italian-derived and English-borrowed forms. These modifications can sometimes be arbitrary and isolated, thus only happening once. Nevertheless, a few patterns in these alterations have been identified and these have been indicated in the following sections.

6.7.1. Acquisition and Modification of English Forms

The use of words borrowed from English has created an 'international phonosymbolism', as defined by Beccaria (2010, p. 94-5; translation mine), an Anglo-Saxon version of sound symbolic forms that has invaded Neo-Latin languages and their comics. These lexemes have become conventional signs that readers have learnt to interpret, mainly through visual and graphic agreements—genuine, tacit pacts between cartoonists and their audience. In Disney comics published in Italy, in particular, unmodified English words are often successfully used. Examples include the short monomorphemic forms referring to emotions that have been invading the speech balloons in Italian comics from the outset, such as 'gasp', 'pant', 'sniff', 'sigh', 'grunt' and 'snort'. There are 1696 English-derived ideophones in the corpus (45% of the total words present in the corpus) and 1533 of these (90%) are lexicalised English words, which are constantly reappearing throughout the decades. These lexicalised forms are not only included, as expected, in translated stories. 1107 of them (72%) are in fact featured in original Italian stories created form scratch by Italian cartoonists without the influence of an English source text. This data is clearly telling of the indisputable importance of English forms in the (sound symbolic) Italian language of comics. Throughout their decades of use these forms have often been subjected to irreversible morphophonological modifications that can be witnessed in both translated and original Italian stories.

Vocalic and consonantal substitution is particularly frequent when it comes to modifying English forms for the Italian context. The potential to make such modifications can be viewed as offering an opportunity for cartoonists to provide the audience with new and possibly more expressive creations. The process is clearly facilitated by a type of mass media that is, by nature, prone to accept novelties (Chapman, 1984, p. 139). In practical terms, when it comes to consonantal substitution, both consonants that are not officially part of the Italian alphabets (i.e. /k/, /w/) and typical English clusters (i.e. /th/, /ph/, /sh/) are usually the ones to be lost. The modification usually has the effect of adapting the appearance of the ideophone in order to make it look (and sound) more Italian and, consequently, facilitate its reading. See some of the examples in the following table (6):

Table 6. Cases of consonantal substitution.

English cluster	**English ideophone**	**Italian modification (number of occurrences in brackets)**
/ch/	chomp	ci(i)omp (9)
	crunch	crunc (13)
	ouch	ouc (1)
/sh/	crash	crasc(h) (22)
	splash	splasc(h) (16)
	shuffle	suufle (1)
/k/	clunk	clunc (2)
	screek	(s)cre(e)c (5)
	bonk	bonc (8)
	click	clic (27)
	quack	(s)quac(c) (3)
	crack	crac(h) (19)
/th/	thud	(s)tud (8)
	thump	tump (39)
/ph/	umph	umf (8)
/w/	gnaw	gnau (1)
	whiiir	viiiir (2)

A similar principle applies to the substitution of vowels, which are adapted according to the Italian phonetic orthography, as shown in table 7 below. This is not systematic although early stories feature these variants more often. For instance, the last occurrence of *buum* was recorded in the corpus in 1955 although *boom* is found in stories published in 1948, 1949 and 1950 (and later, of course).

Table 7. Cases of vocalic substitution.

English form	**Italian adaptation (number of occurrences in brackets)**
boom	buum (14)
zoom	zu(u)m (6)
poof	Puf (48)
woosh	Wuush (1)
roar	roor (1)
sweep	swip (1)

Another, though less frequent, phenomenon is the removal of some graphemes from English forms, such as *snif* instead of 'sniff', *puf puf* instead of 'puff puff', *tomp tomp* instead of 'stomp stomp', *ulp* instead of 'gulp', *uack* instead of 'quack' or *urgle* in lieu of 'gurgle'. Some of these deletions have no linguistic or sociolinguistic purpose, although the removal of the double consonant at the end of the word might be due to the fact that Italian words never allow two consecutive consonants in syllabic coda (with the exeption of some foreign borrowings, i.e. 'sport' and 'business') (Gili Fivela, 2010).

Another common linguistic ploy involves affixation, that is the process of adding a bound morpheme, ie a morpheme that needs to be attached to a word and cannot stand on its own (McCabe, 2011, p. 173), either to the beginning ('prefixation'), the end ('suffixation') or in the middle ('infixation') of an ideophone. All three types occur when importing both English and Italian lexemes into the pages of Disney comics, although when it comes to English forms the addition of a prefixed s- seems to be the most recurrent and fruitful stratagem. Examples include the following forms found in both translated and original Italian stories: *sgrunt*, *scrack*, *squack*, *squak*, *squeck*, *scrasc(h)*, *sbam*, *screek*, *spop, scraac/skrak/skrac*, *sclang*, *sgueck*

(s+queck), *sgrieek* (s+creak) (note the passage from voiceless /k/ to voiced /g/ through sandhi in the last two examples), *splank*, *sbang* (and its variations *sbeng, sbrang* and *sbreng*), *stud* (from 'thud'), *sgurgle*, *sbonk* and *sburp*. This 'impure s', as defined by linguists, is one of the most successful suffixes in Italian, with 1706 forms counted by De Mauro (2005, p. 148), which are included in the De Mauro Dictionary of Language in Use (2000). De Mauro describes it as an 'ambiguous device with Latin origin' (2005, p. 149; translation mine), as it can add either negative or positive connotations to the word it attaches to. When prefixed to Italian verbal forms it has an intensive and expressive value (Dardano & Trifone, 1995, p. 544)—as in forms such as *(s)balzare, (s)battere, (s)beffare, (s)correre, (s)lanciare, (s)premere*—but it becomes a pejorative suffix if added to adjectives or nouns, as in formations such as *(s)cortese, (s)leale, (s)contento* ('un-kind', 'dis-loyal', 'dis-pleased'). Ideophones seem to have adopted the verbal intensive function rather than the nominal one. The affixation of the impure s- is an interesting phenomenon considering that it is applied to a device (the ideophone) that most frequently tends to eschew linguistic categories rather than favouring them (Kunene, 2001, p. 183). It thus represents a highly expressive instance in which a grammatical category is prolifically applied to sound symbolic forms, as such momentarily attenuating the ideophone's intrinsic rebellious tendencies. The use of this particular phoneme is also due to its high flexibility in terms of the consonantal clusters to which it may be added. The prosthetic /s/ is indeed one of the few consonants that can 'most readily be prefixed to another consonant or combination of consonants' (Reid, 1967, p. 17), thus intensifying the expressive role of the consonants that it is joined to. In Italian ⟨s⟩ is indeed the only grapheme, which is rendered phonetically with one of two sibilants (/s/ or /z/), that can be added in front of other two consonants in order to create a CCC cluster (Castagna, 2005, p. 72).

Less frequent types of affixation of English lexemes usually involve suffixation, visible in forms such as *cloppi* or *cloppete* (from the English 'clop'), *banghete* ('bang'), clakkiti ('clack') and *clicchete* ('click'), in a clear attempt to Italianise these words by adding bound morphemes ending in vowels. Prefixation is also present, and can be seen in the following: *ktonk* (Jul. 65), *sbada-krankl* (Feb. 76), *scrata-crash* (Feb. 76), *badabang* (Mar. 76), *sbadabam* (May 82), *stra-gulp* (May 82)*, sbada-batank* (Sep. 84),

b-tump b-tump (Feb. 89)*, garagulp* (Jan. 94)*, skrataplash* (Nov. 98)*, tap taratap* (Feb. 99)*, badacrash* (Jul. 05)*, squaraquack* (Apr. 07), *sbaraquack* (Apr. 11)*, katakrash* (Apr. 11).

One last and interesting modification identified is the hyper-Anglicisation of English forms, which could possibly be seen as a form of hypercorrection. Creations such as *krash*, *crakk*, *klak, klang, (s)krash, koff, skreak, skreek, wroom* and *klunk* (instead of *crash, crack, clack, clang, crash, cough, screech, vroom, clunk*) started appearing in original Italian stories after the 1970s and reflect a period in which English very strongly influenced ideophones within Italian Disney comics. This tendency resulted in a situation where even English forms started being altered, but this time not to be Italianised but rather to be even more Anglicised through the addition of the grapheme /k/ in lieu of /c/. It is therefore probably no coincidence that translated stories after the mid-1970s started retaining most English ideophones, exemplifying a degree of an all-round English influence and iconic supremacy that has continued until the present day.

6.7.2. Acquisition and Modification of Italian Forms

One of the most successful and unprecedented processes when it comes to the incorporation of Italian into ideophones involves the truncation of Italian words and the consequent creation of clippings. Examples of these include forms such as *acc* (from *accidenti*, meaning 'damn'; this is the first recorded example, appearing in a translated story published in 1935); *spac* (from *spaccare*, 'to break'); *pac* (from *pacca*, a 'pat'); *ronf* (from *ronfare*, 'to snore'); *skrok* (from *scrocchiare*, 'to crack one's fingers'); *sput* (from *sputare*, 'to spit'); *zomp* (from *zompare*, 'to jump'); *(s)grat* (*grattare*, 'to scratch'); *fiiii* (from *fischio*, a 'whistle'); *pomp* (from *pompare*, 'to pump'); and *(s)frusc(h)* (from *frusciare*, 'to rustle'; cf. figure 3). Pietrini (2009, p. 166) states that the first example of clipping in a Disney story is to be found in a magazine published in 1957 although my corpus features this type of constructions in mid- and late 1930s already (cf. table 8 below).

These examples attest to a clear attempt to imitate consonant-ending and/or monomorphemic (hence more expressive?) English forms, while retaining clearly

understandable Italian roots and their meaning. It is quite interesting to note that English borrowings tend to do the opposite (English roots plus Italian ending).

Table 8. Examples of clippings in chronological order.

Clipping	**Italian original word**	**English**	**Date of first use**
acc	accidenti	damn	Apr-35
pac(c)	pacca	pat	Jun-36
spac	spaccare	to break	Oct-49
schiak	schiacciare (?)	to squeeze	Nov-50
sput	sputare	to spit	Dec-51
ro(o)n(f)	ronfare	to snore	Jun-55
graaaaich	gracchiare (?)	to caw/squawk	Jun-55
skrok	scrocchiare	to crack one's fingers	Sep-65
rooonzz	ronzare	to buzz	Jun-72
sbuff	sbuffare	to huff and puff	Jan-75
zomp	zompare	to jump	Jan-75
(s)grat	grattare	to scratch	Jul-75
fiiiii	fischio	whistle	Jul-75
pomp	pompare	to pump	Feb-76
gomk	gomma	pneumatic	Feb-76
sprusssh	spruzzare	to splash/spray	Feb-81
(s)frusc(h)	frusciare	to rustle	Feb-81
stuf	stufa	stove/heater	Sep-84
sbatt	sbattere	to smash	Mar-87
(s)tonf	tonfo	thud/plop	Mar-87
wamp	vampata	burst of heat	Feb-89
sgnac	sgnaccare (from Piedmontese dialect)	to push/press	Nov-89
strap	strappare	to pull out	Feb-90
spruzz	spruzzare	to splash/spray	Feb-90
spazz	spazzare	to sweep	Feb-95
squit	squittire	to squeak	Apr-97
pot	potare	to prune	Oct-07
stiiiiiir	stirare	to iron	Mar-12
tok	toccare	to touch	Jan-13

Other common modifications of Italian lexemes include different types of affixation**,** predominantly in the form of reduplicated lexemes in which the second word acquires a suffix, a prefix or an inflix, intensifying the expressivity of the whole depiction. See formations such as *uak quakarak, blip blip biriblip, cip ciricip, spat spatac, bip bibip bibip, dling daling, scata-trak, zum tarazum, potity pot.*

Another phenomenon that attests to the great Anglophonic influence post-1960 is the Anglicisation of Italian forms, in contrast to practices during the 1930s-50s, decades in which English forms tended to be Italianised. Applying typical English clusters such as /k/, /w/ and /sh/ to Italian lexemes creates an unusual cross-linguistic blending of graphemes that catches the eye and the imagination of the reader: *frush frush* (from *frusciare*, 'to rustle'); *tok tok* (instead of *toc toc*; this is the first recorded form in 1962); *pak pak* (intead of *pac pac*); *glugh glugh* (instead of *glu glu*); *kaiii* (instead of *caiii*, used to describe a dog in pain); *trak* instead of *trac; tonk* (instead of *tonc*); *sprush* (from *spruzzare,* 'to spray'); *morsh* (from *morso,* 'bite'); wamp (used to describe a fire flame, thus clearly deriving from the Italian *vampata,* 'burst of heat'); gne(e)k (intead of *gnic*, an ideophone also used in spoken Italian to refer to the action of turning a handle); *kokkodè* instead of *coccodè* ('cock a doodle doo'); and (*s)frush* instead of *frusc* (from *frusciare*, 'to rustle').

6.8. Final Remarks: Diachronic Linguistic and Stylistic Changes

The following final section will focus on the examination of the linguistic and stylistic changes detected during the corpus analysis. Historical events will also be discussed as it will be suggested that certain changes are influenced by social and political factors. In particular, attention will be devoted to the exploitation of these forms during the years of Fascist propaganda and WW2. Of particular interest is the change of title of the main Disney comic book from *Topolino* to *Tuffolino*. This followed Mussolini's ban on American references in Italian comics, which lasted from February 1942 until December 1943 and which indirectly reduced the use of ideophones during those months. This section will also focus on the exponential Anglophonic influence on

Italian language and culture, evidenced by the growth of English forms post-1960, and on the sociolinguistic reason behind this sudden shift.

Early ideophonic forms from the pre-war period were a triumph of inventiveness and orthographic experimentation. Despite not being as graphically complicated and elaborate as later forms the first two decades of Disney comics demonstrate a strenuous attempt by cartoonists to fit these forms into the Italian language. If, on the one hand, there is a clear attempt to deal with English forms, on the other hand, writers were clearly giving their best to somehow import and adapt English forms for Italian readers. An interesting mark of Italianisms, for example, is the early presence of accented vowels in both lexicalised and non-lexicalised forms. Accented vowels are present in 6.3% of the total number of ideophones found in stories from the 1930s, with 18 out of 284 forms. Examples found in stories published throughout the 1930s are: *caì* (1933) and *guaì guaì* (1936) for a dog in pain; *huì huì* (1935) and *hong-i-hù* (1935) for a kangaroo in pain; *pùm* (1936) for a punch; *tuuu-tu-tù* (1936) for the sound of a trumpet; *rahùgrrr* (1937) for a gorilla growling and *plà plà plà* (1936) for clapping. Even English borrowings are sometimes modified by adding accents typical of Italian spelling, as the use of *buùm or bùm* for 'boom' (Dec. 1935). During the 1940s and the 1950s some of these forms are still found but they are definitely less common, giving way to more Anglophonic graphics. In these two decades the corpus includes only 13 ideophones with an accented vowel out of 697 forms (1.86%): *glù* (1940) for the act of drinking; *caì* and *guaì* (1948) to describe a dog in pain; *sgnìau* for a big feline (1949); *chichirichì* (1949) for the cry of a hen; *caìn caìn* (1950) for a lion in pain; *boamtciuù* (1953) for a sneezing character; *caì* (1955) for a dog in pain; *pciù* (1956) for a kiss, *puàh* (1956) for a character expressing disgust; *miéee* (1956) for a meowing cat; *kr-r-riùp* (1957) for the cry of a bird and, finally, *peré pepée* (1957) to represent the sound of a trumpet. The early use of accented vowels shows how writers were at the time trying to use Italian language orthographic patterns in the pages of the comics, but the practice quickly became obsolete, possibly due to the prominent influence of the English language. Despite the frequent use of English-derived forms, ideophones in original Italian stories written and created by Italian cartoonists seem to demonstrate much inventiveness. New non-lexicalised

forms created from scratch and alterations of existing Italian and lexemes are abundant. However, they are found scattered around the page of each comic together with a large number of English-derived forms. The result is a potpourri of multilingual iconic forms that literally fill the panels, particularly in the stories created during the last 25 years (1990-2015). There seem to be two main reasons for this Italian inventiveness: firstly, the lack of an English source text offers much more freedom for cartoonists to create and update these forms, without the constraints imposed by a source text. Secondly, while comics written in English often simply use unmodified English lexemes, since the language possesses a higher percentage of these forms due to Germanic influence (i.e. *gulp*, *gasp*, *sigh, sob, etc.*), it may be that the Italian language was felt to offer insufficient ideophonic material of its own (see polymorphic words ending in vowels, which are possibly considered too long to be immediately expressive). It follows that cartoonists had to exhibit some level of originality in order to make those Italian forms more expressive. This led to some interesting experimentations that bear witness to a flexible use of Italian linguistic and stylistic resources. The influence of English is indeed apparent in the first Italian original stories published during the 1930s. Italian phonetic renditions of English ideophones are commonly used together with non-lexicalised invented forms. Examples of English ideophones modified to please the Italian audience include (English original form in brackets) *bu(u)m* ('boom' - 1932) and *squac* ('quack' - 1937). The first two ideophones recorded in the corpus are both 'bum' (/bum/), the Italian phonetic rendition of the English 'boom', often used for loud sounds and explosions. The first use of lexicalised English forms is to be found in the original Italian stories published in June 1942 during the ban on translated American comics prior the start of WW2. These new stories featuring the new character *Tuffolino* include two occurrences of 'bang', used to describe the sound

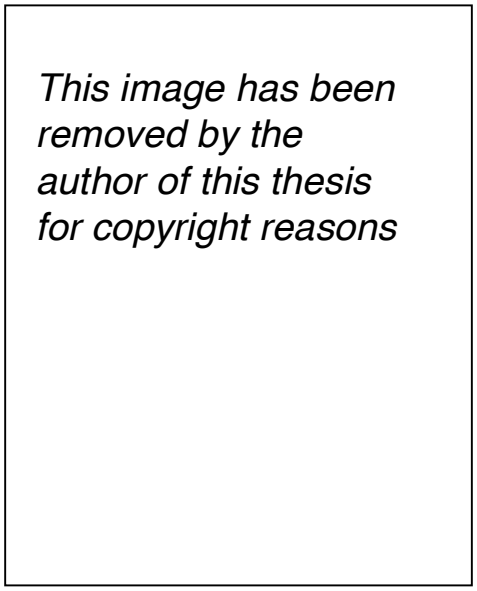


Figure 26. 'Bang' ideophone found in a *Tuffolino* story published in June 1942 (*Topolino giornale, issue 498*, Jun. 1942).

of explosions (cf. figure 26). It is interesting that despite these new stories being created in an effort to censor any American symbols after Italy's declaration of war on the United States in December 1941, the only two featured ideophones are both borrowed directly from English. This fact suggests that the use of foreign ideophones was not considered as a real threat, or at least not as dangerous as the use of foreign loanwords in Italian, a practice officially banned by Fascism since 1940 (Raffaelli, 2010). Concurrently, it also suggests that 'bang' was already fully assimilated and thus not perceived as a foreign borrowing.

If early ideophones were often characterised by linguistic uncertainties, later ones (mainly post-1980s) seem to feature much more regularity in their use. Whilst more and more crystallised forms are employed, the earlier flexible use of ideophones, whose forms were originally taking different forms and shapes, nowadays tends to be somehow toned down. In eighty years there have indeed been many changes, both linguistic and graphical ones. Both writers and readers needed to be formally trained to respectively create and process ideophones. Now it seems that authors have played with the language enough to learn which forms are more successful and effective than others. As a result, there has been an evident crystallisation of certain expressions that goes hand in hand with an exponential use of English forms post-1950s, forms that have slowly replaced Italian equivalents. Italian interjections such as *accidenti* ('damn!') and *perbacco* ('my goodness!') were in fact more and more replaced with *gasps*, *gulps* and *sighs*. While in the early decades comics featured typical Italian interjections such as 'oh', 'ah', 'perbacco', and 'accidenti', nowadays these tend to be replaced with English lexicalised ideophones—and this demonstrates the big shift in ideophonic use that happened between the 1950s and 1960s. Evidence of this is the higher percentage of interjections during the first decade of Disney comics production, which has slowly been decreasing throughout the decades (cf. table 9 below).

Table 9. Percentage of ideophones and interjections through the decades.

Time frame	**Ideophones / Ideophonic Series**	**Interjections**	**Total**

1932-1942	389 (55%)	320 (45%)	709
1945-1959	676 (71%)	168 (19%)	844
1960-1987	1256 (90%)	147 (10%)	1403
1988-2003	711 (91.5%)	75 (9.5%)	786
2005-2013	744 (92%)	65 (8%)	809

This shift has also happened in spoken Italian. One can nowadays hear Italian children successfully uttering these 'gasps' and 'sighs', what Cartago defines as *anglicismi popolari*, 'popular anglicisms' (1994, p. 747; translation mine) (as opposed to *anglicismi colti*, 'educated anglicisms'), generally pronounced the Italian way but definitely understood and successfully employed, thus possibly slowly switching grammatical function from ideophones to English-borrowed interjections (Bocchiola & Gerolin, 1999, p. 61). Evidence of this is the fact that some of these forms have actually made it to dictionaries. Also note that a famous Italian channel dedicated to children's programmes is indeed called *Rai Gulp.*

Chapter 7. Exploration of Sound Symbolic Creations in Italian Disney Comics: Analysis of Sound Symbolic Types

7.1. Examination of Sound Symbolic Types

During the collation of the corpus it was deemed appropriate to group both ideophones (including ideophonic series) and interjections into six specific 'ideophonic types' according to the kind of event they were attempting to represent. Specifically, it was decided, for the purposes of this research, to place each entry of the corpus in one of the following categories: environmental, human, animal, mechanical, miscellaneous and meta-ideophone. Data on the occurrence and diachronic change of each has consequently been gathered, showing the predominance of certain types over others and the gradual modifications of these types through the eight decades under consideration. The corpus includes 3887 ideophonic forms and 794 interjections. For obvious reasons, all the interjections were placed in the 'human' category, so they are not included in the following table (10), which shows the occurrence of ideophones and ideophonic series across the corpus:

Table 10. Percentage of sound symbolic types throughout the corpus.

Ideophonic Type	**Total**	**%**
Environmental	1625	42%
Human	1272 (2041 if one considers interjections as well)	33%
Mechanical	559	14%
Animal	382	10%
Miscellaneous	37	1%
Meta-ideophone	12	<1%
Total:	**3887**	

As one would expect, environmental sounds are the most common, encompassing almost half (42%) of the corpus material. The sounds representing actions and natural noises are the most common in the pages of the comics, as kicks, jumps and rumbles play a quintessential role in conferring the strip with sensorial depth. Human noises

are almost as common, with 1272 forms (33% of the total) and are commonly expressed through ideophones representing sounds directly produced by the characters—coughing, sneezing and sniffing being among the most common ones—but this category also includes non-lexicalised and foreign forms that are meant to depict feelings (i.e. *gulp, gasp, sigh, sob*), which were not included in the 'interjection' category for the scope of this project. Mechanical and animal noises are the next common ones, with 559 and 382 forms respectively. Miscellaneous (37 forms) and meta-ideophones (12 forms) are, by contrast, at the tail end with a comparatively low occurrence across the database.

The next sections will focus on five out of six sound symbolic types (not enough data was available on meta-ideophones to allow for any type of diachronic analysis) with the aim of offering a general overview of the senses and actions each of them is trying to depict and how they achieve this.

7.1.1. Environmental

These ideophones are generally used to depict sounds caused by inanimate objects (non-mechanical ones) or through movements performed by characters. They therefore include actions and natural sounds. When it comes to analysing the presentation of natural phenomena, the corpus reveals particularly interesting and innovative choices. Natural elements linked to water, fire, wind and earth are all present and bear witness to some remarkable and inventive approaches in order to encompass events that are somehow not controllable by humans.

Water-related events are mainly represented through the action of falling into water. These representations are both non-lexicalised (i.e. *plunnf, ciaf, pluff, plaff, gllup, plosch, vluuf, zzzz fiiii, plink, kersplop*) and nearly-lexicalised or fully lexicalised (i.e. *splasc, splash, pop, roomble*) forms. The sounds of rain and storms are also present with forms such as *plic plic ploc, brumble* and *sdruuumbl* (all from a story published in 1971). Spraying and throwing water is usually represented through both Italian (i.e. *spruzz, sciaff*) and English (i.e. *splash*) lexicalised words, but non-lexicalised forms are also present, such as *ksshhh* for a shower and *skish, splosh, svissh, sprussh, fssss, squoosh, pssst* for spraying—in this case note the dominant presence of the

grapheme and phonemes for the /s/ and /sh/ sounds. Other actions include boiling water (*bll blll blll, glurgh glurgh*) and the sound of sea waves (*swooss, splash, rrrumble, vloosh, skrataplash, washhh*). Fire is a challenging element to represent as it produces very little sound, thefore clearly pushing the creative boundaries of cartoonists. The sound of sizzling fire is often represented with *zzrzzz, zzzrr, vuuumm, sviscc, fiiiii, wamp, fooosh* but vaguely lexicalised forms are also present, such as *sfamm*, *sfum and flam*—which are presumably inspired by the Italian and English words for a flame (*fiamma* in Italian)—and *woosh.* In this case the iconicity is somehow vague and far from being crystallised. If one were to read the words without the image, it would be very difficult to guess that these forms are used to refer to fire. Wind, on the other hand, is not very heavily represented, with only one ideophone describing a tornado: *woooosh*. Earth sounds include those events related mainly to rocks falling, and the forms here to some degree resemble the ideophones used for explosions. The aim here is to express as much noise as possible through letters. Graphical features often support the cartoonist in creating his intended effect. See forms such as *br-r-rum buum, rroar, buum, ca-rasc, crash, clonk, craac, bwaam, crash, cronch, crieek* and *crumble* used for rocks sliding and falling in realisations that often involve the use of large, colourful fonts. Some forms particularly stress physical movement through the lengthening and use of certain consonants, see *fiiii, zuigggg, vroooom* and *wooosh*. Rock breaking is also present with mainly lexicalised expressions such as *slip, scrash, scratacrash, crash,* and *thudd.*

When cartoonists try to depict environmental events, a major creative task they face is to include a representation of both the sonic and kinaesthetic (i.e. motion) experiences consequent upon the actions performed by the characters in the strip. The iconicity of these expressions attempts to capture both the movement and the sound resulting from the action, a fact that sometimes fosters creativity. The following section will list some of the most frequent acts and actions performed by characters in the analysed strips. For each action a few comments will be offered in order to summarise the main tendencies and identify predominant forms. The first column includes those words that are lexicalised, while the second one lists the non-lexicalised ones. This separation facilitates a direct comparison between the two. In

certain cases, phonaesthetic remarks regarding the iconic values of certain consonants, vowels or clusters will be offered.

- Jumping

For whatever reason, there are not many representations of jumping in the early stories. Across the decades, the Italian clipping 'zomp' (from *zompare*, 'to jump') seems to be the most used in the corpus with six appearances, together with the Italianised version of the English 'thump'. Forms ending in -ing are often chosen as this is often used to represent a sudden spring-like movement, as seen in the well-known word 'boing' (Oswalt, 1994, p. 303-4).

Table 11. Ideophones used to represent the action of jumping. Note that the underlined forms are the most-frequently used.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
Thump (1970; 1997)	*Zaff* (1956)
Zomp (1975; 1981; 1990; 1993; 1995; 2012)	*Swip* (1975)
Plonk tonk (1981)	*Sproing* (1975)
Tump (1989; 1993; 1997; 2010)	*Iump iump iump* (1975)
Boing boing (1994; 2010)	*Plomp* (1978)
Wrooom (2007)	*Flommp* (1978)
	Toing toing (1981; 1984)
	Zip (1989)
	Tloing (1997)
	Clonk blonk stlonk (1997)
	Zooow (2006)

- Characters falling

Representations of characters falling are among the most frequent in the corpus with 79 forms in total. Despite there being a high variability in the number of different expressions used, some English forms have been widely employed since the early days, see *crash*, *splash* (particularly in the case of characters falling into water), *thud*, *thump* and their derivatives. Nevertheless, non-lexicalised depictions are very frequently used across the decades. Only one non-lexicalised form used for a falling

character was found to appear at least twice (*plaf* in 1980 and 1986), showing the clearly difficult crystallisation of forms that are not officially present in dictionaries.

Table 12. Ideophones used to represent characters falling.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
(S)cras(c)h (1933; 1934; 1965x2; 1974; 1981) *Crack* (1939) *Clamp* (1940) (?) *Splas(c)h* (1949; 1950; 1956; 1958; 1979; 1983) *Slam* (1950) *Spac* (1950) *Bong* (1951; 1973) *(S)Crac* (1955; 1992) *Bump* (1955) - onto snow *Plop* (1956; 1972; 2006) *Thud* (1956; 1958; 1965; 1969; 1974) *T(h/o)ump* (1956; 1977x3; 1978; 1992; 2010) *Pow bam* (1958) *Flop* (1958) *Splat* (1960) *Bonk* (1974; 1977; 1987) *Tonk* (1976) *Pac* (1976) *Whop* (1980) *Zonk* (1985) *Zomp* (1985) *Stonf* (1987) *Flip* (1992)	*Pùm* (1936) *Bom* (1938) *Paff* (1938) *Plunnf* (1939) - into water *Gllup* (1948) - into water *Buum* (1948) *Vluuf* (1948) - into water *Zzzz fiiii* (1948) - into water *Flump* (1955) *Pam* (1955) *Thum* (1956) *Plinc planc plonc* (1956) *Bum ohi bang uihh* (1956) *Sdeng* (1956) *Ciàf* (1963) - into water *Pumf* (1968) - onto soft surface *Bloink* (1968) *Zunk* (1971) *Splot* (1975) - on ice *Badabang* (1976) *Krosh* (1978) - onto trap *Clakkit* (1979) *Plaf(f)* (1980; 1986) *Blonk* (1981) *Pluff* (1984) - into water *Plosch* (1984) - into water *Tund* (1986) *Bramp* (1997) - through chimney *Thrump* (1997) *Ploch* (2000) - into water *Plosh* (2000) - into water *Splat* (2000) - onto soft surface

	Spatapam (2012)

- Flying

Flying does not seem to be very widely-represented in the corpus. There are both lexicalised and non-lexicalised forms used, with *swiss* being the only form that appears twice. The grapheme ⟨z⟩ and the cluster ⟨sw⟩ seem to be the preferred choices when it comes to describing movements through air. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this is possibly due to the iconicity linked to the design of these two graphemes, both having a visual form that reminds people of a sinuous ('s') or sudden ('z') movement of the hand.

Table 13. Examples of ideophones used to represent the action of flying.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
	Ziiee (1948)
Zing (1974)	*Swiss* (1949; 1985)
Zoom (1982; 1983)	*Uiiippp* (1956)
Swoosh (1983)	*Vrrr* (1956)
Swoop (1983)	*Zoing* (1989)
	Zzap (2000)

- Running

Data shows the consistent hegemony of the graphemes ⟨z⟩ and ⟨s⟩ to represent characters running. The three most common forms are *zip*, *zoom* and *zow*.

Table 14. List of ideophones used to represent characters running.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
	Sviss (1939)
Zip (1939; 1962; 1965; 1970; 1981; 1989; 2000; 2002)	*Pzzz* (1939)
	Pzzzum (1939)
Zuuuum (1955; 1970; 1972; 1977)	*Zam* (1941)
Zoom (1956; 1972; 1982; 2009; 2010x2)	*Svisc* (1949)
Zowie (1970)	*Zom* (1950)
Swiiish (1989)	*Zow* (1963; 1969; 1975x2; 1993; 1997; 2006; 2011; 2012)
Vrooom (2010)	
	Zig (1975)

	Woom (1982) *Wip* (1997) *Zwiing* (2000) *Zwosc* (2007x2)

- Punching and slapping

In the early days the Italian *pum* was preferred (last occurrence is in 1949), while the English forms (s)*bonk* and *t(h)ump* have risen in popularity through the years.

Table 15. List of ideophones used to represent actions of punching and slapping.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	Non-lexicalised examples
Sock (1935; 2000; 2006) *Pum* (1935x2; 1938; 1939; 1949) (S)*bonk* (1935; 1962; 1978; 1981; 1998) *Bum* (1935x2; 1937) *Smack* (1936; 1952; 1986) *Bop* (1951; 1987) *Bam* (1951x2; 2008) T(h)*ud* (1962; 1978) T(h)*ump* (1972; 1986; 1992x2; 2008) *Biff* (1975) *Bump* (1982)	*Blam* (1935) *Oomp* (1935) *Plink* (1935) *Svisc* (1949) *Poc poc poc* (1958) *Tomp* (1977)

- Tripping, slipping and sliding

The corpus has highlighted no predominant forms in this case. Again, since these actions include movements, the grapheme ⟨s⟩ is used more often, with consonantal and vocalic lengthening also employed, possibly to visually and sonically symbolise the duration of the slipping/sliding act.

Table 16. List of ideophones used to represent people tripping, slipping and sliding.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	Non-lexicalised examples
Bum (1933x2) *Screech* (1971) Tap (1975) *Frush* (1985) (from the Italian *frusciare*, 'to	*Zam* (1949) *Suiish* (1955) *Svvcc* (1960) *Whit* (1969)

rustle') *Tack* (1986)	*Zip* (1972) *Swiiiisss* (1982) *Sprusshh* (1982) *Zw-wb* (1984) *Sdem* (1989) *Sguissch* (1989) *Pok* (1997) *Thrump* (1997) *Vroomp* (1997)

- Kicking

There does not seem to be a favourite ideophone for the representation of kicking motions, although most of the forms are of English origin with *pac* being the only lexicalised form coming from Italian (clipping from the Italian word *pacca*, a 'pat').

Table 17. List of ideophones representing the action of kicking.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
Pac (1936) *Bang* (1948) *Whap* (1952) *Smack* (1962) *Tonk* (1962; 1991) *Bump* (1963) *Pow* (1970) *Bonk* (1972; 1979) *Thomp* (1974) *Tap* (1975) *Crash* (1992) *Stump* (2012)	*Zzz* (1948) *Sbem* (1948; 1956) *Tenk* (1953) *Pam* (1955x2) *Sbam* (1960) *Tamp* (1967) *Pok* (1989) *Wup* (1992) *Thund* (1997)

- Door Knocking

The Italian lexicalised form *toc* has always been the most frequently used throughout the years, with 17 occurrences in total—and it often involves morphological reduplication (*toc toc*). In the early days also *knock* and *bam* were also present, forms

that are now replaced by the other English equivalent *thump.* Non-lexicalised examples were not found in this case.

Table 18. List of ideophones used to represent door knocking.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	Non-lexicalised examples
Toc (toc) (1935; 1952x6; 1955; 1960; 1963; 1965; 1985x2; 1987x2; 1992; 2012) *Knoc*(k) (1936; 1955; 1965; 1968; 1975) *Bam* (1938; 1955; 1957; 1975; 1979; 1984) *Bang* (1949; 1950; 1965) *Tap* (1952) *Bump* (1955) *Bong* (1957) T(h)ump (1969; 1976; 1977; 1992x3; 1993; 2010) *Thud* (1977) *Bomp* (1979)	

- Clapping

Data shows a dominance of the English lexicalised ideophone *clap* (14 occurrences). Through the years no Italian-inspired version has been used or created from scratch.

Table 19. List of ideophones used to represent people clapping.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	Non-lexicalised examples
Clap clap (1935; 1939; 1967; 1980; 1983; 1992; 1994; 1994x2; 1997; 2000; 2005; 2009; 2010)	*Plà plà* (1938) *Ciacc* (2008)

- Kissing

The Italian non-lexicalised form *pciu* and its variants were predominant during the first decades. This lasted until the 1970s, a decade in which the English *smack* starts being more common, although the Italian *pciu* is still found in more recent stories published in 2010. This confirms the general Anglicising trend of the 1970s-90s but also the 'revival' tendencies seen in the last two decades.

Table 20. List of ideophones used to represent two people kissing.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	Non-lexicalised examples
Smec (1948)	P(t)*ciu*(m) (1940; 1956; 1976; 1980; 2010x2)

Smatch (1949) Sm(u)ack (1974; 1976; 1978; 1981; 1983; 1984; 1994; 1997; 2010x2)	*Cium cium* (1948) *Sptciuah* (1981)

- Throwing

There are different types of throwing, hence the varied type of expressions used. If a liquid is involved the English *splash* is preferred, and this is also the most frequent ideophone. If the person is throwing anything muddy or liquid, the ideophone tends to start with the grapheme ⟨s⟩, e.g. *splaff* and *splush sploc* for tomatoes, *splosh* for mud, *sciaf* for a glass of water.

Table 21. List of ideophones used to represent the action of throwing an object into the air.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
	Guèp guèp (1936) - paint
	Stleng (1975) - fishing rod
	Zow (1975) - ball
	Sciaf (1978; 1990)
Splas(s/c)h (1955; 1963; 1976; 2012) - liquid	*Sprooing* (1984) - catapult
Thump (1980)	*Slat* (1990)
Splat (1981)	*Vlam* (1993)
Swoosh (1994)	*Splush sploc* (1994)
Pok (1998)	*Swiss* (2000)
	Splot (2006)
	Splaff (2007)
	Splosh (2009)
	Fiii (2010)

- Scratching

Ideophones used to represent the action of scratching always seem to involve either an English influence through the use of expressions starting with the cluster /sk/ or an Italian one coming from the verb *grattare*, 'to scratch', as seen in forms such as *(s)grat* and *graich.*

Table 22. Ideophones used to represent the action of scratching.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
(S)*grat* (1975; 1999)	*Graaaiccch* (1955)

Rasp rasp (1998) *Scritch scratch* (1999)	*Skrap skrap* (1965) *Skrik skrik* (1967) *Isch isch* (1975)

While the previous sections concentrate on the environmental sounds coming from or caused by characters, the following section will examine the ideophones used to describe the sound and motion coming from inanimate objects.

- Breaking object

The representation of this type of event shows an extensive variety due to the fact that the sound perceived changes according to the object that is being broken. Nevertheless, there is an evident general predominance of English lexicalised forms such as *crash* and *crack*. Italian-derived ones are rare, with *patatrac* and *sfrash* being the only examples found.

Table 23. Ideophones used to represent the action of breaking an object.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
Kerrash (1933; 1970) *Crash* (1935; 1940x3; 1955x2; 1965; 1971x2; 1975; 1981; 2006; 2009x2; 2010) (S)*crac*(k) (1935; 1936; 1938x2; 1945; 1948; 1950; 1962; 1972; 1989; 1997x2; 1998; 2002; 2012) *Pop* (1940) - glass *Crunch* (1950) - tree *Chop* (1950) - tree *Tinkle* (1958) - glass *Cranch* (1958) *Crumble* (1975) - ice *Smash* (1983) *Straaap* (1994; 2000) *Tud* (2000) *Snap* (2002)	T-um t-um (1938) - ceiling Scrr-r-ric (1939) - car *Patatrac* (1949) *Svlac* (1960) - rope *Crankt* (1963) - glass *Crr* (1972) - box *Scroing* (1975) - ice *Fsst* (1989) - bag *Trum wroum* (1997) *Sfrash* (1997) - window *Tuc* (2000) - branch *Sbrang* (2010) - wall

- Crashing

English-derived forms of *crash* and *crack* are predominant, with a few new forms created from scratch in recent years.

Table 24. List of ideophones used to represent the action of an object crashing.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	Non-lexicalised examples
(S)*cras*(c)h (1933; 1948; 1956; 1968x2; 1976; 1984; 1985; 1987) *Bam* (1933) (S)*crac*(k/h) (1933; 1935; 1948; 1963) *Bassh* (1974)	*Sbreeenk* (1968) *Scraansh* (1969) *Badabam* (1969) *Sbrang* (2010; 2013) *Sladabram* (2012)

- Exploding

The ever-popular *boom* (18 occurrences) and *bang* (7 occurrences) and the English–derived form *buum* (12 occurrences) are, as expected, the most used ones. The last example of *buum* was found in a comic of 1977, date after which English forms start being predominant.

Table 25. List of ideophones used to represent explosions.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	Non-lexicalised examples
Bu(u)m (1932; 1935x2; 1937; 1939; 1941x2; 1948; 1949; 1949; 1955; 1977) *Boom* (1933; 1935; 1948; 1949; 1950x3; 1955x2; 1956; 1963; 1975; 1976x2; 1992; 1994; 2000; 2010) *Bam* (1935; 1950) *Bang* (1936; 1940; 1949; 1950; 1955x2; 2012) *Poof* (1950) *Boum* (1970; 2003) *Ka-boom* (1975; 2012) *Scrack* (1976) *Krasch* (1984) *Crash* (2000) *Katakrash* (2011)	*Blam* (1951x2; 1979; 2012) *Sbrang* (1962) *Gzomm* (1969) *Zom zam* (1969) *Zazz* (1969) *Spock* (1984) *Pam pam* (1989) *Wram* (1991) *Pfuff* (1994)

- Closing

This category and the next are particularly interesting as they include ideophones attempting to represent what is more or less a non-sonic event. Despite this, through the years ideophones have been used to represent the opening and closing of objects. The English *slam* and *click/clack* are the most used as they focus more on the sonic properties of the action, while *zaf(f)* is possibly trying to describe the motion involved.

Table 26. List of ideophones used to represent the action of closing objects such as doors or windows.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
Slam (1935; 1936; 1938x2; 1939x3; 1955x2; 1962; 1963x3; 1967; 1968; 1969x3; 1970; 1971; 1973; 1975x2; 1976x2; 1979)	*Zaf(f)* (1949; 1955)
Clic(k) (1939; 1940; 1953; 1970; 2010)	*Svlam* (1960)
Cla(c/k) (1952; 1970)	*Rrrr* (1976) - electronic door
Wham (1955)	*Sbam* (1981)
Stump (1960)	*Sclakt* (1997)
Woosh (1987)	*Tlac* (2000) - box
Clang (1992)	*Taratang* (2007) - shutter
Clunk (2005)	*Bloncc* (2010)
Clonk (2010)	*Ta-tlak* (2010)

- Opening

Again, the ideophones are split between the ones trying to evoke motion (i.e. *sbof, slissshh, gneek, vzzz*) and those which focus on the sonic aspect of the event. The English *click* is the most frequently-found example in the corpus, although the most recent appearance discovered by this research is in a story published in 1980.

Table 27. List of ideophones used to represent the action of opening an object.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
Bam (1936)	*Frung frung* (1957) - fish tin
Clic(k) (1941; 1952; 1955; 1980)	*Prrr* (1962) - bridge
Rumble (1952)	*Splank* (1962)
Crick crack (1955)	*Sbram* (1963)
Slam (1962x2; 1969)	*Sbof* (1967) - bag
Bum (1978) - champaign bottle	*Slisssh* (1977)
Creak (1986; 1991)	*Gneek* (1986)
Clackt (1991)	*Criii* (1991) - electronic door

	Twump twump (1992) *Crrrkpk* (1992) *Skreeek* (2000) *Vzzz* (2011) - electronic door

- Musical instruments

It is interesting to notice how musical instruments often feature non-lexicalised creations and tend to display linguistic phenomena such as phonological (i.e. *tuuuu-tù-tù*, *krrriùp*, *tuàiiinnn*, *fruuuu*, etc.) and morphological reduplication (i.e. *-tù-tù*, *bam bam*, *zum zum*, etc.). This is possibly due to attempts to convey iconically the high sonority of musical instruments through as many different mediators of iconism as possible.

Table 28. List of ideophones used to represent musical instruments.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
Trumpet: n/a Cymbal: *Trish trash (1985)* *Snap (1985)*	Trumpet: *Tuuuu-tù-tù (1936)* *Ta-ra-ra-ra (1940)* *Tarantara (1949)* *Bam bam (1950)* *Taratum (1950)* *Peré peppé (1957; 1981x2; 1982; 1985)* *Krrriùp (1963)* *Tuàiiinnn (1963)* *Fuiiiip (1963)* *Kraiiiin (1963)* *Priuuuuk (1963)* *Pooouuu (1963)* *Fruuuu (1963)* *Ta-ra-taa (1985)* *Piripooò (1989)* Piano: *Weininnn (1981)* *Dlong dlang clang (2012)*

	Sbraang (2013) Music band: *Brèee (1957)* *Tryooookkyyy (1975)* *Batata tazum (1984)* *Zum tarazum (1990)* *Zum zum (1990)* Flute: *Fiii fooo fuu (1958)* *Zoinngg (1989)* Drums: *Buum-biddi (1940x2)* *Bum bum buum (1940)* *Bam (1981)*

- Object falling

English forms are once again predominant with *crash* and *bonk* being the most featured.

Table 29. List of ideophones used to represent the sound of an object falling.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
Roar (1941) - rocks	*Plop (1939)*
Crash (1948 - rocks; 1958; 1977; 1992)	*Pum pam patapum (1940) - ceiling*
Ruumble (1949)	*Br-r-rum buum (1941) - rocks*
Crack (1974)	*Buum (1941) - rocks*
Clang (1974)	*Ca-rasc (1941) - rocks*
Tinkle (1975) - coin	*Tuum (1949)*
Clonk (1977) - rocks	*Plop plip plap (1950) - teeth*
Stomp (1978)	*Plomp (1950)*
Roomble (1983)	*Blam (1951)*
Vroom (1984) - rocks	*Clin (1952) - coin*
Bonk (1992; 1995; 2005)	*Plop (1952)*
Splash (2000; 2009) - into water	*Thrump (1955) - knife*
Flop (2003) - into hole	*Blump (1955)*

Woosh (2006)	*Plink (1957) - into water* *Tlin tlin tlin (coin)* *Gong (1962) - metallic obj.* *Clink clink (1968) - coin* *Pfuff (1970) - box* *Sbrambl (1971)* *Plunk (1973) - metallic obj.* *Ploff (1975)* *Kersplop (1975) - into water* *Klink (1975) - coin* *Fiiii (1976) - rock* *Zow (1980)* *Fiiii (1982) - fireball* *Cromk (1983) - bridge* *Skreek (1983)* *Strep brang tlonk (1983) - bridge* *Doing (1984)* *Splat (1987) - glass* *Plonf (1990) - into water* *Plomp (1997)* *Plosh (2005) - liquid* *Plaf (2006)*

- Cutting/chopping

The Italian ideophone ‘zac’ (attested in use in the ‘De Mauro Dictionary of Italian in Use’, 2000, since 1920) is the most used throughout the decades.

Table 30. List of ideophones used to represent the action of cutting.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
Zac (1945; 1962; 1965; 1974; 1999) *Snip (1950)* *Chop (1992x2)*	

- Switching on/off

The English 'click' is the most used to represent the switching on or off of a light.

Table 31. List of ideophones used to represent the switching on or off of a light.

Lexicalised and nearly-lexicalised examples	**Non-lexicalised examples**
Click (1936; 1951x2; 1952; 1956; 1963; 1965; 1969; 1987)	*Wamp* (1981)

The following table (32) summarises the results of the analysis for environmental sounds resulting from both characters' actions and inanimate objects. The prevailing forms for each act have been highlighted and the results will be further discussed.

Table 32. Summary of data regarding environmental ideophones.

Character's Action	**Function**	**Prevailing form(s)**	**Language of origin (total number of forms per language in brackets)**	**Grammatical function**
Jumping	Motion	*Zomp*	Italian (1) (from the Italian verb *zompare*, 'to jump')	Clipping (1)
Character falling	Motion Sound	*(S)cras(c)h Splas(c)h T(h/o)ump*	English (3)	Lexicalised (3)
Flying	Motion	*Swiss*	Presumably English (1) origin, as it contains the grapheme <w>	Non-lexicalised (1)
Running	Motion	*Zow* *Zip* *Zoom*	English (3)	Lexicalised (2) Non-lexicalised (1)
Punching and slapping	Sound	*(S)bonk* (EN) *T(h)unk* (EN) *Pum* (IT)	English (2) Italian (1)	Lexicalised (3)
Tripping, slipping and sliding	Motion Sound	n/a	n/a	n/a
Kicking	Sound	n/a	n/a	n/a
Door Knocking	Sound	*Toc toc* (IT) *Knock* (EN) *Bam* (EN) *Thump* (EN)	English (3) Italian (1)	Lexicalised (4)
Clapping	Sound	*Clap* (EN)	English (1)	Lexicalised (1)
Kissing	Sound	*Sm(u)ack* (EN) *P(t)ciu(m)* (IT)	English (1) Italian (1)	Lexicalised (1) Non-lexicalised (1)
Throwing	Sound Motion	*Splas(s/c)h* (EN)	English (1)	Lexicalised (1)
Scratching	Sound	*(S)grat* (IT)	Italian (1)	Clipping (1)

	Motion			
Event (involving an object)	**Function**	**Prevailing form(s)**	**Language of origin**	**Grammatical function**
Breaking	Sound	*Crash* (EN) *(S)crack* (EN)	English (2)	Lexicalised (2)
Crashing	Sound	*S)cras(c)h* (EN) *(S)crac(k/h)* (EN)	English (2)	Lexicalised (2)
Exploding	Sound	*Bu(u)m* (IT) *Boom* (EN) *Bang* (EN)	English (2) Italian (1)	Lexicalised (2) Non-lexicalised (1)
Closing	Sound Motion	*Slam* (EN) *Click(k)* (EN)	English (2)	Lexicalised (2)
Opening	Sound Motion	*Clic(k)* (EN)	English (1)	Lexicalised (1)
Musical instruments	Sound	n/a	n/a	n/a
Falling	Motion	*Crash* (EN) *Bonk* (EN)	English (2)	Lexicalised (2)
Cutting and chopping	Sound Motion	*Zac* (IT)	Italian (1)	Lexicalised (1)
Switching on/off	Sound Motion	*Clic(k)* (EN)	English (1)	Lexicalised (1)
Total:			**English (27)** **Italian (7)**	**Lexicalised (28)** **Non-lexicalised (4)** **Clipping[12] (2)**

The results show a striking predominance of prevailing English lexicalised forms used to represent environmental events. Out of 35 prevailing forms, only 7 are of Italian origin: *zomp* for jumping, *pum* for punching, *toc toc* for door knocking, *pciu* for kissing, *sgrat* for scratching, *buum* for an explosion (note that this is English-derived) and *zac* for cutting. Out of these seven, *zac*, *toc toc* and *zomp* are the only ones to have been used more or less consistently throughout the years. In most of the other cases, English words have replaced them in later years. In the case of *pum,* for instance, its last appearance was in fact recorded in 1949 and it was subsequently superseded by *(s)bonk* and *t(h)unk*. This, again, exemplifies the early use of Italian lexicalised ideophones that was later abandoned for a more English-friendly environment. Nevertheless, this is not always the case; at times the Italian and English-derived

[12] Clippings are here seen as being part of a separate category as they are neither fully lexicalised nor non-lexicalised.

forms co-habit for decades, as happens with *toc toc* and *knock knock*, both currently used to represent the sound of door knocking—but cases like these are much rarer.

When it comes to looking at the variety of forms used across the decades, some actions tend to foster more crystallised depictions that somehow appear to perfectly fit the event described. In other instances, a variety of expressions has been used through the decades, possibly because the action felt more difficult to depict or because cartoonists felt the need to play with the language before 'picking' a prevailing form. Somehow the 'natural selection' of comics has ruled some forms out automatically, for linguistic and/or socio-cultural reasons. For certain actions, more experimentation has happened, particularly through the creation of non-lexicalised made up forms, that have rarely stuck but that nevertheless show a willingness to revamp the sectorial vernacular of the genre. See the Italian-inspired *p(t)ciu(m)*, initially used to represent kisses, but which hardly anybody would recognise nowadays, or the different non-lexicalised realisations created through the years to represent characters and objects falling.

The tendency has been for Italian-derived forms to be employed at the beginning, with English expressions slowly taking over, particularly post-60s and 70s. If one looks at all the ideophones present in the corpus, out of 3737 forms (not including interjections and ideophonic series), 45% (1696 entries) of these are in fact of English origin (cf. Table 33 below), with only 578 ideophones coming solely from Italian—not to mention another 400 entries being Italian renditions of English forms. In other words, the English influence is present and undeniable. Non-language specific and Italian words sometimes manage to win the attention of cartoonists who, possibly in an attempt to provide more variety or just to update the existing forms, choose to momentarily pick or create new words. Table 33 and chart 4 below also show how the majority of Italian-derived expressions (81%) are of non-lexicalised origin. The opposite happens for ideophones taken from English, which boast a remarkably high lexicalised rate, with 87% of forms being lexicalised. This corroborates what has already been said in Chapter 1 regarding the English tendency to take ideophones directly from the language in use and Italian's reluctance to do the same.

In summary, the first fifteen years (1932-1949) show a general willingness to experiment with varied forms, English, Italian or non-language specific/non-lexicalised. While some of those Italian or non-lexicalised forms that were used initially do not seem to have become regular features in the pages of comics, the English ones that arrived later seemed to have been re-used more often. These eventually became accepted by the Italian linguistic community and sometimes even made appearances in Italian dictionaries. The results for the environmental forms taken as a whole show a genre that is open to modifications and new coinages, a type of new media that relies heavily on the reader's capability to grasp the meaning form the images and not only from the words.

Table 33. Percentage of lexicalised and non-lexicalised forms in English and Italian ideophones.

Language of origin	**Tot. ideophones**	**Lexicalised**	**Non-lexicalised**
English	1696 (45%)	1495	201 (13.4% of all English-derived expressions)
Italian	578 (15%)	260	318 (81% of all Italian-derived expressions)
Italian rendition of English form	402 (11%)	9	393
Non-language specific	958 (26%)	0	958
Other language	18 (1%)	18	0
Uncertain	85 (2%)	n/a	n/a

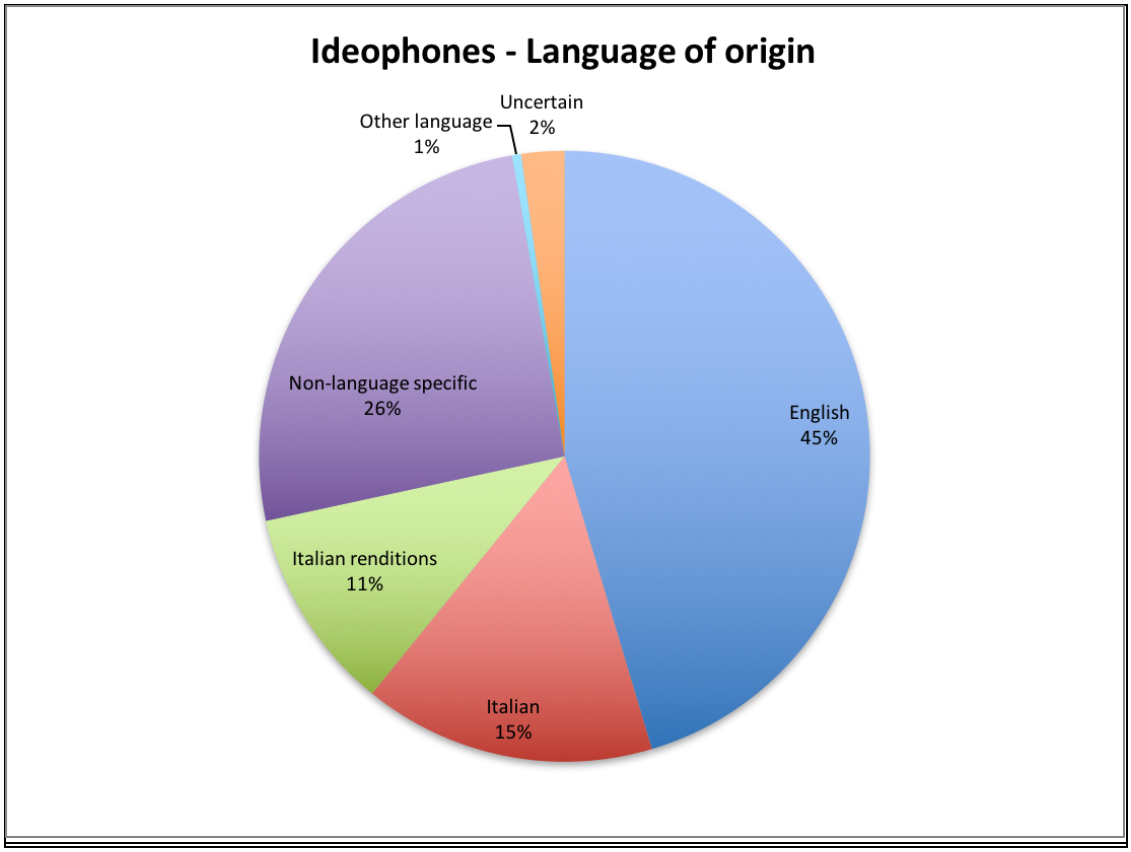


Chart 4. Percentage of ideophones according to their language of origin.

The following section will delve into ideophones (and also interjections) that are used to represent human feelings. The category is, together with environmental sounds, the most represented in the corpus. 33% of the ideophones fall within it. As mentioned before, during the process of compiling the corpus interjections were included in the human category, which resulted in it containing an even higher number of forms. This allowed a different type of analysis to be carried out for these forms, as will be shown in the following section.

7.1.2. Human

The human category includes depictions that attempt to imitate sounds produced by human beings or to convey their emotional state. The data considered in this section also includes interjections as they represent a large proportion of these forms. For this reason, throughout this sub-section the terms 'sound symbolic' and 'sound symbolic form(s)' will be used, rather than 'ideophonic forms' and 'ideophones', so that interjections are also included. As it was explained at the beginning of this thesis

(section 1.2, page 21), interjections have shown to differ substantially to ideophones in terms of iconic strength and intent.

An attempt to identify nine main emotional states has been made in order to facilitate classification and consequent analysis. Scholars usually consider six 'primary feelings' (surprise, happiness, anger, fear, disgust and sadness) as a basis to define and categorise human emotional states (Dovetto, 2012, p. 207), but for the purpose of this research three more emotions have been added to the list. As a result, the following nine feelings have been used: (1) surprise (includes astonishment), (2) happiness (includes relief and contempt), (3) anger (includes frustration), (4) fear (includes tension), (5) disgust (includes annoyance, disapproval and complaint), (6) sadness (includes despair, disappointment, discomfort, feeling sorry, discontent, sighing, boredom, defeat, worry, discouragement), (7) pain, (8) doubt (includes hesitation, uncertainty and confusion), (9) fatigue (includes tiredness). Negative emotions are more represented than positive ones, surprise being the most featured (a characteristic also spotted by Dovetto, 2012, p. 207).

The nature of the feeling itself influences its phonosymbolic realisations. Anger, happiness, pain and disgust are vocal feelings, meaning that people tend to often express them through words (i.e. shouts), hence these feelings are often depicted in comics through interjections. However, internal, irrational feelings (i.e. fear) are often expressed with lexicalised or non-lexicalised abstract words that would not actually be expressed vocally.

The following table (34) summarises the prevailing forms for each emotion, their language of origin and the prevailing grammatical function of these forms (NLS stands for 'non-language specific').

Table 34. Prevailing forms for each emotion.

Feeling	**Prevailing form(s)**	**General lexical preference**	**Language of origin (number in brackets is the total number of prevailing forms for that language)**	**Grammatical function**

Surprise	*Ulp* (EN) *Gulp* (EN) *Gasp* (EN) *Toh* (IT) *Ua(o/u)* (IT) *Oh* (NLS)	Lexicalised Interjections	English (3) Italian (2) NLS (1)	Lexicalised (5) Non-lexicalised (1)
Happiness	*Y(i)a(h/i)oo* (EN) *Urrà(h)* (IT) *Yuppi* (NLS)	Interjections	English (1) Italian (1) NLS (1)	Lexicalised (2) Non-lexicalised (1)
Anger	*(S)grunt* (EN) *(S)nort* (EN) *Grr* (NLS) *Gru(n/m)f* (NLS)	Lexicalised	English (2) NLS (2)	Lexicalised (2) Non-lexicalised (2)
Fear	*Gulp* (EN) *(S)gurgle* (EN) *Gasp* (EN) *Glom* (NLS) *Iih* (NLS) *Brr* (NLS)	Non-lexicalised	English (3) NLS (3)	Lexicalised (4) Non-lexicalised (2)
Disgust	*Um(p)f* (EN) *Pfui* (EN) *Tsk* (EN) *(S)grunt* (EN) *Groan* (EN) *Puah* (IT) *Uff(a)* (IT) *Glom(f)* (NLS)	Interjections	English (5) Italian (2) NLS (1)	Lexicalised (7) Non-lexicalised (1)
Sadness	*(A/U)rgh* (EN) *Oops* (EN) *Sigh* (EN) *Sob* (EN) *(A/O)himè* (IT) *Oh* (NLS) *Uh* (NLS)	Lexicalised Interjections	English (4) Italian (1) NLS (4)	Lexicalised (7) Non-lexicalised (2)

	Glom (NLS) *Glab* (NLS)			
Pain	*Ouch* (EN) *A(h)i(a/o)* (IT) *Ohi(a)* (IT)	Interjections	English (1) Italian (2)	Lexicalised (3)
Doubt	*Mumble* (EN) *Mah* (IT) *Toh* (IT) *Uhm* (IT) *Ehm* (IT)	Interjections	English (1) Italian (4)	Lexicalised (4)
Fatigue	*Pant* (En) *Uff* (IT) *Puff* (NLS)	Lexicalised Non-lexicalised	English (1) Italian (1) NLS (1)	Lexicalised (3)
Total:			**English (21)** **Italian (13)** **NLS (13)**	**Lexicalised (36)** **Non-lexicalised (9)**

The table shows again a predominance of English-derived forms (21 as opposed to 13 Italian forms). Lexicalised depictions are also generally highly preferred. 36 forms out of 45 prevailing forms could indeed be found in dictionaries of language in use ('Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary', 2016, for English and 'De Mauro Dictionary of Italian Language in Use', 2000, for Italian). 'Sadness', 'anger' and 'fear' are the only three feelings that include at least two non-lexicalised forms as prevailing. 'Fear' is also the only emotion for which non-lexicalised forms are preferred to lexicalised ones.

The following section will consider the data gathered for each of the nine feelings. Considering their high frequency throughout the decades, ideophones and interjections representing feelings offer a clear overview on the continuous evolution of these forms throughout the years. The aim is to offer clear historical data on the changes of these forms throughout the decades and highlight changes in their use, while also considering if and when English or Italian forms start to prevail over each other.

- Surprise

Surprise is the most represented feeling throughout the corpus, with 315 forms. This category features a predominance of English terms, with forms such as *gulp*, *ulp* and *gasp*, particularly post-1960s. Until the end of the 1950s interjections were mostly used, these being monosyllabic forms such as *oh* and *toh* or lexicalised Italian interjections such as *perbacco*, *corbezzoli*, *capperi*, *accipicchia*, *perdinci*, *ohibò*, which were all used during the 1930s and would now be considered very antiquated, particularly if used in books for young readers. There is a visible increase of English lexicalised forms post-1990s, but also a revival of certain Italian interjections such as *uao,* which reappears after an absence in 1985 and gets used more and more often from that date. This is in line with the resurgence of Italianised expressions seen in the last fifteen years.

Table 35. Most common sound symbolic forms used to represent feelings of surprise (in order of appearance).

Form (language of origin in brackets, if applicable)	**First appearance**	**In-between appearances**[13]	**Last appearance**
Oh	1933	1938x2; 1939x3; 1940; 1956	1970
toh (IT)	1934	1935; 1938x2; 1940; 1941; 1965; 1975; 1979	1977
ua(o/u) (IT)	1935	1985; 1987; 1990; 1992; 1993; 1995; 1997; 1998; 2003; 2005; 2006x2; 2009x2; 2010x4; 2011;	2012
ulp (EN)	1949	1962; 1968; 1969; 1970; 1973x2; 1974x2; 1975; 1976; 1977; 1979x2; 1980; 1981x2; 1982x3; 1983; 1984x2; 1985x2; 1985; 1987; 1989x2; 1992x2; 1993; 1994x2;	2013

[13] In this and the following tables the number of occurrences for each year is provided using the 'YEARxNUMBER' format (ie. '1935x2' means that the form was found twice in stories published in 1935).

		1997x2; 2000x2; 2002x2; 2003; 2005x5; 2006x3; 2007x2; 2008x2; 2009x2; 2009x4; 2010; 2011x4; 2012x2	
gulp (EN)	1949	1950; 1952; 1953x2; 1955; 1956x4; 1960x2; 1962; 1965x2; 1965; 1967; 1968; 1969x3; 1970x3; 1971; 1972; 1973; 1974; 1975x3; 1976x4; 1977x2; 1980; 1981; 1982x2; 1983; 1985; 1986; 1987; 1992; 1994x3; 1995; 1997; 1998x2; 1999; 2000x3; 2002; 2005; 2006x3; 2007x2; 2008x5; 2009x2; 2010x3; 2011x4	2012
caspita (IT)	1956	1960; 1963	1978
gasp (EN)	1969	1971; 1973; 1976; 1979; 1989; 1990; 199x2; 1993; 1994; 1997x3; 2000; 2002x2; 2003; 2005; 2006x2; 2007x2; 2008; 2009x5; 2010; 2011x5; 2012x6	2013

- Happiness

Interjectional forms are definitely preferred when expressing feelings of happiness. The Italian forms *urrà* and *evviva* (both meaning 'hooray') are the most used throughout the decades. English interjections such as *yahoo* and *yippee* are more common post 1950s, together with the interjection *yuhuu, which* started appearing in the mid-eighties. There is also an interesting re-appearance of the Italian interjection

urrà in 1992, in line with the revival of certain Italian expressions post-1990 that was mentioned earlier.

Table 36. Most common sound symbolic forms used to represent feelings of happiness (in order of appearance).

Form (language of origin in brackets, if applicable)	**First appearance**	**In-between appearances**	**Last appearance**
urrà(h) (IT)	1933	1935x2; 1951; 1953; 1960; 1962; 1974; 1975; 1982; 1992; 1994x2; 2006	2012
evviva (IT)	1935	1939x12; 1959	1962
yuppi (IT)	1948	1976; 1981; 1982	1992
y(i)a(h/i)oo (EN)	1955	1965; 1968; 1969; 1979	1984
yuhuu (IT)	1987	1997; 1998; 2006	2012

- Anger

During the 1930s and 40s, Italian interjections were mostly used (*diamine*, *diavolo*, *dannazione*), together with the universally-known *grr*. After the 1950s, the Anglicisation already seen in other instances leads to a widespread use of English lexicalised forms such as *(s)grunt* and *snort*. The latter, in particular, seems to have stuck for longer, as it is nowadays the preferred ideophone to express anger, together with the everlasting *grr*. The non-lexicalised form *gru(m/n)f*, which makes a few appearances between 1960s-80s, should also be noted.

Table 37. Most common sound symbolic forms used to represent anger (in order of appearance).

Form (language of origin in brackets, if applicable)	**First appearance**	**In-between appearances**	**Last appearance**
grr	1934	1939x3; 1949; 1950x2; 1951; 1952; 1953; 1955; 1968; 1975; 1994; 2006; 2008; 2010	2012

snort (EN)	1948	1965; 1970; 1971; 1972x2; 1975; 1989; 1997; 2002x4, 2003x3; 2005; 2006x2; 2009	2011
(s)grunt (EN)	1951	1955; 1956x2; 1957; 1969; 1970x3; 1977x3; 1978; 1979; 1979; 1980x3; 1982x2; 1984	1985
gru(n/m)f	1960	1965; 1967; 1972; 1978	1980

- Fear

The theatrical nature of fear, that is the fact that people associate it with physical reactions such as screaming, shaking or biting one's teeth (see the occurrence of *rat-tat-tat-ta*, *brr brr* and *tic tac*), is reflected in the ideophones and interjections used to represent the feeling. A variety of non-lexicalised nonsense forms has been invented by cartoonists throughout the years, almost as if representing fear and panic requires a panic feeling from the creator, who starts throwing random letters onto the strip. Particularly during the first couple of decades, the balloons of characters in fear are filled with monosyllabic interjections such as *aaoh*, *iih, eeh, eiuu,* and *ahuu*. This trend continues up until the 1950s, after which English lexicalised ideophones such as *gulp* and *gurgle* came to the fore.

As in the representation of anger, note should be made of the widespread use of the phoneme /g/ in both non-lexicalised and lexicalised expressions.

Table 38. Most common sound symbolic forms used to represent feelings of fear (in order of appearance).

Form (language of origin in brackets, if applicable)	**First appearance**	**In-between appearances**	**Last appearance**
iih (IT)	1933	1934; 1936	1939
uh	1938	1939; 1940	1952
brr	1950	1959; 1963; 1965	2008

gulp (EN)	1951	1963; 1978; 1979; 1980; 1986; 1994; 1997; 1999; 2000; 2003x2; 2005x2; 2010x2	2012
(u/a)rgh (EN)	1955	1963x2; 1991; 1993; 2005; 2007	2012
(s)gurgle (EN)	1967	1968; 2005; 2007; 2009	2012
gasp (EN)	1997x2	2006x3; 2009; 2010	2012x2
glom	2003x2	2009	2012x3

- Disgust

Together with surprise, disgust is one of the most represented feelings (227 forms out of 2041 'human' type forms). Interestingly enough, interjections seem to be preferred, with the Italian *puah*, *uff* and *bah* being employed throughout the eight decades. *Umpf, tsk* and the German-derived *pfui* join the list as most used after the 1960-70s. As always, English lexicalised forms, in this case *sgrunt* and *groan*, start appearing post-1960s.

Table 39. Most common sound symbolic forms used to represent feelings of disgust (in order of appearance).

Form (language of origin in brackets, if applicable)	**First appearance**	**In-between appearances**	**Last appearance**
puah (IT)	1933	1939; 1940; 1941; 1949; 1950; 1952; 1955; 1956; 1965x2; 1973; 1974x2; 1977; 1978; 1982	2000
uffa (IT)	1935x2	1939; 1956; 1962; 1968; 1969; 1980; 2006; 2009; 2010	2012
bah (IT)	1948	1949; 1950; 1952; 1955x2; 1969; 1974; 1978; 1979, 1987; 1989; 1992; 1993; 1995; 2000x2; 2008; 2010x5; 2011	2012
umpf (EN)	1955	1962; 1972x2; 1987x2;	2013

		1990; 1992x2; 1997; 2002x2; 2005x2; 2006; 2007x2; 2009; 2010x6; 2011x4; 2012	
sgrunt (EN)	1959	1981; 1984; 1986; 1989; 1991x2; 1994x2; 1997; 2000x2; 2002x2; 2005x2; 2006x4; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010x4; 2011x6	2012x3
pfui (EN)	1960	1965; 1972; 1978; 1980; 1981; 1985; 1986; 1989; 1995; 2006	2012
glom	1968	2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012x2	2013
groan (EN)	1969x2	1982; 1992; 1999; 2006x2	2010
tsk (EN)	1972	1977; 1980; 1982; 1985x2; 1993; 1994x2; 1997; 2005x2; 2006x2; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010x4; 2011x3; 2012	2013x3

- Sadness

As seen in other instances, the first years witness the predominance of interjectional (often of Italian origin) expressions, in this case *(a/o)himè* and *oh* principally but also *ahi*, *uh*, *ohi* and *diamine*. The 1950s and 60s show a mix of both these expressions and the first English 'intruders', such as *sigh, sob, (s)gurgle and (s)grunt*. There is a strikingly frequent occurrence of *sigh* and *sob* starting at the end of the 1990s and continuing to the present day. Between 2005 and 2012 most stories feature a continuous alternation of those two expressions to the detriment of the ones used theretofore.

Table 40. Most common sound symbolic forms used to represent feelings of sadness (in order of appearance).

Form (language of origin in brackets, if	**First appearance**	**In-between appearances**	**Last appearance**

applicable)			
(a/o)himè (IT)	1935x2	1936; 1938x4; 1939x6; 1940x3; 1945; 1953; 1956; 1958x2; 1959	1984
uh	1936	1940; 1952; 1953	1959
oh	1939x7	1940x2; 1952; 1953	1956
sigh (EN)	1951	1956; 1957; 1965; 1969; 1976; 1977; 1978; 1979; 1980x2; 1981x2; 1984x2; 1985; 1989; 1992x2; 1993x2; 1994; 1997; 2000x2; 2005x6; 2006x4; 2007x2; 2008x6; 2009x2; 2010x11; 2011x3; 2012x6	2013
(a/u)rgh (EN)	1956	1981; 1984; 1993	1997
oops (EN)	1956	1968; 1985x2; 1987; 1989; 1997; 1998; 2005	2010
sob (EN)	1965	1969; 1971; 1976; 1983; 1984; 1985; 1989x2; 1990x2; 1992; 1993; 1997x2; 1999; 2000; 2002x2; 2003x2; 2005x5; 2006x4; 2007x3; 2008x4; 2009x3; 2010x2; 2011; 2012x2	2013
glab	1965	1997; 2000; 2002; 2006; 2007	2012x2
glom	1997x2	2000x2; 2006x2	2007x2

- Pain

This is the first case in which the supremacy of one single form throughout the years can be identified. The Italian interjection *ahia* and its related alternatives (*ai, ahi, ahia, ahio*) are consistently used throughout the eighty years. Being in pain is a very vocal

feeling, so interjections are among the majority of its realisations. The English form *ouch* increases in frequency after the 1960s.

Table 41. Most common sound symbolic forms used to represent pain (in order of appearance).

Form (language of origin in brackets, if applicable)	**First appearance**	**In-between appearances**	**Last appearance**
ohi(a) (IT)	1932	1940; 1949; 1959; 1965; 1976; 1985x2; 1989; 1995	2010
a(h)i(a/o) (IT)	1935	1936x2; 1938x2; 1939x3; 1940; 1945; 1948x2; 1949x3; 1950x2; 1951x2; 1952x5; 1953x3; 1956; 1958x2; 1959; 1962; 1970; 1974; 1975x3; 1978; 1981; 1984x2; 1985x2; 1986; 1989x2; 1992x3; 1993; 1994; 1995; 1997x2; 1998; 2005; 2006x3; 2007; 2009x2; 2010x5; 2011	2012
ouch (EN)	1960	1968; 1972; 1975; 1986; 1995; 1997; 1998; 2000x2; 2005; 2010; 2011	2012x2

- Doubt

In the early years 'doubt' was represented through the Italian interjections *mah*, *uhm* and *ehm*. *Mah* has consistently been used throughout the years, while *ehm* and *uhm* are nowadays less frequent and are replaced by the lexicalised forms *mumble* (EN) and *boh* (IT).

Table 42. Most common sound symbolic forms used to represent doubt (in order of appearance).

Form (language of origin in brackets, if	**First appearance**	**In-between appearances**	**Last appearance**

applicable)			
mah (IT)	1933	1938; 1939; 1985; 1992; 1994; 2003	2012
uhm	1934	1935; 1938; 1939x3; 1948; 1955; 1956	1969x2
ehm	1935	1937; 1939x12; 1940x2; 1963	1992
mumble (EN)	1951	1969; 1995; 1997; 2003; 2006; 2007x2; 2008	2009
boh (IT)	1970	1977; 1985; 1997; 2006	2011

- Fatigue

The interjections *uff* and *puff* were the main ideophones used to signify fatigue states in the early years, and they have been joined by the English lexicalised form *pant* and the non-language specific *anf* in later years. *Puff* and *pant* have been the most used post-2010.

Table 43. Most common sound symbolic forms used to represent fatigue (in order of appearance).

Form (language of origin in brackets, if applicable)	**First appearance**	**In-between appearances**	**Last appearance**
puff	1939	1951; 1955x2; 1956x2; 1957; 1962x2; 1963; 1965; 1969; 1974; 1975; 1976; 1977x2; 1979; 1983; 1985; 1989x2; 1992; 2000x2; 2002; 2007; 2010; 2011x3; 2012x2	2013x2
uff (IT)	1939	1967; 1974	2007
pant (EN)	1963x2	1965x2; 1970; 1977x2; 1979x2; 1981; 1984; 1985; 1989; 1991; 1997; 2000; 2005x2; 2006x3; 2007x3; 2010x3; 2011x3;	2013

		2012x4; 2013x3	
anf	1990	2006; 2012	2013x2

In summary, the copious amount of forms belonging to the human category has allowed an in-depth analysis of the historical change. The objective of this inquiry was to understand whether a pattern regarding the joining of English forms could be spotted throughout the years and to capture whether there was a preference for interjections or ideophones in certain periods. As mentioned before, the nature of the emotion represented clearly affects its realisations. Nevertheless, the results have revealed certain reoccurrences and trends that can be summarised with the following three main points:

- (1) Depictions used between 1932 and the 1950s show a higher presence of interjectional Italian forms.
- (2) English lexicalised forms tend to often appear somewhere between the start of the 1950s and the end of the 1960s. If one considers all the prevailing English-derived forms, this is the order of their appearance as detected in the corpus:

Table 44. Diachronic appearance of English ideophones.

Form	**Year of appearance**	**Lexical function in English**	**Present in Italian dictionary? (De Mauro, 2000)**	**Included in the 'Grande Dizonario della Lingua Italiana'? (Battaglia, 1996)[14]**
(g)ulp	1949	Lexicalised	Yes (according to De Mauro, 2000, it was first added in a dictionary in 1930 as interjection)	Yes (added as interjection in the 2004 version)
(s)grunt, snort, sigh, mumble	1951	Lexicalised	Yes to all: *grunt* (1966), *snort* (1983), *sigh*	*Sigh* (as 'interjection of onomatopoeic

[14] This refers to the main Battaglia Dictionary. Note that *gulp*, *sigh* and *gasp* were included in the 'Supplemento', additional volume that acts as an integration to the main Dictionary, published in 2004 and all three classified as English interjections of onomatopoeic origin.

			(1990), *mumble* (1964), all as interjections.	English origin'; only form in this list included in the 1996 main version of the Dictionary); *mumble* was added in 2004.
yahoo, argh, umpf	1955	Interjections	No	No
urgh, oops	1956	Interjections	No	No
gasp	1957	Lexicalised	Yes (1980, as interjection)	Yes (added as part of the 2004 Dictionary update)
ouch	1960	Interjection	No	No
pant	1963	Lexicalised	No	No
sob	1965	Lexicalised	Yes (1964 as interjection)	No
gurgle	1967	Lexicalised	Yes (1950, as phonosymbolism)	No
groan	1969	Lexicalised	No	No
tsk	1970	Interjection	No	No

As can be seen, the first forms derived from English are all lexicalised (*gulp*, *sgrunt*, *snort*, *sigh* and *mumble*) and are all present in the Italian De Mauro dictionary (2000) and categorised as interjections, while the first non-lexicalised English interjections started appearing a few years later (1955-56). It is interesting to notice that none of the English interjections has ever been added to dictionaries.

The presence of English lexicalised forms in dictionaries represents the recognition of their importance in both the sectorial language of new media and in orality, as the language of comics is often a reflection of spoken language and particularly young people's language (Dovetto, 2012, p. 204). At the same time, they also provide evidence of the enormous Anglophonic influence in the Italian language of comics.

- (3) Finally, there is a slight but clear tendency to reintroduce certain Italian forms. This not necessarily to the detriment of the English ones, which are generally still used. Examples of this include the revival of Italian interjections such as *uao* (from 1985), *urrà* (from 1992), *uffa* (from 2006) and *boh* (from 1970) as indicated during the analysis.

7.1.3. Animal

The depiction of animals' cries is by far the most well-known type of iconicity. Disney comics do of course include many representations of animal noises, especially since ducks and mice are among their main characters. Animals represented include the following: dogs, cats, ducks, mice, crocodiles, birds, cows, lions, snakes, monkeys, flies, horses and even dinosaurs. Some of the most frequent ideophones are included in the following table, which, again, separates lexicalised from non-lexicalised forms and includes comments for each animal.

- Dog barking

Three forms seem to be the most frequently-used through the years: the Italian *bau* and *caì* and the English *arf*, all usually in a reduplicated form. The interesting thing is that the form *caì*, widely used during the 30s-50s does not appear in the corpus after these two decades, and leaves the other two, which both survive until today.

Table 45. List of forms used to represent a dog's cry.

Lexicalised	**Non-lexicalised**
Arf arf (1934; 1935; 1945x2; 1948x2; 1955; 1962; 1963; 1973; 1975; 1982; 1991x2; 1992; 1994; 2000x2; 2006x2; 2007; 2010) *Bau bau* (1934x2; 1935; 1940; 1950; 1956; 1965; 1981; 1984; 1991; 2000; 2007; 2010) *Wo(u)f* (1991; 1998; 2010x2) *Bark bark* (1997)	*Caì caì* (1933x2; 1934x2; 1935x4; 1948; 1955) *Rrrau ruff* (1935) *Buh buh* (1935; 1936) *Huf huf* (1935) *Ahu* (1935; 1936) *Arr arr* (1945) *Rrrr* (1945) *Avr avr* (1945) *Guaì guaì* (1948) *Yip yip* (1955)

	Arg (1960) *Uoow uoow* (1965) *Kai* (1965) *Uff* (1965) *Growff* (1969) *Grr* (1975; 2013) *Bof* (1998) *Cain* (2010)

- Cat meowing

The Italian *miao* and its derivatives (*mau/mao/miau*) are the most frequently-employed through the decades, although English-derived forms (*meeyiew/meaow*) start appearing after the 1970s)

Table 46. List of forms used to represent a cat meowing.

Lexicalised	**Non-lexicalised**
M(i)a(o/u) (1934; 1949; 1963x2; 1989; 1992; 1994; 1997) *Meaow* (1979; 1992; 1997)	*Mirrrl* (1939) *Miaugrr* (1948; 1956x2) *Miéee* (1956) *Meeyiew* (1972x2) *Fizzz* (1975) *Meo* (1989, 2005)

- Duck quacking

The calls of ducks have almost always been described with English-derived expressions. *Quack*, *uack* and their alternative forms have been the most used ones since the beginning, with the rather original ideophone *squarauqak* gaining some visibility during the last ten years. The form *qua qua*, which is officially the Italian candidate to describe the sound of ducks, can only be found once in the corpus in a strip form 1948.

Table 47. List of forms used to refer to a duck quacking.

Lexicalised	**Non-lexicalised**
(S)Qu(a/e)c(k) (1936; 1937; 1948x3; 1949; 1950;	*Ouooo* (1934x2)

1953; 1955x2; 1956x2; 1960; 1962; 1965) *Qua* (1948)	*Breck* (1955) *Ua(c/k)* (1955; 1956x3; 1958; 1960; 1960; 1965; 1967; 1969x2; 1972; 1981; 1982; 1984x2; 1987x2; 1989; 1992; 2003; 2010) *Sguek* (1965) *(S)quaraqu(e/a)k* (1960x3; 1981; 2007; 2010; 2011)

- Lion roaring

As expected, *roar* is the most common lexicalised ideophone to represent the roaring of a lion.

Table 48. List of forms used to refer to a lion roaring.

Lexicalised	**Non-lexicalised**
Roar (1940; 1949; 1972; 1992x2) *Arf arf* (1950)	*Grrr* (1933; 1950x2) *Ar-r-rucc* (1939) *Ugrr* (1950) *Caìn* (1950)

- Bear growling

Not much variety was found in this case, as the expressions all include either the phoneme /g/ or the phoneme /r/, typically used for growling sounds and perfectly befitting the bear's cry.

Table 49. List of forms used to represent a bear growling.

Lexicalised	**Non-lexicalised**
Roar (1955; 1965; 1997) *Growl* (1975; 1997)	*Gr(a)rr* (1965; 1969; 1997x2; 1997) *Grof* (1973) *R(a)rr* (1975; 1997)

- Horse neighing

Interesting variety may be seen in this case, as the very sonorous cry of the horse seems to force cartoonists to create expressions that include many letters, often

surrounded by the grapheme /h/, which is possibly trying to depict the typical grunt of a horse.

Table 50. Forms used to refer to a horse neighing.

Lexicalised	**Non-lexicalised**
Whinne(y/i) (1972; 1974)	*Ihiihii* (1949) *Iiheee* (1950) *Uinnieee* (1956) *Iiih* (1983; 2006) *Uuuu* (1992) *Neehrhr* (1992) *Reerhrh* (1992) *Nnyiihhh* (1997)

7.1.4. Mechanical

The analysis for this type will focus more on the semantic content of the forms as the corpus does not include enough material to produce a diachronic analysis as the one presented for the 'environmental' and 'human' types. These forms are used to emulate the sonic values of artificial and technological noises, hence they provide us with the tools to assess how ideophonic forms have caught up with technological advances and new inventions—see, for instance, mobile phones and computers.

In the case of the sound used for phones, the following table shows the evolution of its ideophonic form:

Table 51. Ideophones used to represent a phone ringing.

ID Code	**Date of first publication**	**Translation?**	**Sound Symbolic Entry**
9	Feb-33	Yes	*br-ring ring*
90	Apr-35	Yes	*brrrr r-ring*
252	Dec-36	Yes	*click*
333	Jul-38	Yes	*drrrin rrrin*
340	Jul-38	Yes	*r ringg*

383	May-39	Yes	*drrrr-rrrin*
467	May-39	Yes	*dr-r-r-rinn*
559	Nov-39	Yes	*dr-r-ring--r-ring*
584	Nov-39	Yes	*drin drin drrin*
632	Jul-40	Yes	*drrin drinn*
667	Jul-40	Yes	*driin driiin*
671	Jul-40	Yes	*driin driiin*
675	Jul-40	Yes	*driin driiin*
861	Apr-49	Yes	*drrinn*
1070	Apr-51	Yes	*dring dring*
1141	Dec-51	Yes	*drin*
1219	Jul-53	Yes	*clic*
1260	Jan-55	No	*rrring*
1261	Jan-55	No	*rrrringgg nnnggg*
1262	Jan-55	No	*clik*
1391	Feb-56	No	*br-r-r-ring*
1555	Sep-59	No	*drrrin drrrin*
1688	Mar-63	No	*rrringgg*
1738	Jul-63	No	*drrrriiiin*
1809	Jul-65	No	*drin drind*
1883	Sep-67	No	*drrrrinn drrrinn*
1898	Sep-68	No	*driiin driiin*
2086	Jun-70	No	*driiiin*
2115	Sep-70	No	*drin drin*
2223	May-73	No	*drrrr drrrr*
2224	May-73	No	*drrrinn drrrin*
2776	Nov-81	No	*driiin driin*
2911	May-84	No	*riiing*
3078	Mar-87	No	*drinn drinn*
3334	Aug-92	No	*ring ringgg*
3433	Oct-93	No	*rring*
3676	May-97	No	*briiip*
3686	Nov-98	No	*briiip briiip*
4032	Mar-06	No	*driiin*
4266	Apr-09	No	*drin driiin*

There is not much variation in this case. Even in the first translated stories published between February 1933 and July 1953 the Italian form *drin* is still prevalent, although occurrences of the English *ring* and its variations are still employed, even in original Italian stories. If one looks at the ideophones used to represent a mobile phone (first one found in the corpus is in a story published in August 2005) the English forms *brip* and *bip* are preferred, possibly motivated by the fact that that initial 'br' tries to phonetically represent the vibration of the device, fact also mentioned by Dovetto (2012, pp. 205-6).

It is also interesting to notice that the first ideophone in the corpus describing a videogame, in a story published in 1984, uses the familiar ideophone *driiin* usually designated for (home) phones ringing. This could be defined as one of those cases in which one ideophone's semantic value is extended to refer to other types of situations, which are usually not depicted by the ideophone in case. Other such cases were mentioned in Chapter 6, section 6.6.3 and show, again, the ideophone's semantic flexibility and tendency to adopt polysemic strategies.

Another common action depicted by mechanical ideophones is the use of guns and the action of shooting. The following table lists these occurrences throughout the different decades:

Table 52. List of ideophones used to represent the sound of shooting and guns.

ID Code	Date of first publication	Translation?	Sound Symbolic Entry
45	Jun-33	Yes	*rat-a-tatatat*
91	Apr-35	Yes	*rat-a-tat-a-tat*
162	Oct-35	Yes	*bum bum bum*
167	Oct-35	Yes	*click click*
168	Oct-35	Yes	*peh peh peh*
173	Oct-35	Yes	*bum*
175	Oct-35	Yes	*b-bum*
195	Dec-35	Yes	*pam*

205	Dec-35	Yes	*bang bang bang*
206	Dec-35	Yes	*ban*
265	Dec-36	Yes	*bang*
294	Nov-37	Yes	*bang bang*
303	Nov-37	Yes	*z-zipp*
454	May-39	Yes	*bang*
460	May-39	Yes	*bang bang bang*
461	May-39	Yes	*click*
474	Jul-39	Yes	*pum pam pim*
496	Jul-39	Yes	*bang*
546	Jul-39	Yes	*bang*
547	Jul-39	Yes	*bang*
548	Jul-39	Yes	*clac clac*
552	Jul-39	Yes	*bam*
763	Oct-48	Yes	*bang bang bang bang*
765	Oct-48	Yes	*bang bang pam*
776	Oct-48	Yes	*bup bup bup*
777	Oct-48	Yes	*brrup*
783	Oct-48	Yes	*bang bang bang*
785	Oct-48	Yes	*bang boom bang boom*
786	Oct-48	Yes	*click click click*
789	Oct-48	No	*bing*
954	Mar-50	Yes	*boom*
1004	Apr-50	No	*bang bang*
1246	Oct-53	No	*bang bang bang*
1316	Jun-55	No	*bang bang*
1362	Nov-55	Yes	*buuuum*
1487	Apr-56	No	*bang bang*
1547	May-58	Yes	*blam*
1617	Jan-62	No	*bang*
1681	Mar-63	No	*blam*
1682	Mar-63	No	*bam*
1683	Mar-63	No	*bang*
1704	Mar-63	No	*bang*
1722	Mar-63	No	*bam bam*

1793	Jan-65	No	*bang bang*
1931	Sep-68	Yes	*blam*
1947	Sep-68	No	*bang*
2010	May-69	No	*bang bang bang*
2103	Jun-70	Yes	*bang bang*
2236	Feb-74	No	*bang*
2414	Aug-75	Yes	*bang bang*
2561	Sep-77	No	*bang bang*
2622	Jul-78	No	*crack crack*
2636	May-79	No	*takatak*
3158	Feb-89	No	*blam*
3179	Nov-89	No	*blam blam*
3246	Apr-91	No	*pow blam*
3660	Apr-97	No	*bang bang bang*
3661	Apr-97	No	*blam skram trankt*
3778	Apr-00	No	*zip zip*
4377	Jul-10	No	*bang bang bang*
4554	Jan-12	No	*bang zip blam*
4560	Jan-12	No	*pon*

As it can be noticed, there is in this case an abundance of English-derived forms, in both translated and original stories: *bang*, first of all, with 27 occurrences but also *boom* (and the Italianised *bum*) and *blam*, which is a non-lexicalised form as it cannot be found in dictionaries. An interesting fact regarding mechanical sounds is in fact that they have the lowest amount of lexicalised forms when compared to all the other ideophonic types, as shown in the chart (5) below:

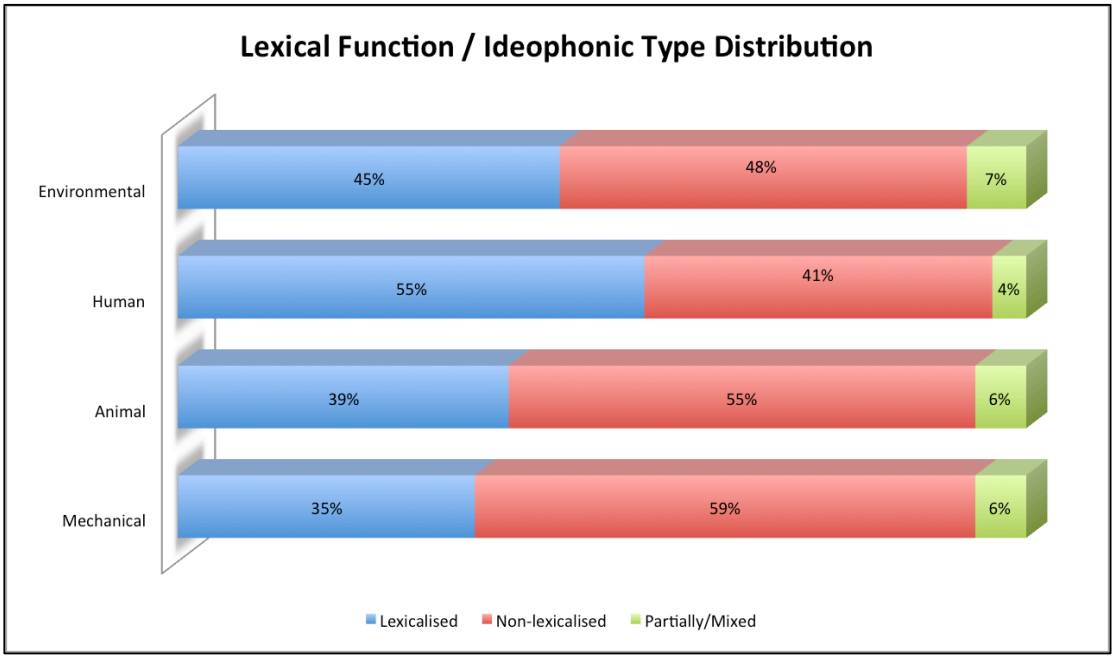


Chart 5. Distribution of lexicalised/non-lexicalised forms according to ideophonic type.

The reason for the tendency of mechanical sounds to feature more non-lexicalised forms also has repercussions on the translation strategy used, as it will be pointed out in Chapter 8. Mechanical forms are, indeed, the sound symbolic type that involves the highest amount of repetition strategies and this could be due to the fact that they are often trying to imitate sounds produced by machines and tools that cannot always be successfully replicated through our vocal cords (Assaneo et al., 2011, p. 4). This intrinsic characteristic of this sound symbolic type makes its forms more likely to involve non-lexicalised expressions. Viceversa, ideophones that are trying to iconically represent feelings, i.e. those included in the 'human' category, will more likely involved lexicalised forms (see interjections, which are indeed included in this category) and a higher amount of substitutions when looking at their translation strategy (as it can be

seen in Chapter 8, chart 8, page 202). This is due to the fact that they are perceived as easier to be performed by human beings as we can express feelings through our vocal tract/cords.

7.1.5. Miscellaneous

This category includes anything that does not fit elsewhere, a total of 37 forms. These were categorised according to three of the six processes theorised by Halliday (1985) as part of his transitivity system in functional linguistics. Each form was therefore considered to represent either a behavioural, material or mental process. Behavioural ideophones in this case include any forms that try to depict character's actions, material ones are describing facts and events in their entirety, while mental once try to express sensing, feeling and general abstract concepts. A list of the 37 miscellaneous ideophones, together with classifications, can be found in the following table (53):

Table 53. List of miscellaneous ideophones.

Hallidays' function	Function	Ideophone	Date of appearance
Behavioural	Fainting	*plomp*	1969
		pop	1969
		ploof	1994
	Stealing	*gnaf*	1949
	Waking up	*bop*	1956
		pop	1970
		pop	1990
		puff	2008
Material	Car looking clean	*flash*	2012
	Changing clothes	*paff*	1965
		sbiff	1965
	Character or object disappearing/appearing on or from cartoon	*plop*	1960
		poof	1983
		poof	1993
		glom	1994
		poof	2010x3

	Character suddenly grows a tail on his back	*sproing*	2011
	Character or object transformation	*puff*	1955
		puf	1955
		poff	1967
		piff	1967
	Image appearing on pc screen	*blink*	2010
	Magic	*zaaap*	2006x2
		zot	2009
		zap	2010
	Moving through time	*wooo-oosh*	1985
	Teleporting	*trooing*	1985
		pof	2000
		swwww	2000
Mental	Idea popping	*bop*	1956
	Hypnotising force	*lamp zot zump*	1983
		poof poof	1985
	Sound of bubbles on top of character's head symbolizing confusion	*tink plik plonk*	1984
	Thought bubble disappearing	*pop*	1967

Examples include *gnaf* for stealing, *pop* for waking up, *puf(f), poff* and *piff* for a character transforming into a different form, *bop* for an idea popping in one's head, *plop* and *poof* for a character disappearing from the panel, *paff* and *sbiff* for changing one's clothes, *plo(m)p* for the action of fainting and *lamp zot zump* to describe the action of hypnotising someone.

Chapter 8. Translating Ideophones and Interjections in Italian Disney Comics

8.1. Introduction

The following chapter will investigate the translation strategies used for the ideophones and interjections that make up the corpus of forms that was compiled for this research project. The corpus of translated strings contains 1138 forms, taken from a total of 72 stories[15] produced between 1932 and 1992 (see page 58 for information regarding methodology employed for this particular chapter).

The main aim of this chapter is to focus on the influence of English within and across five time-frames in order to identify translation tendencies and to offer explanations of these by linking them to the findings highlighted in Chapters 6 and 7. Other graphical and linguistic reasons for particular translation choices will be postulated and discussed. The overview offered will elucidate the role of sound symbolic forms (both interjections and ideophones, although often the main focus will be on ideophones) in the spread of English in Italian Disney comics. On a secondary level, the investigation will also attempt to investigate and compare the ways in which Spanish and Italian treat these forms in translation through the use of second-hand data produced by Valero Garcés (2008).

8.2. Corpus Analysis

The analysis has been divided according to five different historical windows: (1) 1932-42; (2) 1945-1959; (3) 1960s; (4) 1970s; (5) 1980-1992. This classification was inspired by the time-frames used to categorise forms in Chapter 6 (see pages 98-101), with some additional changes to tailor the overall framework to this particular study. The first two time-frames (1932-42; 1945-59) remain unchanged, but post-1959, the division used here is slightly different. In order to have a more accurate representation of diachroneity in the data, it was decided to add a division between the 1960s and the 1970s. These two decades illustrate significant changes in terms of Anglophonic

[15] Note that there are a total of 84 translated stories in the corpus, although I was only able to find the corresponding English source text for 72 of them, hence the discrepancy.

influence. As described in Chapter 6 there is an evident spike in the use of English forms in Disney comics starting roughly at the end of the 1960s. Analysing each of these two decades individually will ensure that these changes are highlighted and considered.

The investigation will firstly offer a general overview of the diachronic changes in the sound symbolic forms. The analysis will then focus on specific data selected according to specific parameters: sound symbolic type, position and colour. These parameters were deemed useful in view of the final analysis as they allow for a close look at how both the visual (colour, positioning) and semantic (meaning) aspects of the comic book influence its translation. Finally, several examples from each time-frame will be chosen and analysed further in order to provide a comprehensive picture of their translation in diachroneity.

A series of four main hypotheses were formulated during the writing of Chapter 3 (see pages 61-63) and were intended to facilitate a comprehensive discussion of the various issues and dynamics related to sound symbolism in translation.

8.2.1. General Diachronic Annotations

The following chart (6) summarises the percentage of strategies used within each time-frame, presenting the changing and emerging trends for each of these time windows, and highlighting the main strategies employed within each window. Each strategy has been colour coded, as shown in the key. The chosen seven strategies were presented in Chapter 3 (page 60).

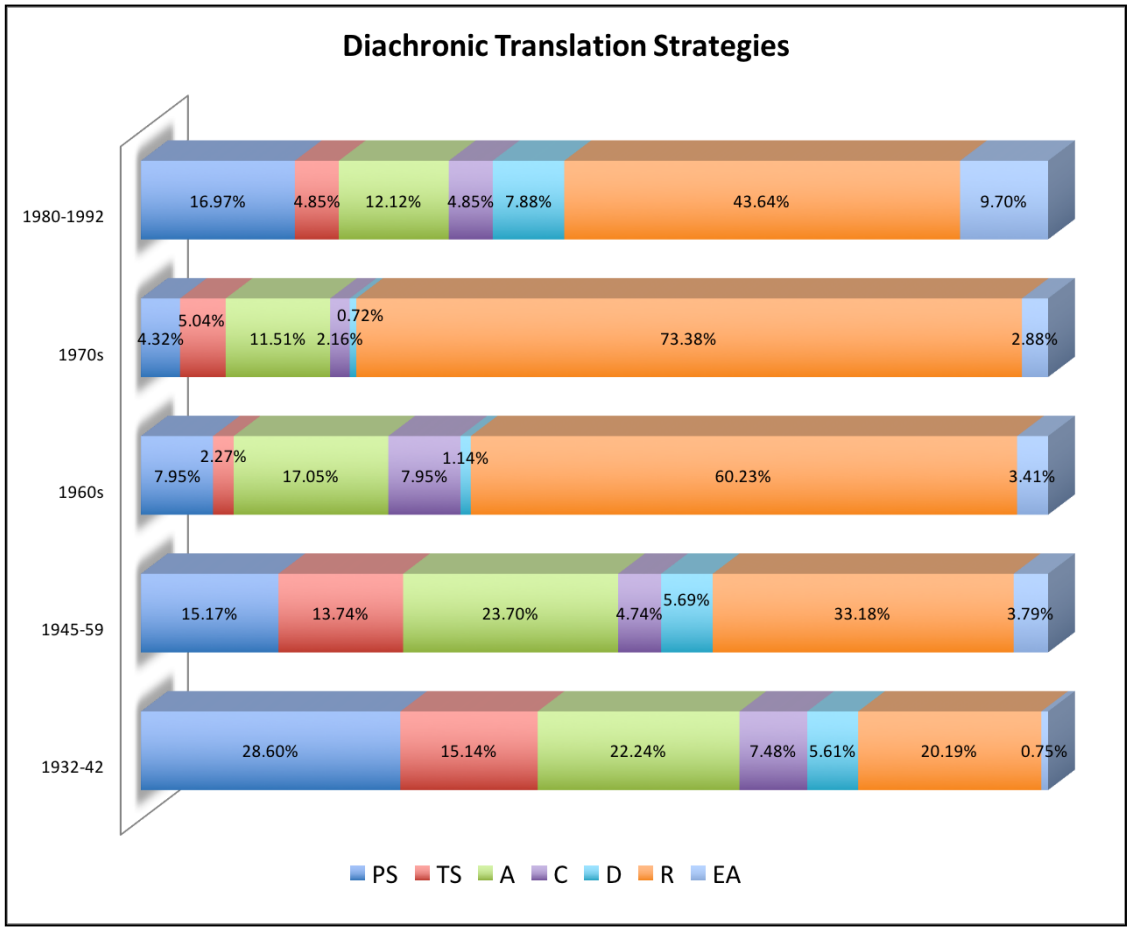


Chart 6. Diachronic translation strategies organised by time-frames. Legend: PS = Partial Substitution; TS = Total Substitution; A = Addition; C = Creation; D = Deletion; R = Repetition; EA = English Equivalent.

The most evident trend is the rising repetition of source-text forms through the earlier decades covered by this study. From a rate of just over 20% in the 1932-42 period to one of just over 73% in the 1970s, strategies of 'repetition' were constantly on the rise. This tendency was also being noticed by Valero Garcés (2008, p. 243) when looking at translations from English to Spanish of the ideophones in comics. This phenomenon was due to the growing influence of the English language in Italian media, which in turn caused readers to accept some of the English words as part of the sectorial language of Italian comics. This led to more and more English words being retained without any modifications. However, after 1980, this trend appears to change direction, as strategies of 'repetition' in Disney comics undergo a steady drop throughout the last 12 years covered by this investigation (1980-92). Though the percentage of repetition strategies in this last time window (roughly 40%) is not as low as the percentage in the first two time-frames, it contrasts starkly with the remarkably

high percentage (over 70%) found in the preceding decade. Despite still being the most used single strategy, 'repetition' seems to have been left aside by translators in favour of strategies of 'partial substitution', instances in which the forms have been localised but the same type of ideophone has been used (in terms of it being still lexicalised or non-lexicalised). This demonstrates the general initial trend of trying to localise the forms for the Italian audience, with a rising influence of English language through the decades that led to most translators retaining English forms in the target text. As the number of repetitions grows, the number of partial or total substitutions slowly decreases. After many decades of English influence, Italian translators might have felt that something had to be done about the possibly overwhelming Anglicisation of language and they might have decided to try to devise original Italian alternatives.

The last twelve years show a sudden change in previous patterns: despite strategies of repetition still representing the majority (40%), there is a sudden increase in both partial substitutions (from 4% to 17%) and in English alternatives (from 3% to 10%). This last strategy refers to the use of alternative English words that might be considered more familiar to the reader than the English word in the source text, and was also noticed by Valero Garcés (2008, p. 247) in respect of the translation of English ideophones to Spanish: '[…] this tendency to consider some English borrowings as part of the Spanish language of onomatopoeia is confirmed by the use of well-known English onomatopoeia to translate lesser-known ones, for example 'sob! snif!' to translate 'bad blubber''. This change provides evidence of a willingness, in the last decade of Italian translated stories, to provide a more familiar textual environment to the reader. This does not exclude the ongoing influence of English forms, as proved by the presence of English equivalents, but it would appear possible that by that point these forms had already affected the Italian language to the extent that they were no longer considered to be foreign but were simply seen as part of the sectorial language of comics. Indeed, a study undertaken by the present author in 2010 showed that Italian people who had a beginner or elementary level of English were more likely to think that common English ideophones (in this case 'bang' and 'pant') were actually of Italian origin (Pischedda, 2010, p. 45).

Another reason for this rise in the use of alternative strategies rather than repetition could be the arrival of digital fonts and computers in the comic industry at the beginning of the 1980s (Ficarra, 2012, p. 31). These allowed for new and alternative ways of changing and updating the image. It should be noted that digital lettering was not used for comics until 1993 (Ficarra, 2012, p. 62). Before then, all fonts had to be manually drawn by cartoonists and then imported into a computer to be inserted in the comic strip. Interestingly, Valero Garcés's research discovered a steady rise in the strategies of repetition even in the last 15 years, with 75% of ideophones retained in the comics she analysed. This clashes with the findings highlighted in the corpus complied for the present study. A revival of Italian expressions was also noticed, in various instances, during the diachronic linguistic analysis carried out as part of Chapter 7.

The following table (54) lists all the 35 cases in which an English alternative word has been used. In the case of series of ideophones, forms that were not considered of English origin have been inserted within squared brackets:

Table 54. List of 'English equivalent' strategies.

Date	**Source text**	**Target text**
Nov-37	*sniff snuff snuffle snuffle snuff*	*sniff sniff sniff*
Nov-37	*bonk*	*bang*
Jul-39	*crack*	*click*
Jul-40	*uh glug gug*	*plop clack [tann]*
Jun-49	*thud*	*bang*
Nov-50	*sniff sniff sniff*	*gulp gulp gulp*
Nov-50	*sigh*	*gulp*
Jul-51	*ulp*	*gulp*
Dec-51	*gulp*	*sigh*
Dec-51	*snort*	*(s)grunt*
Dec-51	*snarl*	*snort*

Jan-52	*sniff*	*puff*
Sep-68	*yoo hoo*	*yia-hoo*
Jan-69	*rats*	*gulp*
Jan-69	*fooey*	*Pfui (originally German word but used in English as well)*
May-73	*woof yowl*	*arf arf*
May-73	*arf arf*	*bark bark*
Apr-74	*drool*	*slurp*
May-79	*yeeeeeep*	*yieowww*
Jul-81	*nok*	*stock*
Jul-81	*nok*	*stock*
Jul-81	*nok*	*stock*
Jul-81	*whack*	*stock*
Apr-83	*whack*	*stock*
May-85	*gawrsh*	*gulp*
Jan-92	*yipe*	*oops*
Dec-92	*erk*	*gasp*
Dec-92	*ka-pow*	*bang*
Dec-92	*kunk*	*clang*
Dec-92	*choonk*	*tonk*
Dec-92	*sploop*	*splash*
Dec-92	*arp arp*	*arf arf*
Dec-92	*knock knock*	*tump tump*
Dec-92	*rap rap rap*	*tump tump tump*
Dec-92	*bash*	*crash*

As the list demonstrates, half of the examples are indeed from translations post-1980. The last story in particular shows a high level of English alternative translations. This,

again, shows the general influence of English on Italian Disney comics that, by this point—and after 50 years of Anglophone influence—had reached its peak.

Bang and *gulp* appear to be the most preferred alternatives. Both forms were among the earliest ones to enter the Italian lexicon through comics, as shown by their early presence in dictionaries. *Gulp* was, in fact, the first English ideophone to be added to an Italian dictionary according to De Mauro Dictionary (2000), in 1930, while *bang* was also added relatively early, in 1941. This early adoption of these ideophones (and also their retention over the decades) as part of the Italian lexicon explains their recurrent use as alternatives to more difficult English words present in the source texts.

The use of strategies of 'addition'—that is those instances in which the form has been left but minor spelling and phonetic changes have been applied— dropped consistently over the time scale covered by this research. Nevertheless, this strategy has one of the lowest variability ranges throughout the decades, (22%—> 24% —> 17% —> 11.5% —> 12%), showing that making small changes in the look of the ideophones has always been considered a fruitful way to localise them for target audience.

Five different motivations behind the modifications were detected and added to the following list, which aims to analyse their occurrences (note that some of these have already mentioned in Chapter 6):

(1) Changes in spelling to emulate the Italian phonetic system:

This type of modification aims to facilitate the interpretations of the sound symbolic forms by offering words that are as close as possible to the spelling system and pronunciation of sounds of Italian.

The following table shows some of these particular forms:

Table 55. Changes in spelling to emulate the Italian phonetic system.

ID	Date	Source	Target
21	Apr-33	*ky-iiii*	*caì*

58	Jul-33	*eeeeeek*	*iiiiiiiic*
73	Jul-34	*hey*	*ehi*
155	Oct-35	*heh heh (interj.)*	*eh eh*
196	Dec-35	*boom*	*buùm*
398	May-39	*meeerrrl*	*miiirrrl*
669	Jul-40	*crash*	*crasc*
702	Jul-41	*oooph*	*uuuf*
741	Aug-46	*phweet*	*sfuiit*
875	Jun-49	*splash*	*splasc*
1090	Jul-51	*toot toot*	*tuu too*
1116	Dec-51	*choke*	*ciiuke*
1123	Dec-51	*wheeze*	*uizzzz*
1632	Apr-62	*moo moo moo*	*muu muu muu*
1824	Aug-65	*ki-i-yii*	*kaii*
2100	Jun-70	*foop*	*fuup*
2300	Apr-74	*cough*	*koff*
3103	Oct-87	*mmph*	*umpf*

(2) Changes in spelling to remove consonants considered not to be part of the official Italian alphabet (mainly /k/, /w/ and /y/):

Some of these cases have already been discussed in Chapter 6 (table 6, page 121).

Table 56. Changes in spelling aimed at removing consonants uncommon in the Italian official spelling system.

ID	**Date**	**Source**	**Target**
63	Jan-34	*owooo*	*ouooo*
126	Aug-35	*honk honk*	*hong hong*
143	Aug-35	*wurp*	*uerp*
237	Jun-36	*crack*	*crac*

261	Dec-36	*knock*	*knoc*
312	Nov-37	*whup whup*	*up up*
435	May-39	*swish*	*skis*
710	Jul-41	*yarr*	*iarr*
958	Mar-50	*gnaw*	*gnau*
1095	Jul-51	*whirr*	*viiir*
1154	Jan-52	*clink*	*clin*
1960	Jan-69	*wak*	*uack*
2628	May-79	*squeak*	*squick*
3109	Oct-87	*phwee*	*fiiii*

(3) Substitution or addition of consonants or vowels for other reasons apart from the two above:

Table 57. List of changes motivated by semantic factors.

ID	Date	Source	Target
1928	Sep-68	*kazoing*	*kayoing*
2220	May-73	*yeow*	*yieow*
3365	Dec-92	*fump*	*tump*

These cases include expressions that were modified by adding or substituting one sound for semantic or no apparent reasons. Cf., for instance, ID 1928: ‘kazo(ing)’ is very close to the Italian swearword *cazzo* (‘dick’), which is probably the reason why it was removed.

In the case of ID 2220 (yeow > yieow): this could be due to the ambiguous status of the grapheme <y> in Italian as semi-consonant therefore needing an <i> after it for clarification purposes.

Finally, the substitution of *fump* with *tump* could be due to the fact that ‘fump’ is not very common while there are other instances of ‘tump’ throughout the decades as shown in Chapter 6.

(4) Removal of consonants or vowels:

These changes are generally attempting to remove part of words that are Anglophonic markers. I.e. the change from *cloppity* to *clop*, from *oopsy* to *oops* and *ka-boom* to *boom*: the retained word is still English but somehow removing parts of it might be considered as producing a form that is easier to process by Italian readers.

Table 58. List of cases in which a consonant and/or vowel has been removed.

ID	Date	Source	Target
758	Oct-48	*cloppity*	*clop*
756	Oct-48	*halt*	*alt*
1129	Dec-51	*g-gulp*	*gulp*
2423	Aug-75	*oopsy*	*oops*
3345	Dec-92	*ka-boom*	*boom*
3358	Dec-92	*boo-hoo*	*booo*
3392	Dec-92	*poik*	*pok*
3400	Dec-92	*gyaaaah*	*aaah*

(5) Addition of accented vowels:

This type of modification is only found in the following five forms and it mirrors the tendency of early translators to make the target-text environment as close to the Italian spelling as possible. It should be noted that in Italian oxytone words have a graphical accent on the stressed vowel. There are four examples between 1933 and 1935 and one last appearance of this type of strategy in July 1940.

Table 59. List of changes that include the addition of accented vowels.

ID	Date	Source	Target
10	Feb-33	*tra-la-la*	*trà la là*
152	Oct-35	*haw*	*huà*

169	Oct-35	*hurray*	*urrà*
196	Dec-35	*boom*	*buùm*
635	Jul-40	*glug*	*glù*

Strategies of 'total substitution' refer to those instances in which the ideophone lexical type (from lexical to non-lexicalised form or vice versa or from lexicalised/non-lexicalised word to interjection) or meaning has been changed. Examples include the following: *thump* > *ss* (used to describe a sliding object; Jul. 1933); *swish* > *splac* (flying object; Nov. 1937); *slurp* > *plaff* (action of inserting one's hand inside a cake; Jan. 1940); *blonk clank* > *pot put* (used to imitate background noise; Dec. 1951) and many more. Throughout the decades analysed by the corpus, a total of 127 'total substitution' cases were detected. Analysis of the type of change applied to the form (cf. chart 16 below) showed that the majority (75 out of 127—59%) involved a change from a lexicalised form in the source text to a non-lexicalised one in Italian. This is followed by changes from lexicalised or non-lexicalised English forms to interjections. Only four cases—3% of the total—involved an English non-lexicalised form turning into a lexicalised Italian form. This data taken as a whole confirms the highly non-lexicalised and interjectional nature of Italian ideophones (as already postulated by Mioni, 1990, p. 88 and Dovetto, 2012, p. 203). Hence it is often the case that English ideophones can only be rendered through a different, non-lexicalised expressive form. This makes the Italian ideophonic system quite unpredictable but it could be argued that this factor fosters creativity. The absence of clear guidelines within the language on when and how to use these expressive forms arguably means that creators can use their imagination, perhaps even more than can their their English colleagues, who already have a 'real and extensive' lexical ideophonic base at their disposal (Feist, 2013, p. 105).

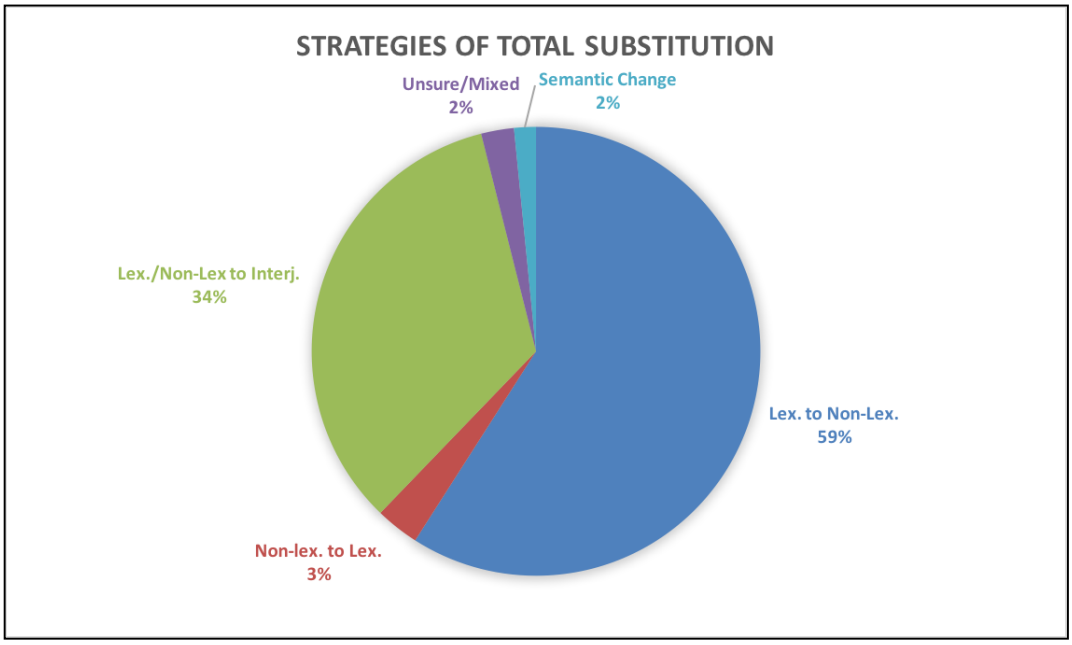


Chart 7. Different strategies of total substitution.

Finally, strategies of deletion and creation were also considered and include, respectively, the ideophonic forms that have been removed in the target text and the ones that have been added later. These only represent a small part of the corpus sample, together representing only 11% of the total strategies used (68 creations and 57 deletions for a total of 1142 occurrences of translation recorded). Nevertheless, the analysis of these two seemingly under-represented and under-used strategies represents a chance to show that sometimes linguistic differences force translators to drastically modify the source-text material in order to add forms that were not there in the first place or to remove them altogether. These are both radical choices that might conceal deeper linguistic and cultural motivations. The concepts are, of course, not new to the discipline of comics in translation. Different scholars (Akita, 2009, p. 203; Sanna, 2005, p. 53; Zanettin, 2013 p. 3; Zitawi, 2008, p. 242) in the field of comics and children's literature in translation have mentioned them as being usually (but not always) a last resort. The main issue in this context is that although sometimes the image might limit what can be deleted or added (cf. the 'constrained translation environment' offered by comics mentioned earlier), strategies of deletion and creation are sometimes vital in order to avoid semantic confusion (deletion) or to add further explanation (creation) to the comic strip. The following section will therefore attempt

to delve into these two strategies in order to investigate the leading motives that drove translators to resort to such extreme approaches.

Most cases of deletion involve the removal of an English lexicalised word (51 cases out of 56). This could have been because the word was deemed incomprehensible/unnecessary, and an Italian substitute was not found and/or consideration of the word being not necessary overall. The first explanation is supported by the fact that none of the English ideophones that were removed is one of the English ideophones that have long been familiar to Italian readers (such as *gulp*, *gasp*, *bang*, etc. Cf. Table 44 page 164 for a complete list of these).

This is the list of 56 words that were deleted:

Table 60. List of 'deletion' cases.

ID code	Date	Deleted string
132	Aug-35	*honk honk*
147	Aug-35	*sock*
157	Oct-35	*wham*
158	Oct-35	*plock*
161	Oct-35	*chug chug*
163	Oct-35	*pow*
174	Oct-35	*k-bam*
179	Oct-35	*screech*
198	Dec-35	*swoosh*
258	Dec-36	*huu huu hoo hooo*
259	Dec-36	*chatter chatter chatter chatter*
271	Dec-36	*quack wack wack*
276	Dec-36	*tap-a-tap tap*
280	Dec-36	*tsk tsk tsk*
281	Nov-37	*well*
282	Nov-37	*whoopee*

283	Nov-37	*humph*
284	Nov-37	*heh heh*
287	Nov-37	*tsk tsk tsk*
289	Nov-37	*gawsh*
290	Nov-37	*gosh*
295	Nov-37	*sniff sniff*
297	Nov-37	*thump thump*
300	Nov-37	*well*
306	Nov-37	*pow sock*
309	Nov-37	*bonkety bonk bonk bonk*
310	Nov-37	*whomp whomp*
311	Nov-37	*pow bam biff*
313	Nov-37	*fiah*
681	Jul-40	*bam*
759	Oct-48	*pow*
775	Oct-48	*snarl*
785	Oct-48	*wham bang boom bang boom*
1040	Nov-50	*chomp*
1050	Nov-50	*sob sob sob*
1084	Jul-51	*zow*
1088	Jul-51	*skid*
1130	Dec-51	*groan*
1131	Dec-51	*groan*
1135	Dec-51	*sputter*
1516	Jan-58	*noc*
1521	Jan-58	*pow bam*
1932	Sep-68	*ulp*
2221	May-73	*whew*

2846	Nov-82	*tuh puh-h*
3299	Feb-92	*click*
3301	Feb-92	*squeal*
3305	Feb-92	*whee*
3306	Feb-92	*squeal*
3311	Feb-92	*squeal*
3312	Feb-92	*squeal*
3313	Feb-92	*squeal*
3353	Dec-92	*ha-roooo*
3361	Dec-92	*braaak*
3368	Dec-92	*giggle*
3393	Dec-92	*whuff*
3395	Dec-92	*thhhook*

A few telling examples of deletions can be found in an early story published in October 1935[16], in which the protagonists are involved in several car crashes, a fact that provides a good opportunity for the American author to insert bold ideophonic statements. Those that have been dealt by the Italian translator with a deletion seem to follow a specific pattern. The following image (figure 27) includes a 'wham' written using a slightly bigger font, particularly if compared to most of the other ideophones present in the story, which use a font that is only minimally bigger than the letters included within balloons. One possible reason could be the fact that such a bigger font, unusual at the time, might have been considered too obstructive and therefore the translator might have chosen to dispose of it.

[16] The following section includes a considerable number of strips taken from the 1930s. The reason for this is the fact that stories from those years offer clear visual examples of certain translation strategies (deletion and creation, in particular). Section 8.2.6 will focus on each of the five different time windows and examples taken from different decades will then be provided.

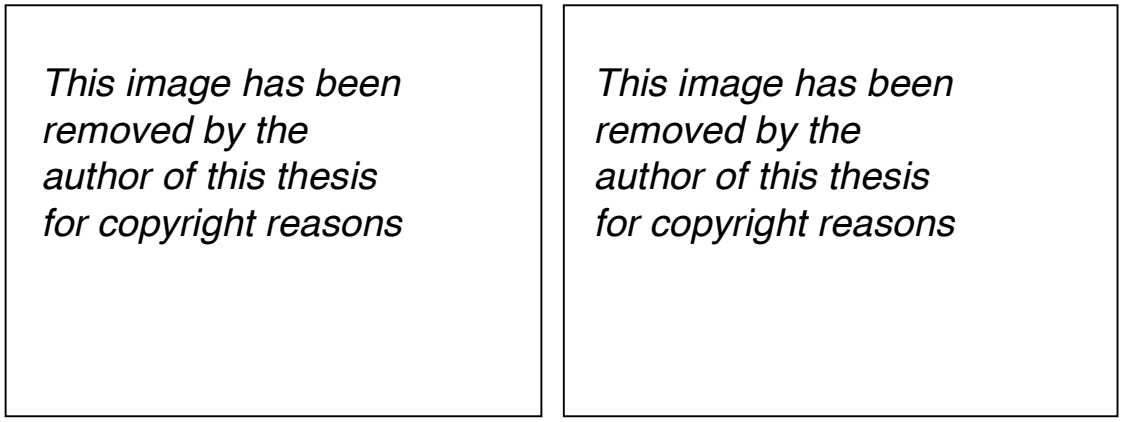


Figure 27. Example of deletion from an early story published in October 1935 with the title Il romanzo di Clarabella ('Race for Riches'). Left: *Smithsonian books 1 – The Smithsonian Collection of Newspapers Comics* (1977); Right: *Topolino giornale, issue 148*, Oct. 1935.

Looking at other cartoons within the same story, there are other instances in which an ideophone written in bigger font was retained and even localised. See, for example, the two cartoons below (figure 28), in which the ideophone 'crash' has been modified in the Italian version through a strategy of substitution, becoming 'crac'.

Figure 28. Example of substitution of a large font ideophone in a story published in October 1935. Left: *Smithsonian books 1 – The Smithsonian Collection of Newspapers Comics* (1977); Right: *Topolino giornale, issue 148*, Oct. 1935.

This, therefore, suggests that the main reason for the deletion of the word 'wham' in figure 27 is not graphical but linguistic. Simply put, the word might have been considered too difficult to understand and an appropriate Italian equivalent was not readily available. This is one of the most common reasons to opt for a complete

removal of source text content (either words or also entire balloons) (Zanettin, 2014, p. 13). Again, this shows a case in which Italian seems to lack the ability to produce ideophonic expressions for certain raucous events. In the case of a car crash, an Italian speaker might only come up with English words to describe the sound of this particular event, with 'crash' or 'bang' or 'smack' being possible solutions to the problem.

Another similar case taken from the same story published in October 1935 involves two different ideophones used to describe the noise made by a car ('chug' on the left and 'pop' on the right) (cf. figure 29). In this case, the translator has chosen to remove the word 'chug', perhaps because it was considered too complicated to understand, but opted for keeping the three instances of the word 'pop' on the right. 'Pop', being a highly-iconic word, was then considered understandable enough to be left unchanged.

Figure 29. Example of two ideophones in the same cartoon, one deleted and the other one left unchanged due to semantic reasons. Left: *Smithsonian books 1 – The Smithsonian Collection of Newspapers Comics* (1977); Right: *Topolino giornale, issue 148*, Oct. 1935.

A final example, taken from the 'Race for Riches' (*Il romanzo di Clarabella* – October 1935) translation, shows a character throwing a punch, an act which was represented in the English version by the word 'plock', a word that the translator decided to completely remove from the cartoon (cf. figure 30). Although an equivalent, possibly

of English origin, could have been found, the translator chose to dispose of the ideophone altogether.

Years later, these forms could have simply been replaced with other English terms, but during the 1930s *bangs*, *gasps* and *sighs* were not still widespread. Perhaps this is why translators chose, at the time, simply to remove the source text string rather than coming up with an alternative translation.

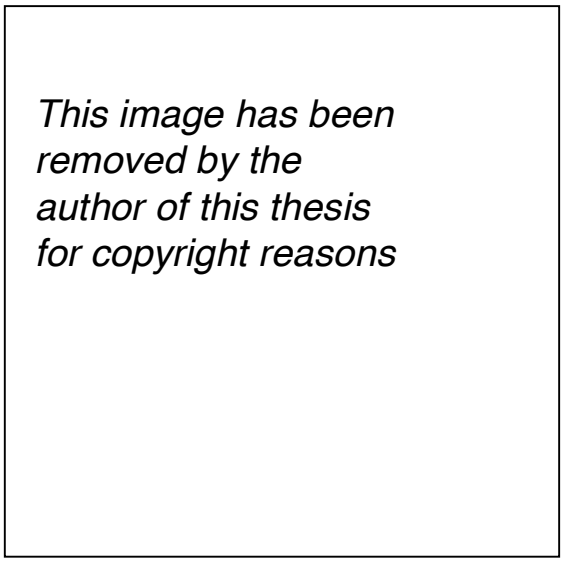


Figure 30. Example of deletion from a story published in October 1935 (*Topolino giornale, issue 148*, Oct. 1935).

Finally, as one can see from table 59, some of these English forms began to be deleted again in 1992, which could be a sign of the revival that was also remarked upon in Chapter 6. This phenomenon this will be analysed later in the chapter when focusing on that particular time-frame.

The list below sets out the 68 new forms that were inserted later during the translation process and that were therefore included in the 'creation' category.

Table 61. List of cases of 'creation' strategies.

ID code	Date	Form	Lexicalised (L), Non-lexicalised (NL) or Non-language Specific (NLS)	POS classification	Type	Type description	Position (O = outside; I = Inside)
15	Mar-33	*ah ah*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Laughter	I
20	Apr-33	*aaoooh*	NL	Inter.	Human	Yawning	I
47	Jun-33	*ohè*	NL	Inter.	Human	General exclamation	I
55	Jun-	*mah*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Doubt	I

	33						
69	Jul-34	*toh*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Surprise	I
71	Jul-34	*bah*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Doubt	I
131	Aug-35	*hong hong*	NL	Ideo.	Animal	Kangaroo	I
150	Aug-35	*huì huì*	NL	Ideo.	Animal	Kangaroo in pain	I
153	Oct-35	*aha*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Laughter	I
166	Oct-35	*ahimè*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Sighing	I
170	Oct-35	*altolà*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Tension/Anticipation	O
194	Dec-35	*ahi*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Worry	I
203	Dec-35	*pluff*	NL	Inter.	Meta-Ideophone	Describes the idea of sinking	I
211	Dec-35	*glu glu glu*	L (Italian)	Ideo.	Environmental	Sinking	I
215	Jun-36	*ehi*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Surprise	I
219	Jun-36	*ahimè*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Discontent	I
226	Jun-36	*ah ah ah*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Animal	Laughter	O
229	Jun-36	*rrrrrrrr bùh bùh*	NL	Series	Animal	Dog barking	I
236	Jun-36	*alt*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Stopping	I
240	Jun-	*perbacco*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Surprise	I

	36						
245	Dec-36	*pam*	NL	Ideo.	Environmental	Door slamming	O
254	Dec-36	*crack*	L (English)	Ideo.	Environmental	Obj. hitting	O
314	Nov-37	*grrrr*	NL	Ideo.	Animal	General exclamation	I
407	May-39	*ah*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	General exclamation	I
484	Jul-39	*pam*	NL	Ideo.	Environmental	Obj. hitting	O
493	Jul-39	*iii-i-iou-iurggh*	NL	Ideo.	Human	Waking up	I
498	Jul-39	*pim pam pum*	NL	Ideo.	Environmental	Obj. hitting tree	O
502	Jul-39	*glug*	L (English)	Ideo.	Human	Choking	I
517	Jul-39	*ohimè ohimè*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Discouragement	I
557	Nov-39	*u-uf o-uff*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Fatigue	I
639	Jul-40	*croncc*	NL	Ideo.	Human	Eating	O
640	Jul-40	*diamine*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Surprise	I
652	Jul-40	*diamine*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Surprise	I
653	Jul-40	*oh oh*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Worry	I
654	Jul-40	*zzzzzz*	NLS	Ideo.	Human	Sleeping	I
664	Jul-	*ahimè*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Sighing	I

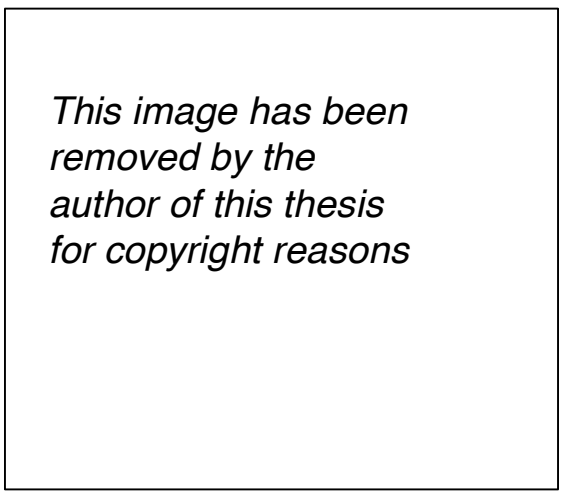
	40						
665	Jul-40	*rrr zzz rrr zzz*	NLS	Ideo.	Human	Sleeping	I
667	Jul-40	*driin driiin*	L (Italian)	Ideo.	Mechanical	Phone	O
676	Jul-40	*accidenti*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	General exclamation	I
685	Jan-41	*click*	L (English)	Ideo.	Environmental	Door opening	O
746	Aug-46	*ah ah ah*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Laughter	I
771	Oct-48	*ahi ahi*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Pain	I
864	Apr-49	*grrr*	NLS	Ideo.	Human	Anger	O
865	Jun-49	*ohi*	L (Italian)	Ideo.	Human	Surprise	O
871	Jun-49	*ahi ahi*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Worry	I
872	Jun-49	*olà*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	General exclamation	I
945	Oct-49	*sniff sniff*	L (English)	Ideo.	Human	Sniffing	O
953	Mar-50	*dannazione*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Anger	I
961	Mar-50	*dannazione*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Anger	I
1064	Feb-51	*tuuu tuuu*	NLS	Ideo.	Meta-Ideophone	Boat	I
1641	Apr-62	*umpf*	L (English)	Inter.	Human	Disapproval	I
1820	Aug-	*toh*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Surprise	I

	65						
1933	Sep-68	*tlip tlop*	NLS	Ideo.	Mechanical	Door bell	O
1967	Jan-69	*ulp*	NL	Ideo.	Human	Surprise	I
2033	Jul-69	*swish swat spurt*	L (English) and NLS	Series	Environmental	Broom sweeping	O
2034	Jul-69	*splat zaf swish slam*	L (Italian; English)	Series	Environmental	Broom sweeping	O
2035	Jul-69	*svlam bump*	NLS	Series	Environmental	Broom sweeping	O
2094	Jun-70	*gulp*	L (English)	Ideo.	Human	Surprise	I
2109	Jun-70	*gulp*	L (English)	Ideo.	Human	Surprise	I
2271	Apr-74	*bah*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Disapproval	I
3102	Oct-87	*ulp*	NLS	Ideo.	Human	Surprise	I
3104	Oct-87	*toc toc*	L (Italian)	Ideo.	Environmental	Door knocking	O
3281	Jan-92	*ulp*	NLS	Ideo.	Human	Surprise	I
3288	Feb-92	*uhmpf*	L (English)	Ideo.	Human	Disapproval	I
3289	Feb-92	*sigh*	L (English)	Ideo.	Human	Sadness	I
3298	Feb-92	*mah*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Doubt	I
3307	Feb-92	*uao*	L (Italian)	Inter.	Human	Surprise	I
3362	Dec-	*coff coff*	NLS	Ideo.	Human	Coughing	I

	92						

Due to the ease with which the content of balloons can be changed, the majority of creations are included in a balloon (51 out of 68). In the context of sound symbolic forms, creations are generally aimed at offering more context to support the reader in interpreting the scene described. In the case of interjections, these are single words specifically intended to represent feelings, which are usually included within the dialogue in the balloon and which are therefore very easy to insert during the translation process to add more emphasis.

Some telling examples of creations included within the balloon can be extracted from a story published in 1936 (*Topolino e Robin Hood* – 'The Robin Hood Adventure'). The interjections added clearly show a willingness, on the translator's part, to add emphasis to the scene. This is executed by adding either interjectional words uttered by the character or ideophones that make the event more iconic than the source text possibly had intended it to be, both from a visual and verbal perspective. It can, for instance, be noticed that these creations are often inserted to represent extreme feelings such as fear and anger. In the following cartoon (figure 31), for example, Mickey Mouse's shock at a growing plant is, in English, expressed with longer sentences, while in the Italian version the translator preferred opting for three sentences, made up of two imperatives (*fermati!*—stop!), one vocative (*o fiore*—oh flower) and a final interjection (*ehi*, equivalent of 'hey').



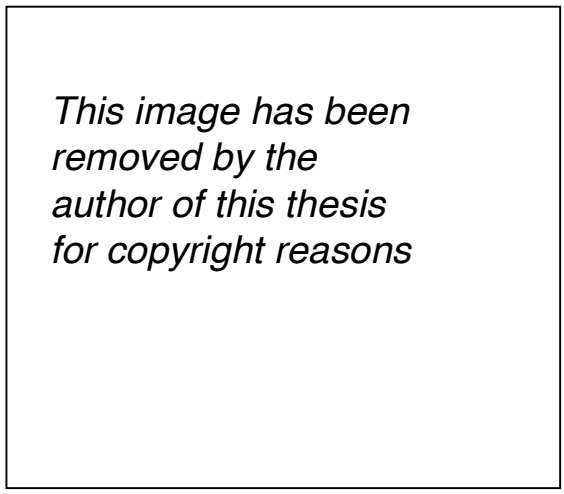


Figure 31. Example of creation in a cartoon from a story published in June 1936 (*Topolino giornale, issue 182*, Jun. 1936).

In the following cartoon from the same story, another scared Mickey is represented, and in the Italian version the interjection 'ahimè' was added to highlight his feelings of worry and fear.

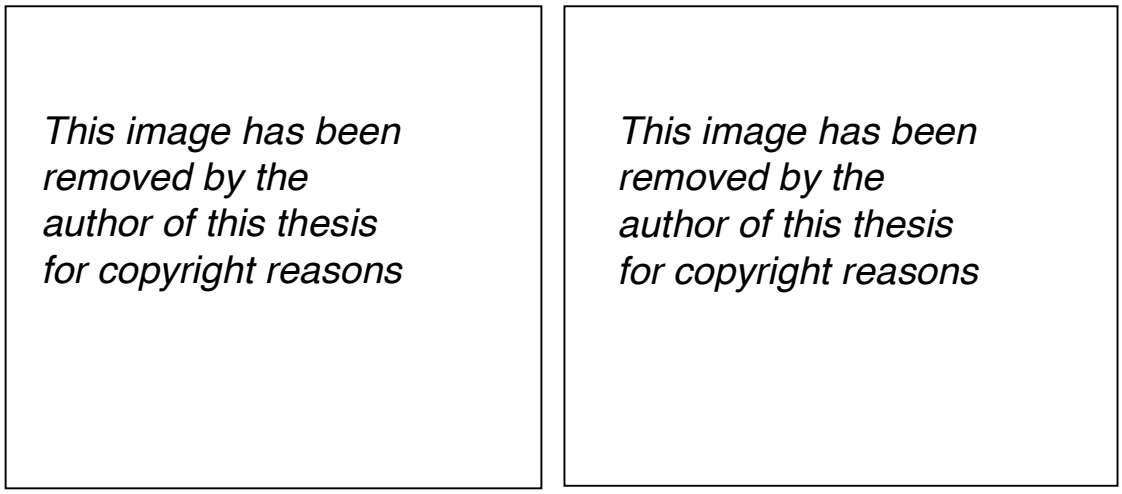


Figure 32. Example of creation in a cartoon from a story published in June 1936 (*Topolino giornale, issue 182*, Jun. 1936).

Finally, from the same story, one unusual case was found in which the balloon's tail has been moved and pointed towards another character, and hence in this case it was considered a strategy of creation and not an addition. The translator has decided to change the ideophones referring to the flying insect and to replace them with ideophones representing the dog's barking.

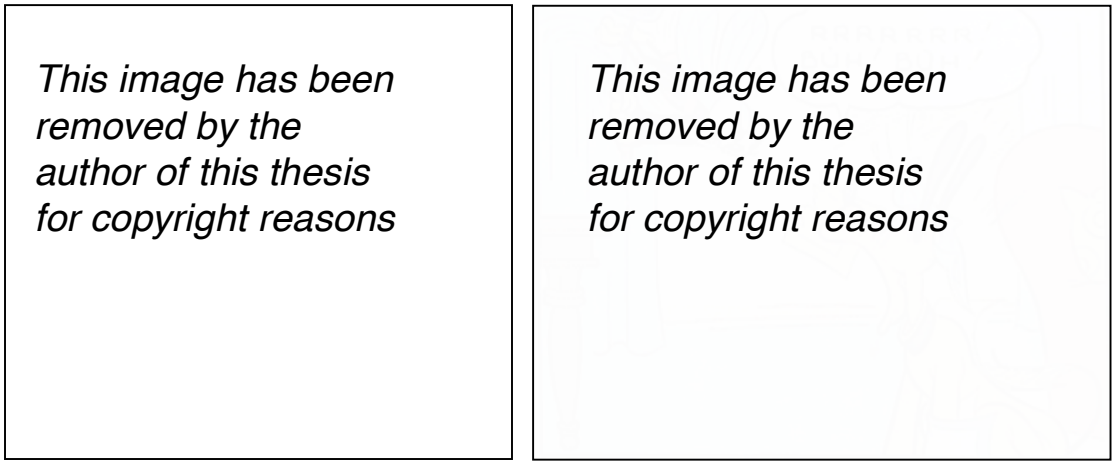


Figure 33. Example of creation from a story published in June 1936 (*Topolino giornale, issue 182*, Jun. 1936).

The Italian translator seems to have chosen to highlight Pluto's scared facial expression through ideophones within a balloon, aiming to make the reader focus on the dog rather than on the fly. Since the expression of the fly already implies determination and the story includes many previous balloons in which the noise of the fly has been represented, one can perhaps understand the translator's choice in this case. Rather than choosing to represent the cry of the insect yet again, the translator opted for a change in the direction of the balloon, thus concentrating on Pluto's feelings instead of on the noise of the fly.

When offering examples of reasons why a balloon might be added to a story, Zanettin (2014, p. 13) mentions that it is usual 'to insert additional text provided by the translator, for instance a note explaining a narrative link to an episode' but does not give examples of ideophones and interjections that might be added later for emphatic purposes.

The following section will focus on the proportion of strategies used for each of the ideophonic types used in the corpus.

8.2.2. Translation Strategies According to Ideophonic Type

Analysing translation strategies according to different ideophonic types will provide an alternative overview on how the translation strategies used for Disney comics might have been influenced by specific factors. The benefit of having a corpus at our disposal is precisely that different parameters can be used and prioritised to analyse the data. This allows for investigations that take different approaches to the study and offer several points of view.

The four different ideophonic types used are a pivotal classification within the corpus as they attempt to divide the data based on their semantic value, i.e. the meaning they are trying to convey. While the (1) 'animal' type encompasses all those instances in which animal cries are represented, the (2) 'human' type includes all the expressions used to symbolise people's feelings (this category also includes interjections). When it comes to describing natural events, two different ideophonic

types were chosen: (3) environmental and (4) mechanical ideophones that, respectively, represent environmental events such as hits, bangs and falls but also bodies and objects in motion (see kinaesthesia) and events originating from technological devices and machines (i.e. computers, televisions, phones, doorbells, guns, etc.). Such a specific investigation will foster research on sensorial inputs and how these are perceived and interpreted by the translator. A fifth type was also proposed ('meta-ideophones') but not enough forms were detected to allow for a diachronic analysis of translation strategies. This type refered to those ideophonic forms uttered by the speaker and included within the sentence structure (i.e. 'The engine has gone *boom'*; 'The cat said *meow'*).

The following chart (8) summarises the translation strategies distribution according to the different ideophonic types:

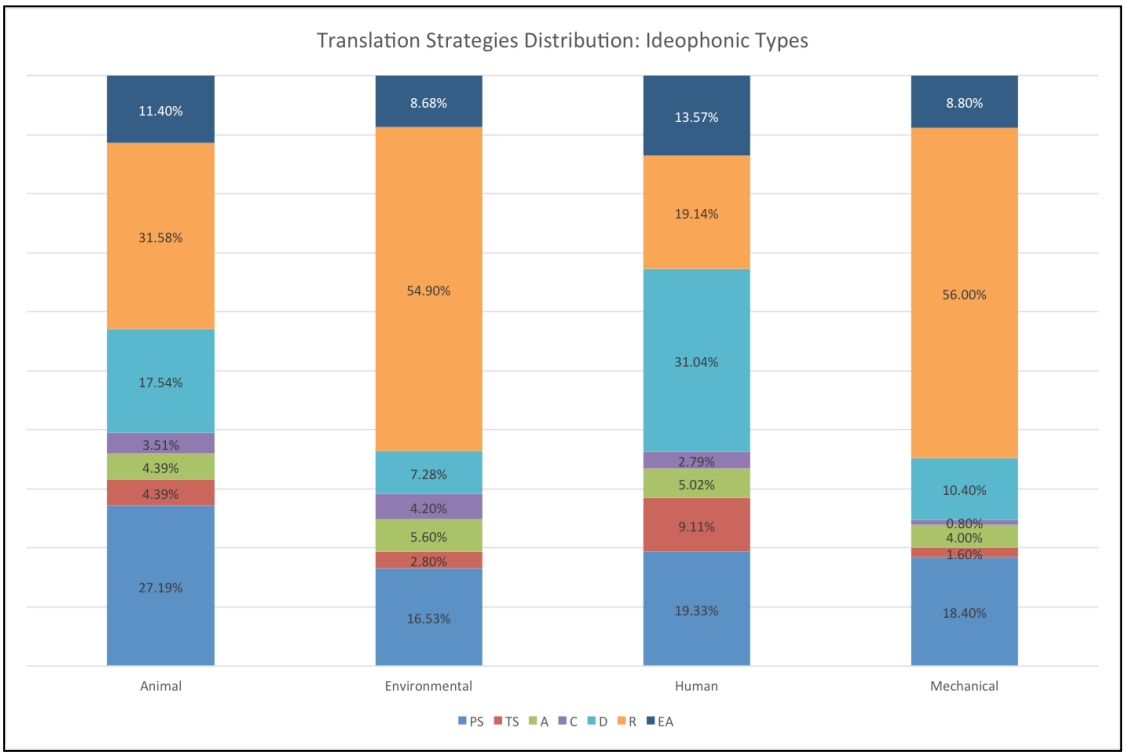


Chart 8. Translation strategies distribution according to ideophonic type. Legend: PS = Partial Substitution; TS = Total Substitution; A = Addition; C = Creation; D = Deletion; R = Repetition; EA = English Equivalent.

At a first glance, the graph immediately shows that environmental and mechanical events are the ones that are more likely to involve repetitions, followed by animal sounds. The 'animal' and 'human' categories are the only ones for which the sum of

strategies of substitution is greater than the number of strategies of repetition. This could be explained by the fact that both these two categories involve events that usually possess an alternative in another language—particularly considering that they are both produced using another vocal system so are unarguably easier to imitate (Assaneo et al., 2011, p. 4). Particularly, in the case of the 'human' category, ideophones that convey feelings and emotions are often easily translatable with interjections. The case for the animal category is evidently similar (also because characters are humanised and personified in Disney comics). Languages tend to own words suitable to represent most animal cries, which are readily available for use by translators. It is interesting that the research of Valero Garcés also noticed exactly the same tendencies: 'sounds produced by animals, unarticulated sounds produced by humans (including interjections) and sounds used to show feelings tend to be translated more often' (2008, pp. 241-3).

Valero Garcés also shows that mechanical and artificial sounds are the ones more likely to be retained (2008, p. 243)—and, again, this tendency can be seen in the current study as well, since mechanical ideophones have been shown to have more than a 50% chance of being retained rather than being translated. This is possibly due to the fact that mechanical events have a higher chance of being represented with non-lexicalised ideophones (see the frequent use of vowelless paraverbals as shown in table 2 page 104). As they are already often highly expressive and not based on actual lexicalised words included in the language this explains the higher chances of them being left intact. Indeed, sounds produced by machines and tools 'are not produced by another vocal system and therefore imply strong imitative efforts' (Assaneo et al., 2011, p. 4)—efforts that translators might appreciate, making them more inclined to opt, in these cases, for a full repetition of source text material.

8.2.3. Translation Strategies According to Position

Investigating such statistics will help understand if the position of the form itself somehow influences its translation. One would expect forms inside balloons to be localised more often due to the relative easiness in changing the content of balloons

compared with changing the environment (image) outside of them. The following chart (9) shows the findings:

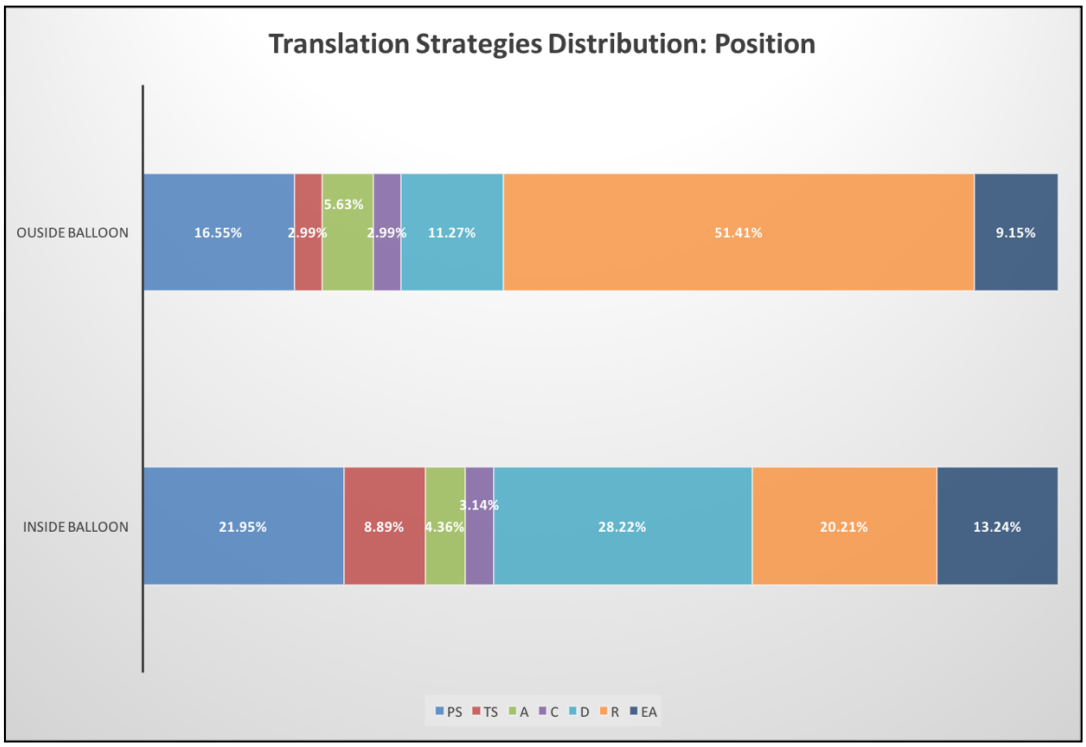


Chart 9. Translation strategies distribution according to position.

As expected, the data shows that strategies of repetition tend to be employed less often for forms that are originally found inside balloons. These forms also tend to undergo deletion more than twice as much as their counterparts found outside (28%—compared to 11% for forms outside balloons). This data comes as no surprise as other studies (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 240) have shown that forms outside balloons are more likely to be left unlocalised 'since intervening in the picture would involve greater expense and require a high standard of graphic skills'.

8.2.4. Translation Strategies according to Strip Colour

Colour can have a significant influence when localising ideophones. Martinez Fuentes's research (2003) into the translation of onomatopoeia in the US comic strip 'Calvin and Hobbes' brought to light that 75% of the onomatopoeia in colour were retained in their English form while only half of the onomatopoeia in black and white were retained. Martinez Fuentes states that the colour of the strip represents an important

factor when deciding whether to opt for a translation or a repetition of onomatopoeias in the source text.

The following chart (10) summarises the distribution of translation strategies according to strip colour:

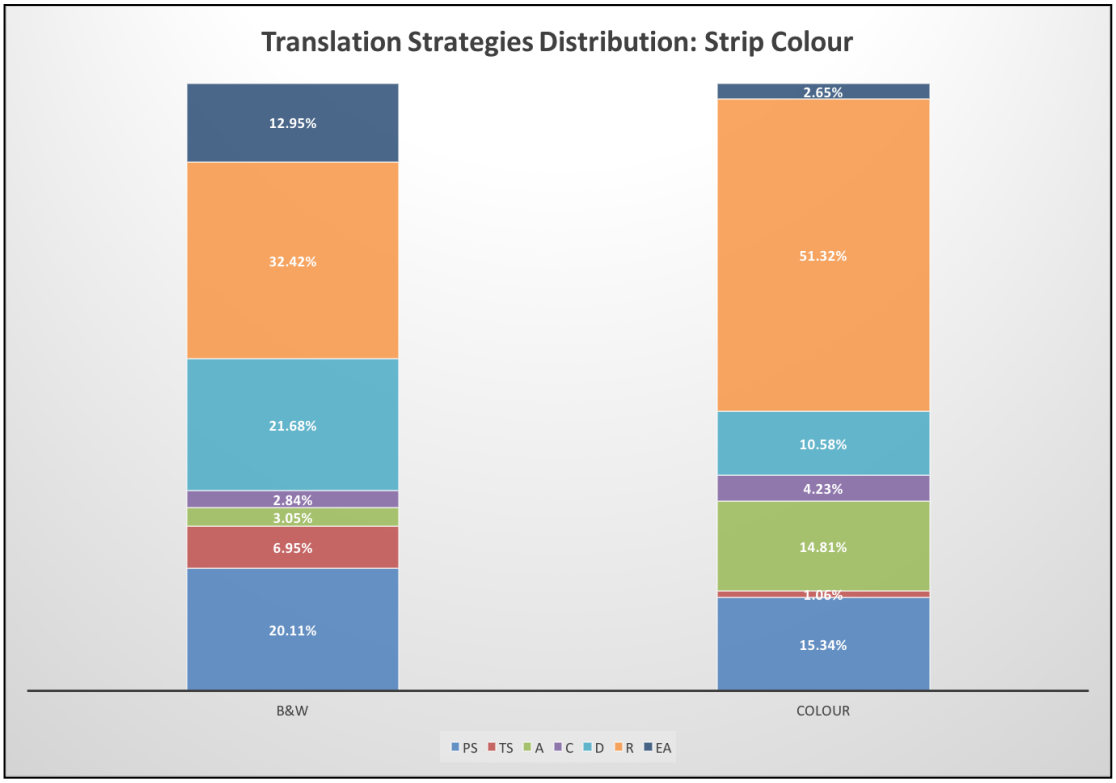


Chart 10. Translation strategies distribution according to strip colour.

These findings show that, as expected, there is within the corpus of this study a prevalence of repetitions in coloured strips, with roughly half of the strips in colour (51%) involving cases of repetition. This confirms the findings of Martinez Fuentes (2003) and those of Valero Garcés (2008) regarding the translation of English onomatopoeia to Spanish and, once again, confirms the strong similarities between the approaches adopted for translating ideophones from English in the Spanish and Italian contexts.

8.2.5. The Whole Picture

'Repetition' is the largest single category throughout the eight decades under investigation, though outweighed by a combination of other strategies. If one considers the total percentage of the different strategies that include a modification of the source text in some ways—partial and total substitution, addition and English equivalent, but without considering deletions and creations—the total amount of these localisation strategies adds up to 53%, which is higher than the number of repetitions. Nevertheless, strategies of repetition play a considerable part, as the following chart (11) demonstrates.

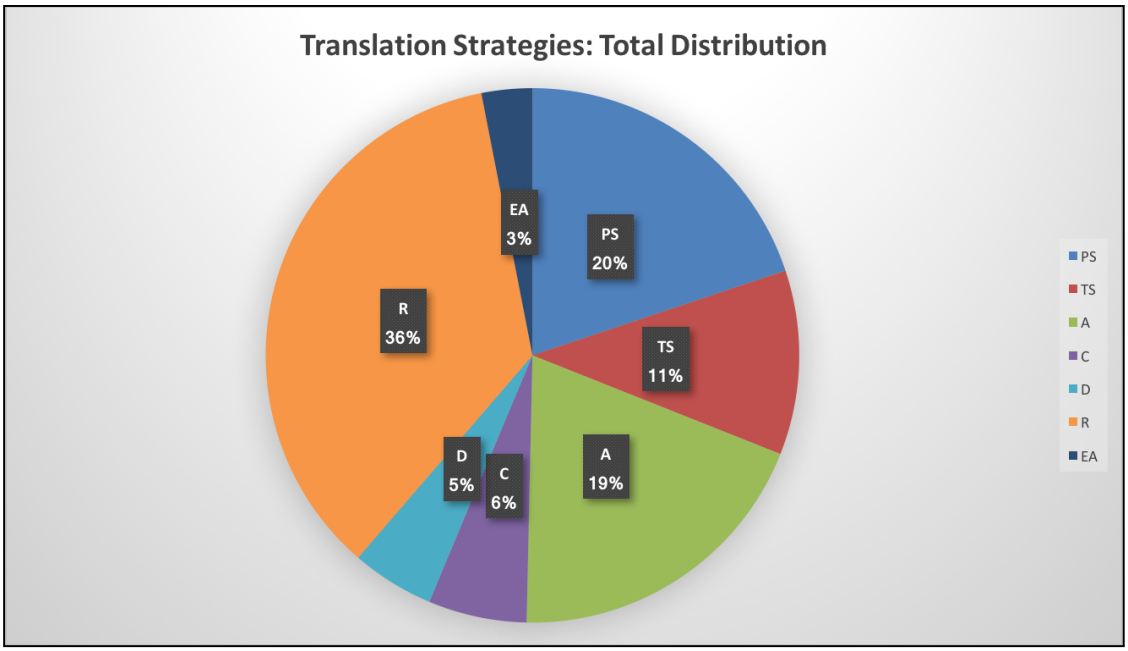


Chart 11. Total distribution of translation strategies.

When translation strategies used for ideophones (and ideophonic series) are compared with the ones used for interjections, the results are obviously very different for each of the two features. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, interjections, due to their frequent position within the balloon and due to their easily translatable nature are more likely to be localised. Statistics in charts 12 and 13 below show that while the majority of ideophones (49%) is repeated, in the case of interjections repetitions only represent the 11% of the total, surpassed by, in order, total substitutions (15%), additions (21%) and partial substitution (40%). This means that more than three

quarters of strategies used for interjections involve a degree of localisation of the source text.

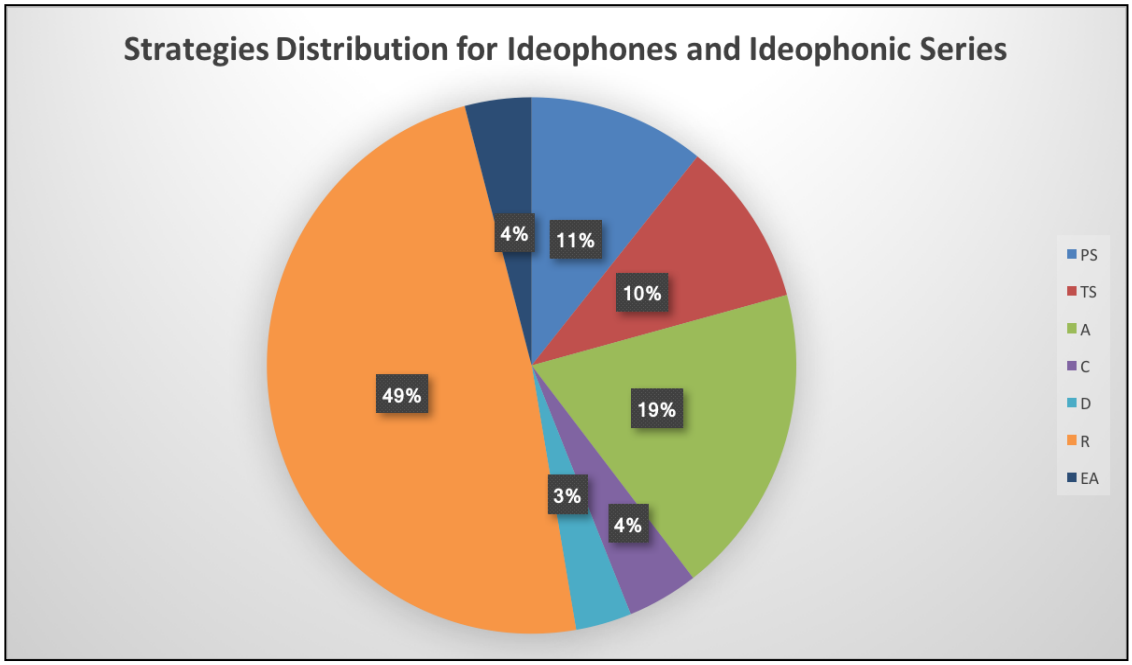


Chart 12. Translation strategies distribution for ideophones and ideophonic series.

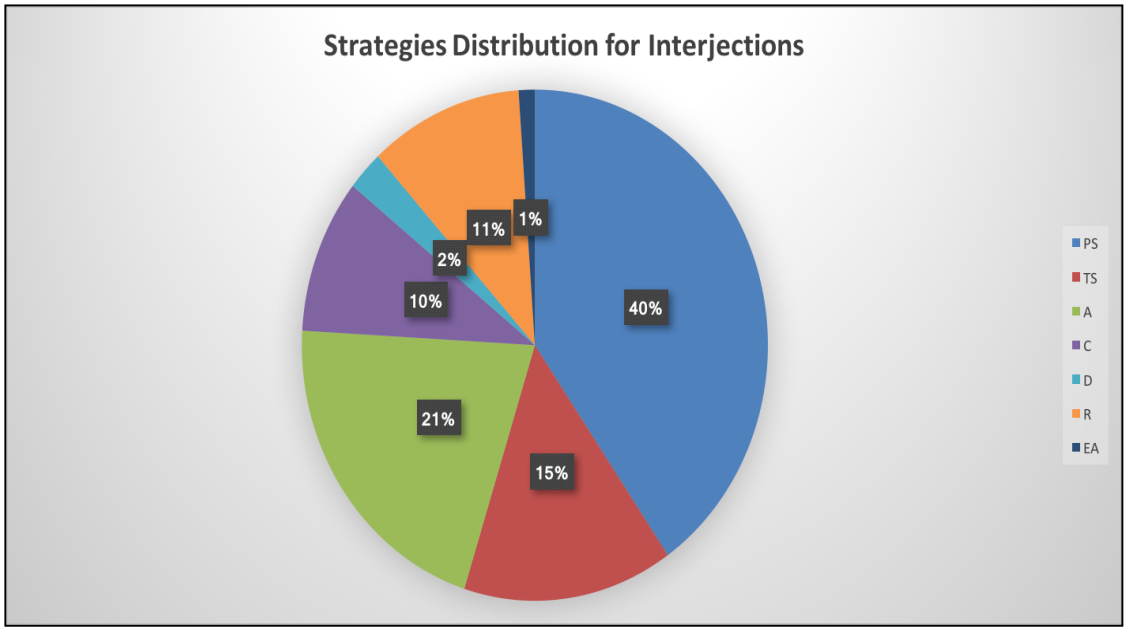


Chart 13. Translation strategies distribution for interjections.

8.2.6. Close Analysis of Time Windows

The following section aims to scrutinise the main tendencies noticed for each time-frame as offered by the corpus under analysis. Particular attention will be given to the presence of English forms and the possible rise or drop in the use of repetitions in order to track any diachronic changes in their use. Graphical and/or linguistic motivations behind any eventual translation shifts will be offered with the final aim of offering a clear picture of the influence of English in the Disney stories analysed through the translation of sound symbolic forms.

8.2.6.1. Pre- and During War: 1932-42

The first ten years of usage of ideophonic and interjectional forms are represented by timid attempts to adapt the American comic format for the Italian audience and this is reflected in the translation strategies used, the majority of which are distributed among the three main strategies that involve a degree of change of the source material (partial substitution, total substitution and addition). Cf. chart 14 below for a comparative look at the percentages:

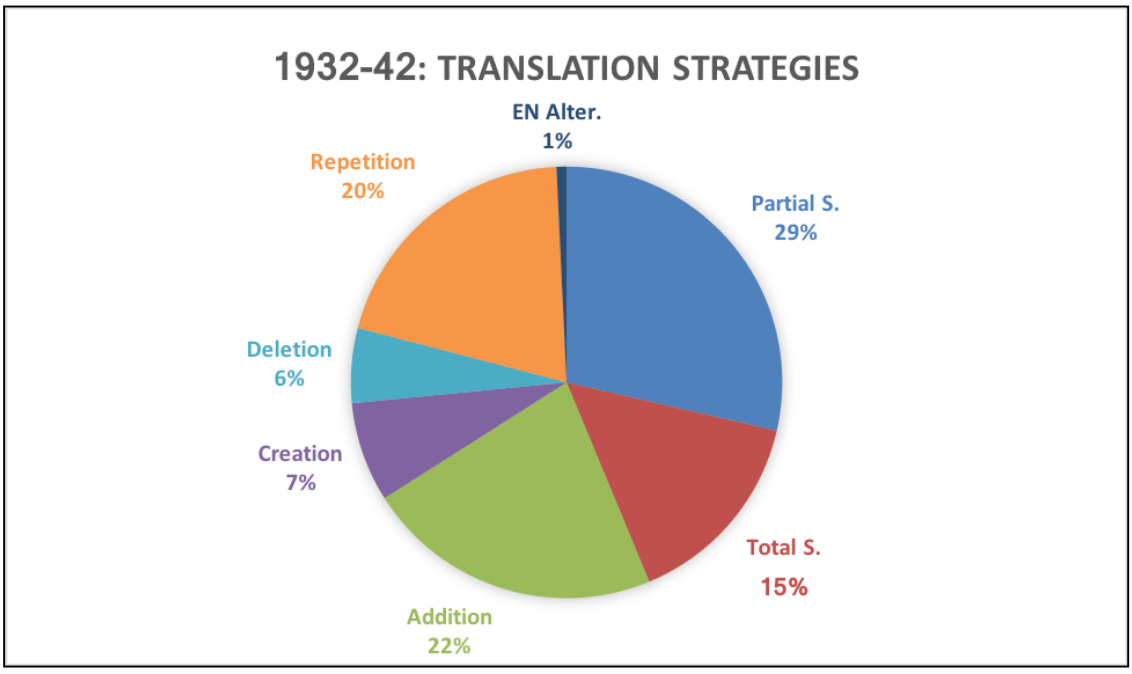


Chart 14. Distribution of translation strategies for the 1932-42 time window.

Interestingly enough, the stories of the first three years (1932-35) show a much higher percentage of repetitions (47 cases out of 183—27% of the total), while there are only 39 repetitions (out of 352 forms—11% of the total) among the translation strategies used between 1936 and 1942. Several reasons for this sudden change towards a much more localised environment could be postulated, although the most likely explanation is that format and graphical considerations were paramount. Italian stories published until August 1935 included the typical early rhyming couplets accompanying each comic strip. The aim of these couplets was to provide a more familiar environment for the reader following on the Italian poetic tradition of the nineteenth century (cf. figure 34). While the first American comics imported in 1909 featured a complete removal of balloons trusting the rhyming couplets to do most of the verbal diegetic work (Gadducci et al., 2011, p. 204), the first Disney stories involved a mix of balloons and couplets. The first translated Disney story with balloons only was published in August 1935 with the title *Tre cani e un gatto* ('Three dogs and a cat'- original English title is 'Pluto Joins the Club')—and it is therefore not a coincidence if the last repetitions appear towards the end of 1935 and the beginning of 1936. Until then, the couplets played a major role in narrating the story, so when they fell out of use translators had an opportunity to experiment with other elements of the comic strip, in or outside balloons, as shown from the statistics offered above.

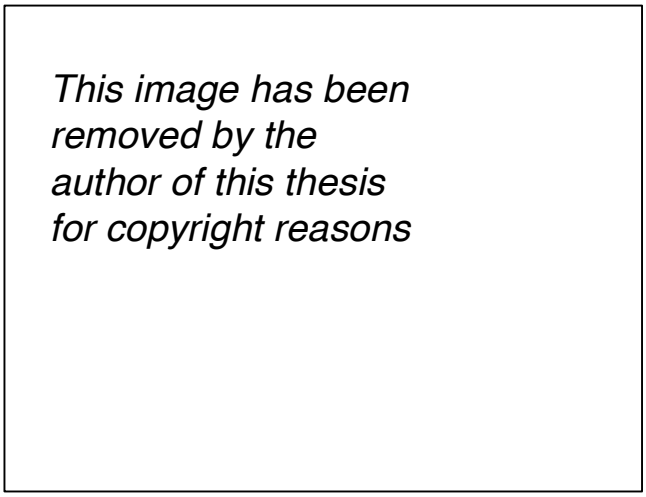


Figure 34. Example of rhyming couplets positioned below the comic strip in a story published in December 1933 (*Topolino giornale, issue 54*, Dec. 1933).

Nevertheless, even in the first three years, strategies other than repetitions appear. The figures below, for example, are from one of the first stories published in Italy, which appeared in in May 1933. In this example, the sound of a snowball hitting a person's hat turns from the English 'spat' into the Italian 'sciac' (ID: 29; cf. figure 35). This is a typical example of total substitution, in which a lexicalised English form is

replaced by a non-localised Italian one. It should be noted that in the same cartoon there is also a repetition of the other ideophones present: ‘zzz-ipp’ used to describe the kinaesthetic action of the snow ball moving through air.

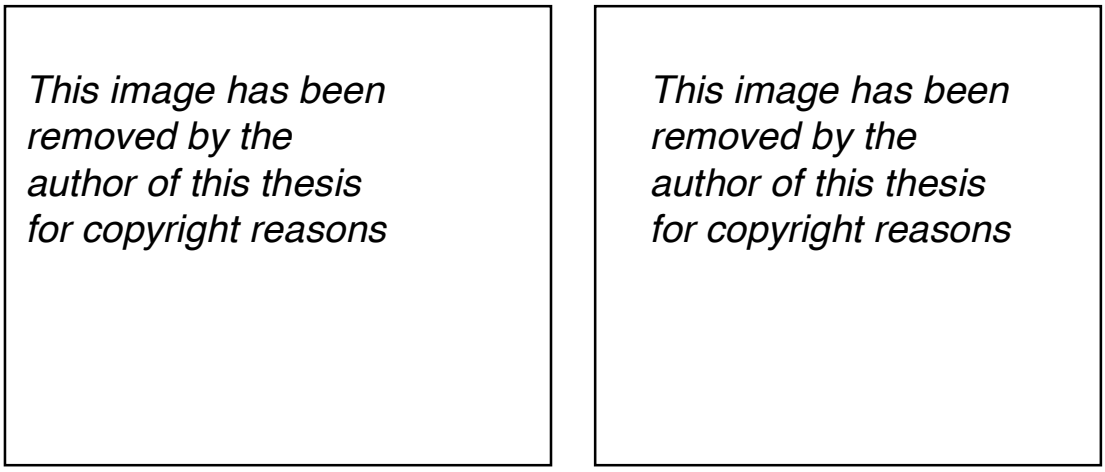


Figure 35. English (left) and Italian (right) strips from the American story titled 'S'No Use Hiding' published in Italy in May 1933. Left: *Mickey Mouse – Call of the Wild Reprint* (2013); Right: *Topolino giornale, issue 21*, May 1933.

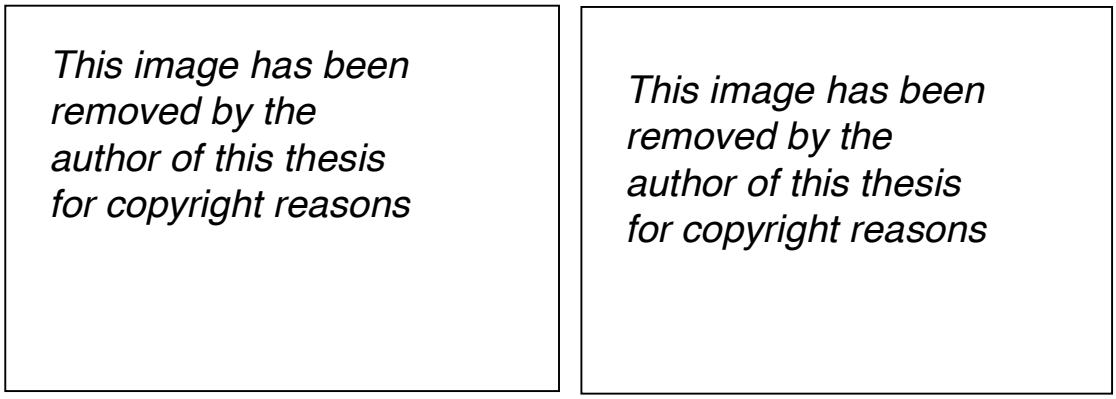


Figure 36. English (right) and Italian (left) strips from the American story titled 'S'No Use Hiding' published in Italy in May 1933. Left: Mickey Mouse – Call of the Wild Reprint (2013); Right: Topolino giornale, issue 21, May 1933.

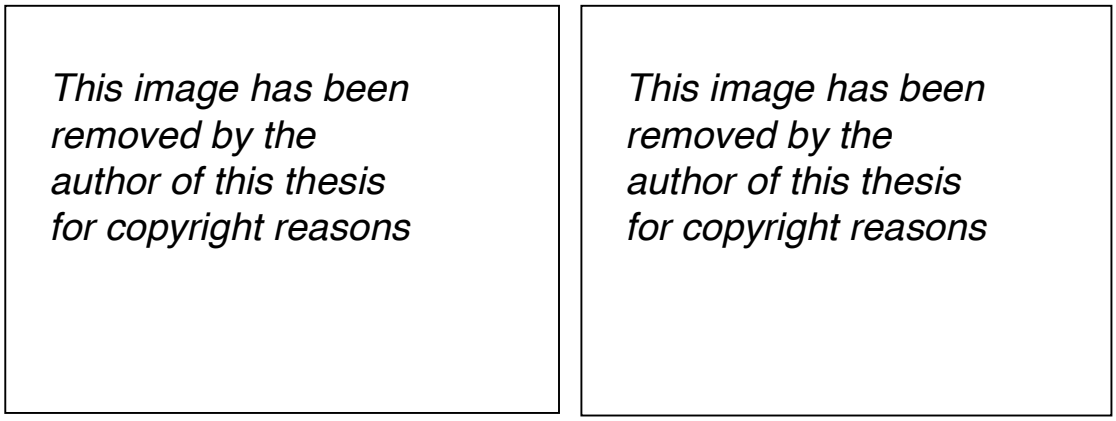
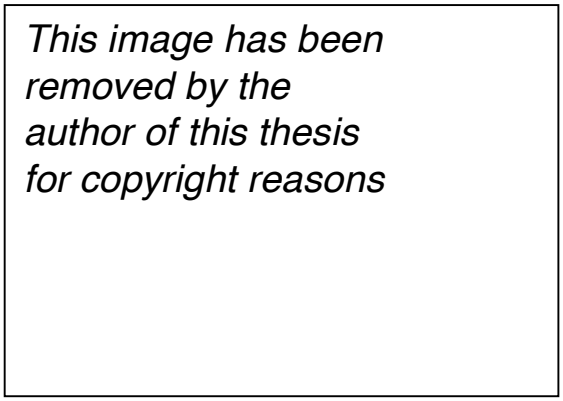


Figure 37. English (right) and Italian (left) strips from the American story titled 'S'No Use Hiding' published in Italy in May 1933. Left: Mickey Mouse – Call of the Wild Reprint (2013); Right: Topolino giornale, issue 21, May 1933.

In figure 36 there is another example of total substitution, in which the ideophone ‘clomp’, used here to describe the noise of shoes walking on a snowy pavement, is rendered in Italian with a non-lexicalised ‘plasc plasc’ (to be read /plaʃ plaʃ/). Also note the appropriate translation of the two interjections present: the ‘ho ho’ English laughter in figure 37 turns into ‘ah ah ah’ in the Italian version, while ‘ahhh-choo’ used for a sneeze was replaced by the Italian interjection ‘eetci’. The same goes for the ‘shhh’ (non-Italian cluster of consonants) in figure 36, which becomes ‘ssst’ in the Italian version. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, interjections, both due to the ease with which the contents of a balloon could be changed and the fact that interjections often have equivalents in many languages, involve a higher percentage of localisation, usually through partial substitution, as is the case in the examples just offered.

Ideophones, however, do not only appear outside balloons. As the following two strips from January 1934 show, ideophones inside balloons can be found, and are usually localised, as can be seen in the image below, in which the dog’s bark of pain ‘ki-yii yipe’ has been replaced with a ‘caiì caii’ in Italian. An interesting strategy is used for the ‘owooo’ found outside the balloons (cf. figure 38), which has been manually translated in the Italian version with the substitution of the ‘w’ with a ‘u’, through a strategy of ‘addition’. Note that the old English ideophone is still clearly visible behind the Italian correction.



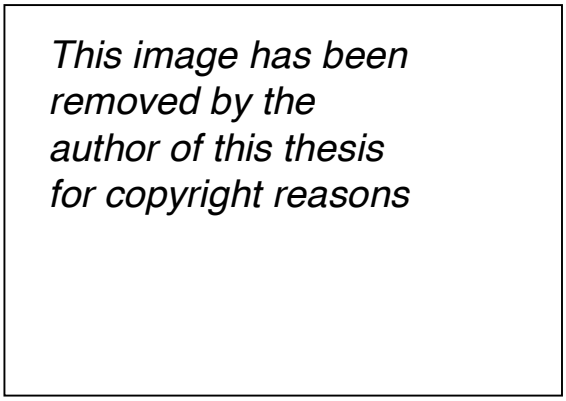


Figure 38. English (left) and Italian (right) strips from the American story titled 'You Bring the Ducks' published in Italy in December 1933. Left: Mickey Mouse – Call of the Wild Reprint (2013); Right: Topolino giornale, issue 54, Dec. 1933.

Other examples of the partial substitution of ideophones inside balloons can be detected in several strips from a story published in Italy in February 1934 (cf. figure 41, page 214). In this case, the animal cries for dogs, cows and cats are present and well-known in both languages so the translation is relatively straight forward. The translation also manages to maintain the high sonic intensity of the source text through vowel lengthening. Note that all the instances of the letter 'w' have been deleted from the Italian version, which confirms that earlier tendency to remove letters and graphemes that are not part of the Italian alphabet. This consonantal removal is also applied in the case of 'k' (cf. figure 39) and typical English clusters such as 'wh', 'sh' and 'ph'. 'W' and 'wh' are often replaced with 'v' or 'u' or are simply removed from the word. In the case of 'sh', this is usually replaced by a double s ('ss') or with 'sc', the Italian orthographic rendition of

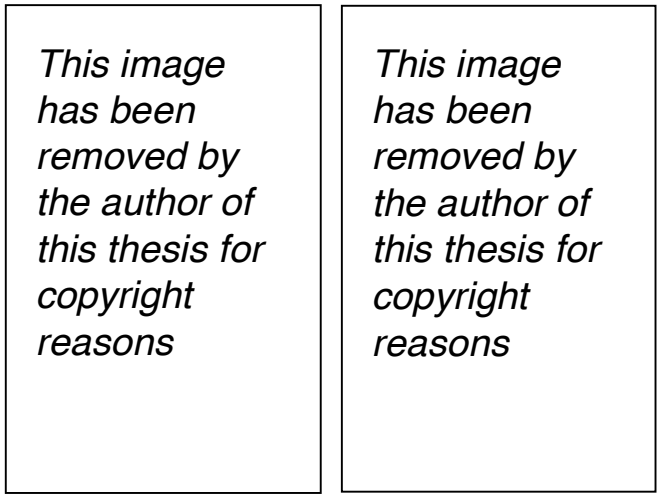


Figure 39. Example of 'sh' and 'k' removal from the story 'An Education for Thursday' published in Italy in July 1940. Left: Walt Disney's Comics and Stories 22, 23 and 24, Jul-Sep. 1942; Right: Topolino giornale, issue 394, Jul. 1940.

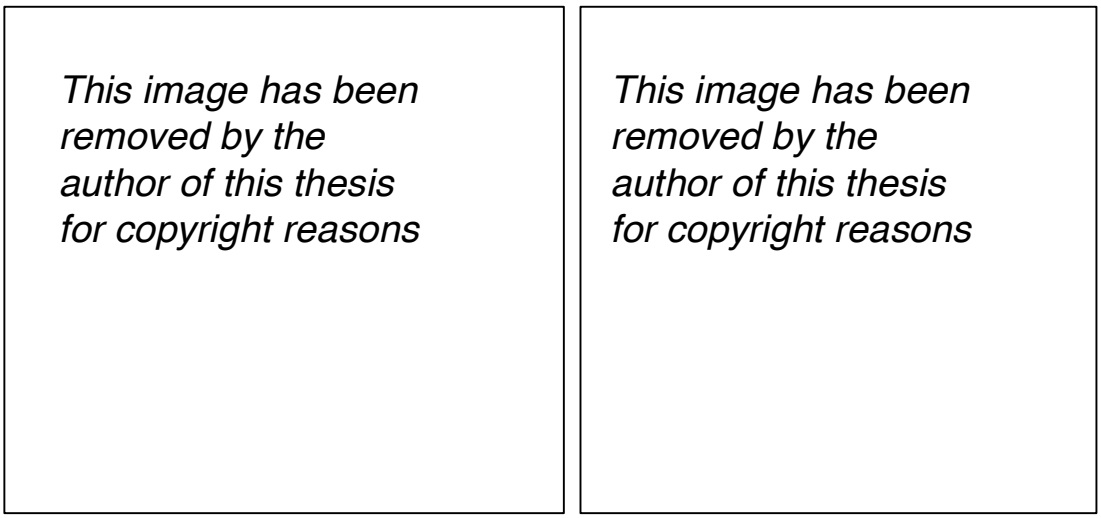


Figure 40. Example of 'y' replaced with an 'i' from the 'An Education for Thursday' story published in February 1940. Left: Walt Disney's Comics and Stories 22, 23 and 24, Jul-Sep. 1942; Right: Topolino giornale, issue 394, Jul. 1940.

the /ʃ/ phoneme (cf. figure 39). ‘Ph’ is often replaced by ‘f’ or, sometimes, ‘p’. ‘K’ is simply dropped, particularly if in a ‘ck’ cluster or replaced with a ‘c’ if found in isolation. Finally, the letter ‘y’ is replaced by ‘i’ (cf. figure 40).

When strategies of addition are not considered adequate and the translator appears not to have found an acceptable alternative, strategies of ‘deletion’ can be used, which involve the complete removal of the expression from the source text. As shown in chart 9 (page 204), forms inside balloons tend to be deleted more often, although the first time-window includes 30 deletions, 17 of which involve a form outside the balloon. The percentage of deletions and creation for the 1932-42 timeframe are not particularly high (respectively, 6% and 7% of the total). What it is interesting to notice is that though these practices must have represented a time-consuming task at the time— considering that everything had to be changed manually—the additional effort involved does not seem to have deterred the Italian editor. It is important to notice that most deletions for this time-frame, 25 out of 30, involve the removal of a form that includes graphemes or clusters of graphemes that are considered Anglophonic.

To summarise, the 1932-42 time-window mirrors the initial pivotal stages of importation of English Disney comics into the Italian linguistic and graphical framework. The initial presence of rhyming couplets accompanying the pictures meant that less expressive forms were initially localised. This first three years (1932-34) represented a period of transition that led, after August 1935, to couplets being dropped and to an evident rise in strategies of partial and total substitution and a drop of repetitions, demonstrating a willingness to provide a more Italianised environment for the reader. Common translation strategies include ‘addition’ and substitution. Addition, in particular, is frequently employed to remove graphemes and lettering considered Anglophonic, such as /k/, /w/ and /y/ or consonant clusters such as /wh/, /ph/ and /sh/. This suppression of English linguistic markers could also be an effect of the ban on foreign words imposed by the Fascist regime, which was made official in July 1929 (Gadducci et al., 2011). Generally, it is clear that there was a conscious effort to localise the comic page for the Italian reader although not every English element

was removed and the Anglophonic influence grew more and more, and can already be seen in the post-war time-frame, as will be shown in the coming section.

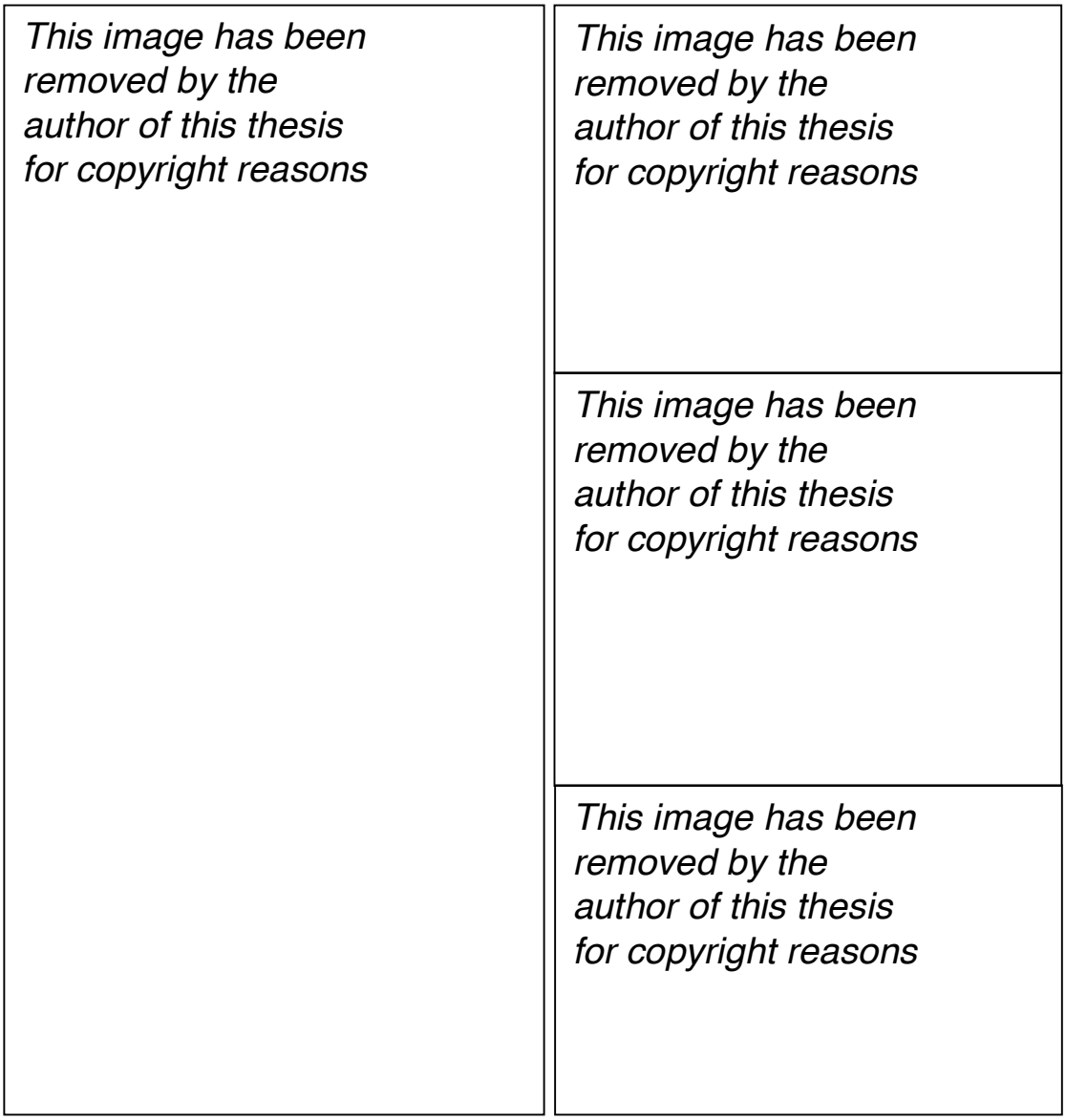


Figure 41. English (left) and Italian (right) strips from the American story titled 'Rival Romeos' published in Italy in January 1934. Left: Topolino giornale, issue 60, Jan. 1934; Right: Mickey Mouse – Call of the Wild Reprint (2013).

8.2.6.2. Post-war and the 1950s: 1945 to 1959

The two-year (Dec. 1943-Dec. 1945) hiatus brought about as a result of WW2, the fall of Mussolini (1943), the creation of his *Repubblica di Salò* and the Resistance was the cause of several changes for the Italian Disney school (Stajano, 1999, p. 3). Pedrocchi, one of the most important personalities who contributed to the success of the comic strips, was killed. In the initial post-war period, most of the stories published were reprints of strips that had appeared in the previous decade. But the real revolution came with the decision to change the format from a newspaper-size to a pocket-book-size *Topolino* in 1949 (Stajano, 1999, p. 3). It was decided that the numbering would start again from issue 1 and the same numbering sequence is still used today, having reached issue 3162 as of July 2016. All the non-Disney stories were removed from the publication, which switched from a weekly to a monthly journal, a schedule which lasted until 1960 when publication reverted to being weekly. These changes are considered to mark 'the end of the Prehistory and the start of the real History of Italian Disney comics' (Stajano, 1999, p. 3), particularly with the publication of original Italian stories scripted by Guido Martina from the end of 1948. What it is today known as the Italian School of Disney was starting to shape itself and was soon to become one of the biggest and most successful comic book producers in Italy. The choice of a smaller format was actually a tactical move motivated by a desire to save money and avoid substantial losses if the project was not granted the approval of readers. While other comic book publishers were slowly shutting down due to a seemingly uninterested audience, the average number of copies of the new *Topolino* sold unexpectedly rose to the point that other publishers tried to copy the same format in order to survive in the business (Boschi et al., 1990, p. 39). In the 1945-1959 time-frame translated stories represent the majority, although the commitment on the part of the editor to create original Italian strips seems to have attracted the most attention from authors. The atrocities experienced during the war meant that young readers did not seem to enjoy reading adventure stories anymore, so several publishers of American comic strips were forced to close down (Boschi et al., 1990, p. 36). The re-launch of the new format was essentially a carefully-planned strategy to avoid going

bankrupt by revamping both the genre and the magazine. The chosen comeback story was *Topolino e il boscaiolo* ('The Mistery at Hidden River'). Its return was welcomed with joy by the public although the slightly 'poor botch format' (Boschi et al., 1990, p. 36; translation mine) meant that significant changes were needed, and it was therefore decided in 1949 to completely revamp the publication.

The following chart (15) shows the distribution of translation strategies for the 1945-59 time-frame:

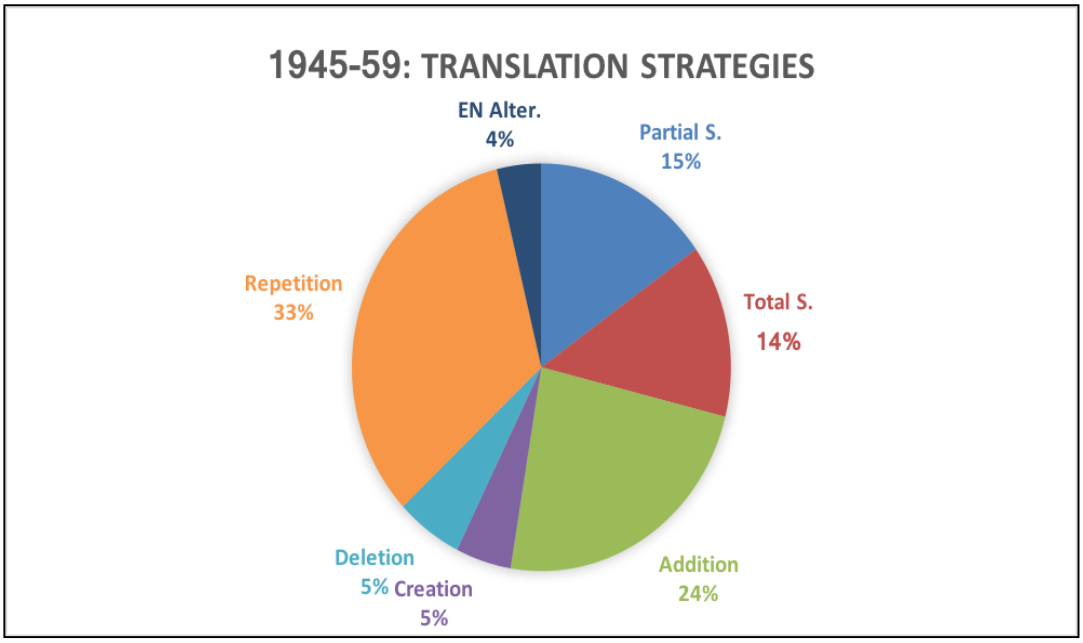


Chart 15. Graph showing the distribution of translation strategies for the 1945-59 time-frame.

The major difference from the previous time window, in this case, is the evident rise in repetitions to the detriment of partial substitutions, which move from a percentage of 29% during the first time-frame to 15%.

In addition to cultural and linguistic reasons, there also seems to be a graphical explanation for the rise in repetitions. The change in format, from a newspaper size to a smaller size, that took place in 1949 also had obvious repercussions for the layout and visuality of the stories and, by extension, for the translation of words within their images. It should be remembered that some of the American stories came from large size newspaper pages. As highlighted by Zanettin (2014, p. 3), 'even a simple change in paper size may affect the translation, not only because of the different visual perception of the images, but also because when the size of the page is shrunk, the

size of balloons and boxes is reduced as well.' Thus, the choice of switching to the pocket size also had consequences in terms of how much of the source text could be changed. In order to ensure readability 'the textual material in the translation may need to be less than that in the source text (or, conversely, the balloons need to be enlarged)' (Zanettin, 2014, p. 3), which could be one of the reasons for the rise in repetitions after the change in format.

Total substitutions and strategies of 'addition', on the other hand, remain almost unvaried. This graph as a whole displays the first stages of the English influence on the Italian comics. While during the 1930s an effort was still made to localise most of the expressive forms, showing an audience still attached to pre-comic traditions (see rhyming couplets) and a general avoidance of English forms (also fostered by the strict linguistic purism during Fascism), the post-war years show a growing acceptance of Anglophonic forms into the format. This is also shown by a rise in the number of English alternatives from 1% to 4% of the total and by the fact the strategies of repetition become the most used ones (from 20% in the previous time-frame to 33% in the current one).

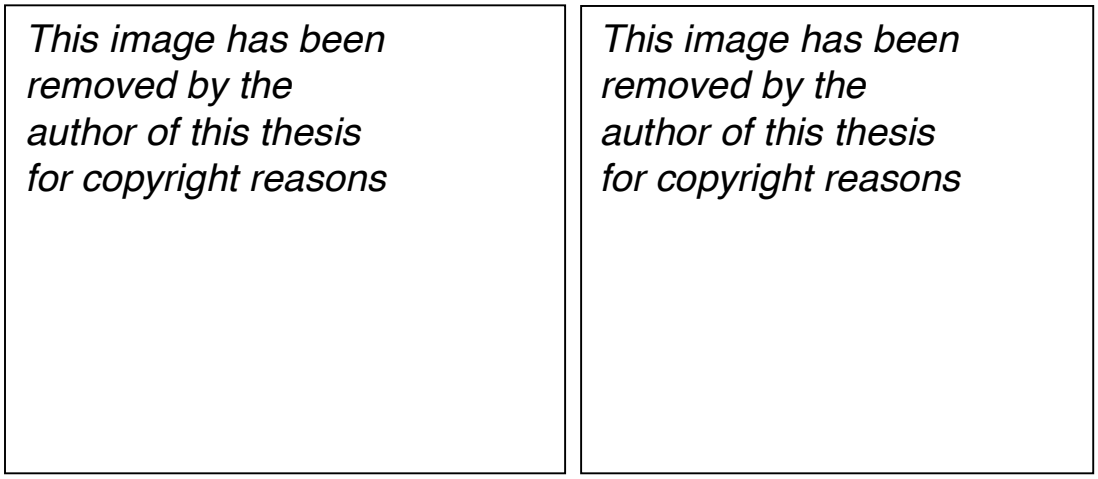


Figure 42. English (left) and Italian(right) comic strip from the Paperino re delle banane ('In Panama') story published in July 1953. Left: Walt Disney's Vacation Parade 4, Jul. 1953; Right: Albi d'oro 53040, Jul. 1953.

Strategies of addition are still used in the first years of this time-frame to dispose of consonants considered more English-looking. More precisely, the last cases in which an English letter is replaced by an Italian equivalent are recorded in a story published in 1953 ('hooray' to 'urrà'; 'squoosh' to 'squaasc') (cf. figure 42). The next recorded additions are during the 1960s and English consonants are in these cases not

totally disposed of (see ‘klunk’ becoming ‘clunk’ and ‘crack’ turning into ‘cark’ in a story published in April 1962). 1953 does indeed seem to represent a turning point in the history of the adaptation of English Disney stories into Italian. All of a sudden, Anglophonic markers seem to become more accepted and strategies of repetitions are used instead. In a story published in January 1958 (cf. figure 43), for example, most English forms are left intact. Examples include ‘crash’, ‘tinkle’, ‘pow’ and ‘bonk’. It should be noted that a growing presence of non-traditional letters (‘x’, ‘y’ and ‘k’, in particular) in Italian language materials post-WW2 has been noticed in other fields, such as economics, advertising, marketing and politics (Szpingier, 2008, p. 300; Fanfani, 2010; Taglialatela, A., 2011, p. 71).

Unfortunately, the corpus does not include any translated stories published

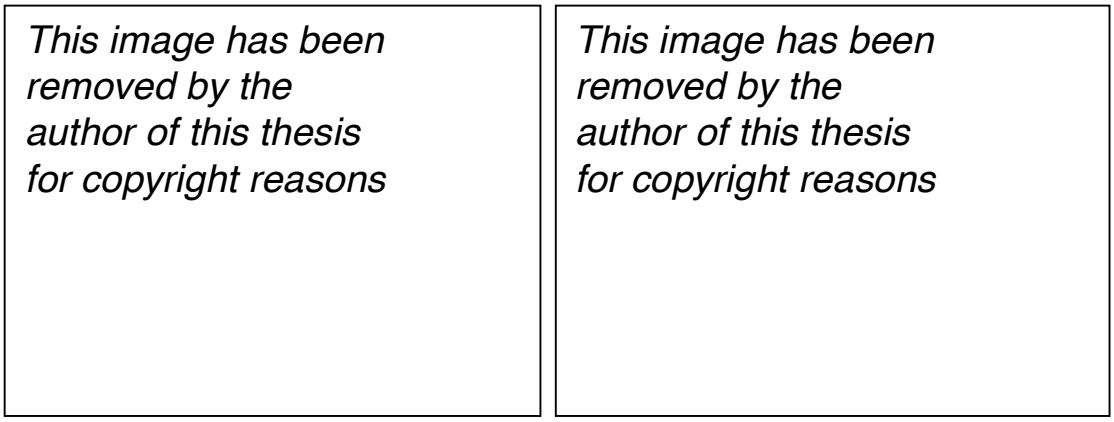


Figure 43. Example of repetitions in the I tre nipotini natalizi ('Guaranteed to please’) story published in January 1958. Left: Walt Disney’s Christmas Parade 8, Dec. 1956; Right: Topolino libretto, issue 178, Jan. 1958.

between 1954 and 1957 for unavailability reasons, so finding a precise point in which this switch happens is rather difficult. Nevertheless, it becomes apparent that this switch took place during a precise four-year span (1953-1957), which then proves to host a pivotal turning point in the use and influence of English sound symbolic forms in Italian Disney comics. It would appear that after years spent trying to somehow Italianise the comic environment, editors and translators had learnt to come to terms with the undeniable Anglophonic influence. Readers then had to get used to this, and this marks the start of that process that brought English to become the language of sound symbolic forms in Disney comics published in Italy. The accented vowels of the 1930s have now disappeared and are only left in lexicalised interjectional forms (i.e. ‘etcì’). There is no apparent intention to keep these Italian markers anymore. As

mentioned in Chapter 6 the clear Anglophonic supremacy is also demonstrated by the particular phenomenon seen in stories post 1960s through which Italian forms start getting anglicised (see 'toc toc' becoming 'tok tok', for instance).

In summary, the time window covering the post-war years and the 1950s hosts the first stages of the Anglophonic and American cultural influence on the creation, production and standardization of Italian Disney comics. The break brought by WW2 meant that the comics industry had to change its directions as the audience had dramatically changed its interests and priorities. The switch from the old newspaper format to a new smaller page size meant that readers could experience a different reading experience, a fact that allowed the genre to renew itself, its contents and also its audience. All these dynamics fostered a new era of Disney comics in Italy. The influence of English language systematically grows through this particular time window. This is shown by the increasing use of repetitions, which meant more and more English expressive forms were left in the Italian comic's page, allowing readers to get accustomed to such an Anglophonic environment. The time window within 1953-57, in particular, seems to include a clear switch to a highly Anglophonic environment: evidence of this is first of all provided by the fact that consonants typical of the English alphabet that were in the past altogether removed or substituted with more familiar graphemes start being left unmodified at the end of the 1950s, a phenomenon that is particularly accentuated in the next time window, as will be shown. The change in the approach towards English markers meant that strategies of addition were less frequently used, particularly when compared to the previous timeframe's translation tendencies. Some linguistic tendencies highlighted in Chapter 6 provide further evidence of these Anglophile tendencies as the start of the 1960s saw the beginning of particular linguistic inclinations such as the inclusion of English consonants, and particularly the letter 'k', in typical Italian forms. All these phenomena bear witness to the first phase of radical linguistic changes that would undisputedly revise the linguistic nature of Disney comics published in Italy—changes that would encourage an unprecedented awareness of English language patterns. This marks the initial stages of Anglophonic influence in Italian new media (Crystal, 2010, p. 95-7; Fanfani, 2010),

which sits right at the end of the 1950s and will show itself through certain translation patterns for, at least, the following three decades.

8.2.6.3. 1960s

The comic books of the 1960s decade bear witness of a complete overhaul of the way expressive forms were represented. Coinciding with the emergence of the Pop Art movement, the graphics of senses within the comic book form at this time undergoes a 'renovation process' (Verda, 1990, p. 58; translation mine). Ideophones, in particular, start occupying a more prominent role within the picture, 'elastically' stretching and shortening in an attempt to visually represent senses and strike the readers' imagination more efficiently (cf. figures 44 and 45 in the following pages). Thanks to this role change, expressive forms eventually became one of the most recognisable features of comic books, almost acting as their signature elements.

This decade confirms the ongoing Anglophonic influence, evidence of which comes from the noticeable rise in the use of strategies of repetition, as shown by the graphic in chart 16 below.

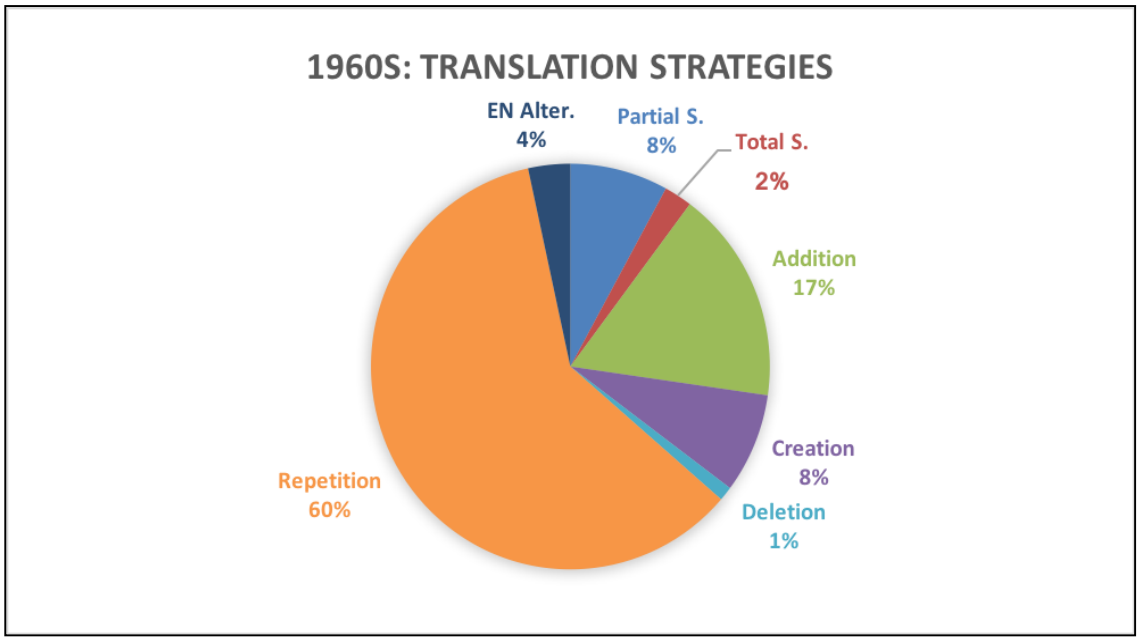


Chart 16. Translation strategies distribution for the 1960s timeframe.

More than half (60%) of the strategies used in this time-frame do indeed include a complete repetition of the source text material. As a consequence of this, all other

strategies have lower percentages compared to the previous two decades. Total substitutions, in particular, are subjected to a drastic drop from 14% in the previous decade to 2%—this shows that less effort was made when it came to changing expressive forms completely and that whenever a substitution was deemed appropriate, the translator preferred using the same type of form, and would therefore opt for a partial substitution. This, in turn, provides evidence of the increasingly high reliance on the source text environment and of the influence that the English source material has had, by this point, on the Italian target text.

Interestingly, the percentage of English alternatives remains unchanged, confirming the ongoing influence of English forms and how simpler English expressions are used as substitutions for the ones considered too difficult for the average Italian reader to understand.

Repetition of source text material often includes English lexicalised verbs that by this point are part of the comic's linguistic environment and which are therefore most likely to be recognised and fully accepted by average and, perhaps, more expert readers. Examples of retained forms from a translated story published in August 1965 include *sigh*, *grab*, *zip* and *flip* (cf. figure 44 below). The story, titled *Pippo a cavallo di una scopa* ('Pluto Blasts Off'), includes three minimal additions: *yawn* becomes *yiawn*, *ki-i-yii* turns into *caì* and *oof* is substituted with *uff*. The story does not include any substitutions. It is clear that by this point the reliance on the English text material is reaching its peak: after three decades of Disney comics the readers are considered experienced enough to deal with foreign language material, which is not necessarily seen as such but rather is seen as the codified sectorial language of comics, a language that people possibly would not use in spoken language (yet).

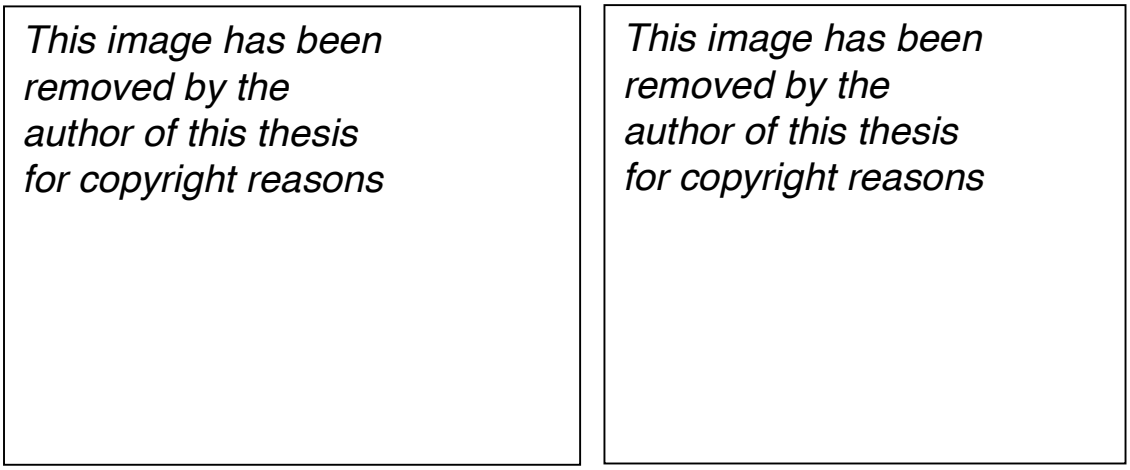


Figure 44. Examples of repetition and addition in the 'Pluto Blasts Off' story published in Italy in August 1965. Left: Walt Disney's Comics and Stories 292, Jan. 1965; Right: Topolino libretto, issue 508, Aug. 1965.

As can be seen from the above pictures set side to side the changes also include both chromatic modifications of the cartoon and changes in the shape and colour of the balloon, evidence of the technological advances brought in during this decade which allow for a better control of the comic's environment. It is interesting that these advances do not translate into a higher localisation rate but rather seem to stop at the mere graphical levels. So fonts, colours and drawings are modified but the lettering itself is often preferred left untouched. Note that stories in the past were also coloured but the source text was usually in black and white; so it was easier to just add the colour to a black and white page.

The same tendencies are detected in another story published in September 1968, named *Pippo e la spazzola del banchetto* (original title: 'The Brush Salesman'). Common English ideophones and interjections such are *shake*, *clink*, *thud*, *whack*, *ouch* are left intact. Only one total substitution can be found and this involves the transformation of an ideophone (kazoing) into an Italian interjection (*oplà*—which can

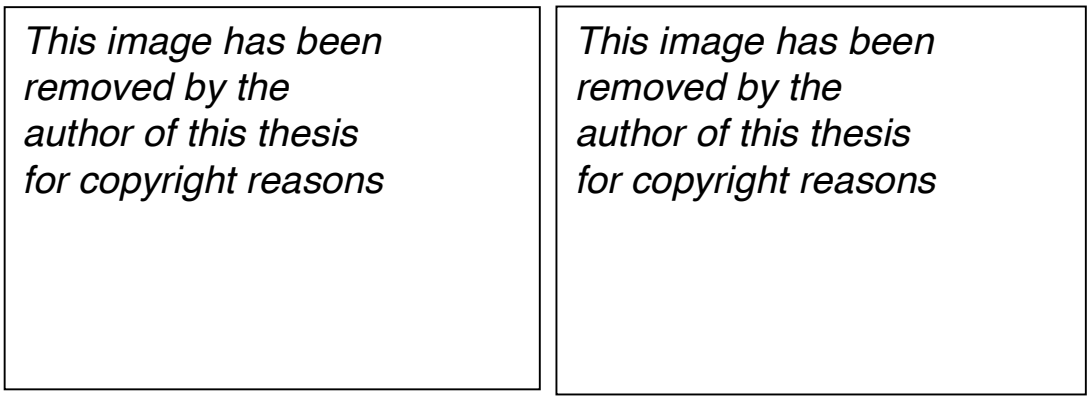


Figure 45. Example of total substitution in a strip published in September 1968. Left: Walt Disney's Comics and Stories 313, Oct. 1966; Right: Topolino libretto, issue 667, Sep. 1968.

be translated as 'upsy-daisy') (cf. figure 45). The ideophone *whit*, which is used to describe a kinaesthetic act is left untranslated, even though a more straightforward alternative could have been chosen, such as *zip*. Again, a radical change in formats (i.e. colours and shape of balloons) can be noticed.

The last three stories featured in the corpus for this particular time-frame include a particular high number of repetitions. Published in January, May and July 1969, these stories include a total of 29 repetitions out of a total of 42 forms (69%). Of the remaining 13 strategies, 2 are partial substitutions, 4 additions (*wak* > *uack*; *hmm* > *uhmm*; *hey* > *ehi*; *wak* > *uack*), 4 creations, 2 English alternatives (*rats* > *gulp*; *fooey* > *pfui*) and 1 total substitution (*aw* > *uff*). Note that this last example is classed as a total substitution because the meaning of the source-text form has been changed.

All in all, this time window can be taken as the time when the influence of Anglophonic forms on Disney comics published in Italy really began to take hold. As shown in Chapter 7 (table 44 page 164) some of the best known English terms that are used in Italian Disney comics made their first appearance in the 1960s: *ouch* (1960), *pant* (1963), *sob* (1965), *gurgle* (1967), *groan* (1969). This proves the shift towards a heavily English target-text environment taking place in the 1960s decade.

8.2.6.4. Anglophonic Supremacy: 1970s

The 1970s timeframe essentially continues the tendencies noticed during the previous decade. The only difference is that the number of repetitions is still on the rise, with a total of 70% of strategies belonging to this type (cf. chart 17).

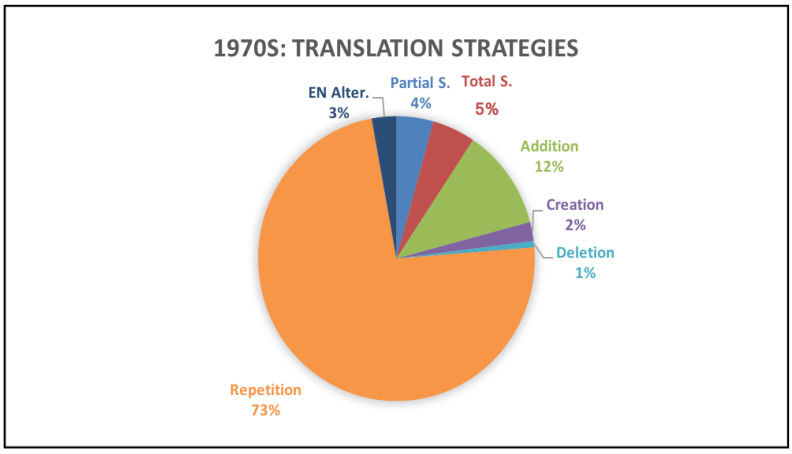


Chart 17. Translation strategies distribution for the 1970s timeframe.

Out of 155 forms recorded for this time window, 102 are the repetition category. This time-frame also includes the first story recorded in the corpus that only includes

repetitions: *Super Pippo e la ramazza meccanica* ('Super Goof: A Clean Sweep') published in March 1971.

The corpus for the decade includes 16 additions, with no major changes in the way the strategy is applied compared with previous time-frames. There are three cases in which vowel modifications are applied to suit an Italian audience better: *woosh* > *wuush* (Jun. 1970); *foop* > *fuup* (Jun. 1970); *squeak* > *squick* (May 1979) while four other cases simply involve the removal of squared brackets from around the ideophone (cf. figure 46 below).

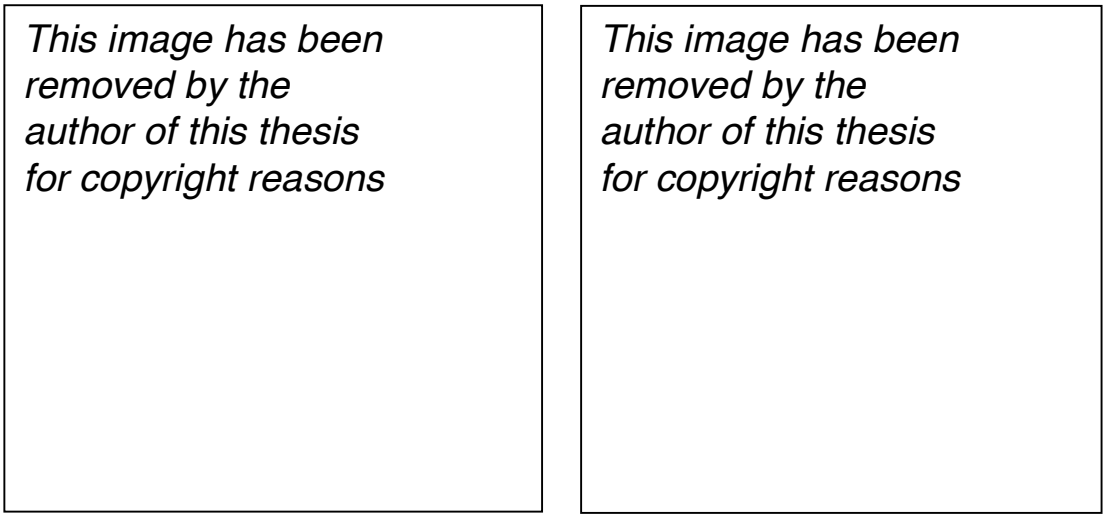


Figure 46. Example of addition strategy in a comic strip published in Italy in September 1976. Left: Walt Disney's Comics and Stories 430, Jul. 1976; Right: Topolino libretto, issue 1087, Sep. 1976.

The rest of the additions involve simple modifications that do not necessarily remove any Anglophonic markers but rather add some (such as *cough* > *koff*—Apr. 1974); modifications that remove English markers (*urk* > *urp*—Apr. 1974; *oopsy* > *oops*—Aug. 1975; *humph* > *grumpf*—Aug. 1975) and two other examples that involve a change from an -ee- vocalic cluster to an -ie- one to imply that it needs to be read as /i/ rather than /e/: *yeow* > *yieow* (May 1973) and *yeeks* > *yieks* (May 1979).

Out of the 13 substitutions found in this decade, 8 involve the modification of an interjection while the other five involve ideophones. There do not appear to be any obvious, specific or common reasons for these modifications, a fact that provides evidence of the lack of specific conventions for dealing with these forms, particularly in these years of predominant Anglophonic supremacy. While, in previous decades, specific tendencies could be detected, for this decade a specific type of form is

repeated on some occasions but may be modified on others. This, by extension, shows that the different selection of a particular strategy is probably dependent on the personal preferences of each translator and/or editor(s) rather than being based on specific guidelines.

While the period between the early sixties and the early seventies is considered the 'golden age of Disney Italian comics' (Stajano, 1999, p. 11; translation mine), the rest of the 1970s marks the start of the years of crisis for the industry of Disney comics published in Italy (Tosti, 2011, p. 117), due both to the creation of TV channels that broadcast cartoons, which took the attention away from paper stories, and to the evident struggle faced by the Italian comic industry in its attempts to update itself. The successes of the previous decades proved difficult to replicate. Stories from these years are considered to be of poorer quality, and this affected the number of copies sold and the whole credibility and success of the *Topolino* magazine. This momentary crisis lasted until the early eighties, when a new director of the magazine (Mr. Gaudenzio Capelli) was appointed, a director who is considered to be responsible for the 'recovery' of the past glories of magazine (Boschi et al., 1990, p. 86; translation mine). This stalled situation that characterised most of the 1970s might have had an effect on the translation strategies used and on the directions taken by the stories published in this time window. As noted beforehand, this decade experienced a degree of confusion when it came to finding a specific direction, a confusion that somehow mirrors the 'crisis' of these years.

8.2.6.5. Technological Advancements: 1980-92

The 1980-92 time-frame is the last one recorded by this research project and it presents an intriguing surprise considering the tendencies that have been outlined in the diachronic analysis of the previous time windows. Going against tendencies and statistics that prevailed during the previous time-frames, which would have suggested a further increase in the use of strategies of repetition, this time-frame features a considerable drop in the use of these. This seems to happen in favour of strategies of partial substitution, which increase from 4% to 17%, and English alternatives (3% to

10%). The percentages for total substitutions and additions remain unchanged with, respectively, a 5% and a 12%. Creations and deletions also register a slight increase: creations rise by 3 percentage points (from 2% to 5%) while deletions show a considerable increase from 1% to 8% (cf. chart 18 below).

Overall, this time-frame shows a willingness on the part of translators to change tack. While the first story recorded for this timeframe, published in February 1980 (with the title *Paperino il ficcanaso*—'Super Snooper'), does show an exclusive use of repetitions, starting from the following translated story published in July 1981 there is an evident prevalence of alternative strategies used. Repetitions are still constantly present through the years but they do not represent the only choice. The last translated story recorded in the corpus, in particular, shows a particular effort to modify the source text in order to tailor it for an Italian audience. Therefore, this story could represent an isolated case or one of the final attempts by the Disney school in Italy to transpose American stories. Note that after 1992 it was mostly original Italian stories that were published, making translations very rare and obsolete. The story is the translation of the transposition into comic book format of the famous Disney movie 'The Beauty and the Beast' (*La Bella e la Bestia,* in Italian, published in December 1992).

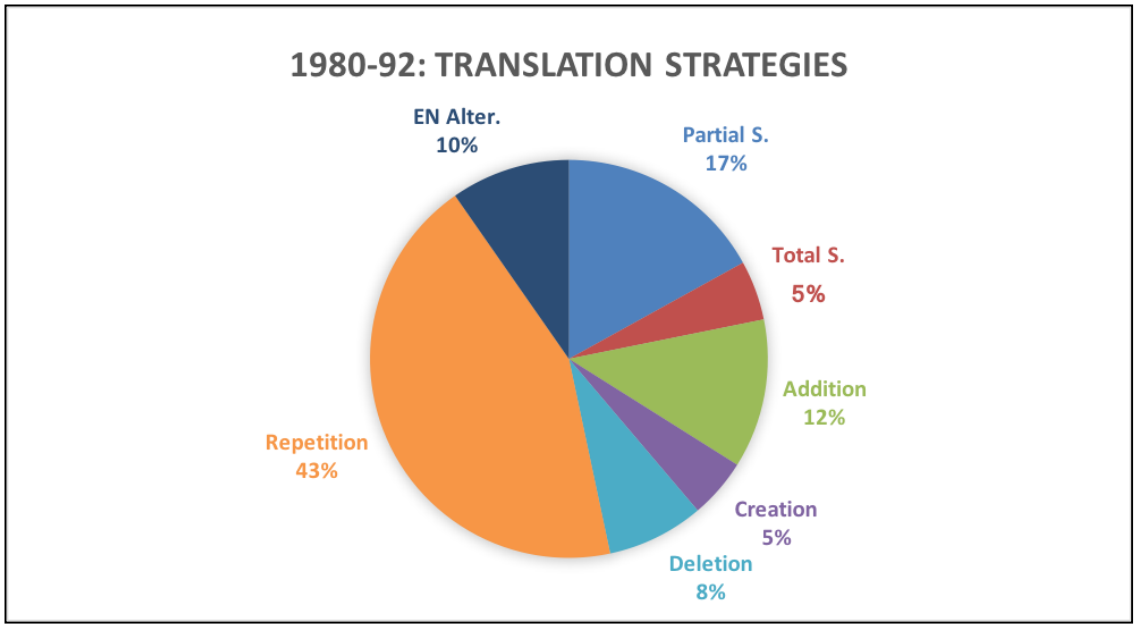


Chart 18. Translation strategies distribution for the 1980-1992 timeframe.

All the translated stories published in 1992 show a return to the strategies used in the first couple of decades, together with the use of specific tendencies that were introduced later. Anglophonic markers such as ‘w’, ‘k’ and ‘th’ are removed, together with other additions that facilitate the reading of these forms for an Italian audience (see, for instance, the typical vocalic change as shown in figure 47 below).

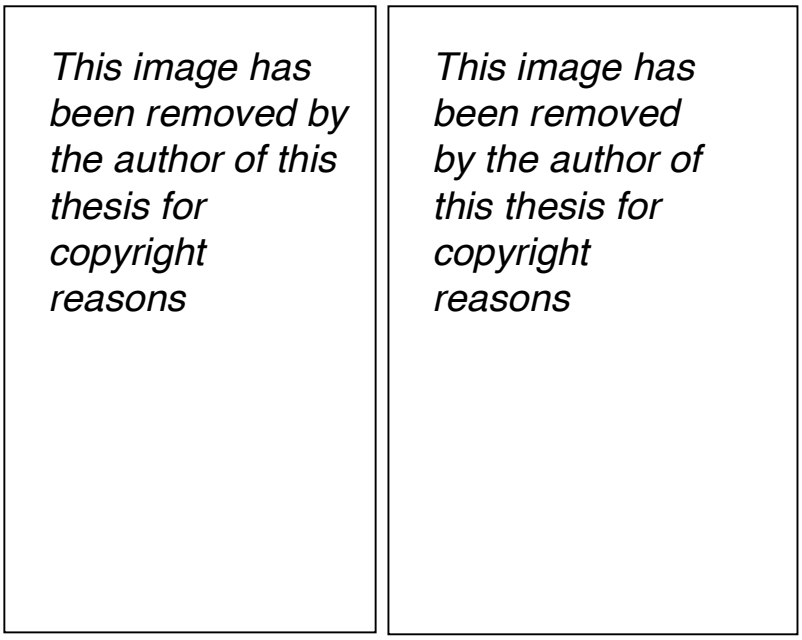


Figure 47. Example of addition in the last translated story of the corpus based on 'The Beauty and the Beast' story. Left: Disney’s Beauty and the Beast 1, 1991; Topolino libretto, issue 1933, Dec. 1992.

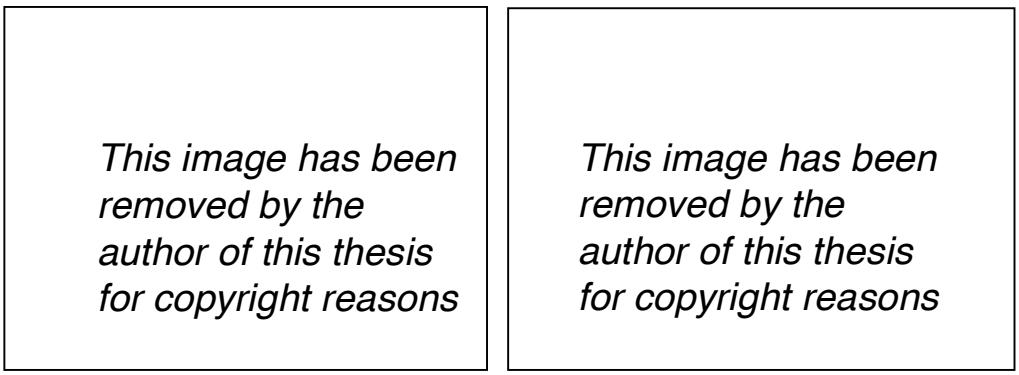


Figure 48. Examples of English alternatives in the last translated story recorded by the corpus and published in December 1992. Left: Disney’s Beauty and the Beast 1, 1991; Topolino libretto, issue 1933, Dec. 1992.

Nevertheless, English alternatives are still used, such as: *erk* > *gasp*, *ka-pow* > *bang*, *kunk* > *clang*, *sploop* > *splash*. It seems then the last attempts at offering translated stories confirmed the finding that there was a revival of old strategies and tendencies,

a finding that was described in Chapter 7 during the analysis of the use expressive forms in both original and translated stories. This revival was marked, for instance, by the return of certain Italianised expressions, both ideophonic and interjectional ones. In particular, one can see the return of interjections such as 'uao', 'yuhuu', 'uffa' and 'ahia' to replace their English equivalents and the use of Italianised ideophones, but this time together with some crystallised English lexicalised ideophones ('gasp', 'gulp', 'sigh', 'crash', etc.). See, for example, the translation of 'whunk' and 'bash' in the figure 48 above with two English-inspired ideophones ('wup' and 'crash', respectively).

8.3. Conclusion

The present chapter looked closely at the cross-linguistic adaption of sound symbolic forms in Italian Disney comics throughout an eight-decade time span. The conclusion to this chapter will attempt to bring together the hypothesis formulated in the methodology in Chapter 3 with the outcomes resulting from the analysis of the translation strategies in diachroneity to confirm or refute the postulated assumptions.

First of all, the analysis of the translation strategies confirmed the highly non-lexicalised and interjectional nature of Italian expressive forms. The main evidence of this is the fact that the majority of total substitutions involved a change from a lexicalised form in English to a non-lexicalised one in Italian. Only four cases—3% of the total—involved an English non-lexicalised form turning into a lexicalised Italian form. This outcome allows the present research inquiry to align itself to the under-researched, emerging and highly specialised field of studies on the status of Italian ideophonic forms in comic books (Mioni, 1990 & 1992 p. 88; D'Achille, 2010, p. 100; Dovetto, 2012, p. 203). What these studies have suggested is that, when compared to Italian, English seems to possess a ready-made 'real and extensive' ideophonic base (Feist, 2013, p. 2013). This is because the language has a malleable morphology that naturally welcomes neologisms; a large number of monosyllabic words; and a tendency to easily convert words from one class to another (Mioni, 1992, p. 92; Bueno Perez, 1994, p. 25; Newmark, 1996, p. 54). Italian, on the other hand, does not show the same ease when dealing with sound symbolic forms. This constraint is mirrored in

the presence of repetitions that have constantly been used through the decades, particularly in the case of ideophones: the only difference being that, while in the first two decades their occurrence is outweighed by strategies of addition and substitutions, later decades (1950s-70s) boast extremely high rates of repeated source text material.

Four different hypotheses were offered in Chapter 3 ('Methodology') and will be hereby discussed and supported by the outcomes of the present chapter:

(1) Constrained approach examined: the first hypothesis suggested that words inside balloons and black and white strips are usually expected to involve a higher localisation rate due to the ease with which the content of the cartoon can be changed. Words outside balloons and coloured strips, in contrast, usually involve a higher rate of repetition. This is in line with the 'constrained environment' imposed by the comic's format, a factor often mentioned by scholars in the field (Zanettin, 2008, p. 20; Noss, 2003, p. 51; Grun and Dollerup, 2003). Although recent scholarly work (Zanettin, 2014 and Borodo, 2015, particularly) has started highlighting the comic's visual and verbal characteristics more as opportunities for creativity rather than as constraints, it is also apparent that the layout of the Disney comic book has had a decisive influence and impact on the translation of the words within its pages. In the term 'layout' different aspects are included: in particular, limitations imposed by balloon size, lettering, images, captions, colour and pagination (Zanettin, 2014, p. 1) are all to be considered when evaluating possible changes to the source text. These limitations were obviously particularly debilitating during the first decades in which comics were translated, while technological advance brought a certain level of freedom from an editorial point of view—evidence of which revealed itself through the rise in the use of alternative strategies rather than repetition around the beginning of the 1980s (Ficarra, 2012, p. 31).

This first hypothesis was confirmed. The data offered earlier in the chapter showed that forms that were originally inside balloons tend to feature not only more repetitions but also to undergo deletion more than twice as often as their counterparts found outside (28%—compared to 11% for forms outside balloons). This

particular constraint involving balloons also had another impact on the translation rate of interjections, which are often included within balloons and are therefore more often likely to undergo strategies of substitutions and addition rather than repetition. This has allowed translators to localise interjections as much as possible for the Italian readers and, although English ideophones expressing emotions have increased in frequency through the years (as shown in Chapter 7), typical Italian interjections are still present. So, in a way, both their consistent presence within the balloons and their easily translatable nature allowed Italian interjections to 'survive' through the years and decades of pressing Anglophonic supremacy (roughly between 1953 and the early 1980s). Chart 13 (page 207) showed that, in the case of interjections, repetitions only represent the 11% of the total, surpassed by total substitutions (15%), additions (21%) and partial substitutions (40%).

In the case of Disney comics published in Italy, layout-imposed constraints were evident from the start. The decision to accompany each comic cartoon with rhyming couplets meant that somehow these couplets were, until they were abandoned in July 1935, the main story tellers, while the image was somehow considered secondary or as a simple accompaniment to the words below it. The evidence of this was the higher rate of repetitions recorded in the first stories published (roughly until the end of 1935).

The findings also show that there is a prevalence of repetitions in coloured strips, with roughly half of the strips in colour (51%) involving cases of repetition.

Finally, the change in format, from a newspaper size to a smaller size, that took place in 1949 also had an effect on the translation of the Disney stories. The decision allowed the Disney industry in Italy to survive times of financial crisis but at the same time this meant that the large cartoons originally designed for publication in American newspapers had to be reduced in size, which could be one of reasons for the rise of repetitions following the format change.

(2) Localisation over time: this second hypothesis emerged after noticing, on first inspection, that, in early comics, forms seemed to be localised more often when compared to later stories. Hence, an exponential retaining of English sounds through

the decades was hypothesized. One of the subsequent aims was then to discover if this process happened gradually or if it involved a sudden switch to English sounds to the detriment of Italian sound symbolism. The historical and linguistic motivations behind these choices would have been part of the analysis.

A pivotal switch noticed through the corpus analysis happened between 1953 and 1957, a period after which English markers started being retained rather than localised as in the past. This small time window marks the beginning of a central Anglophonic influence that shaped the world of comic books published in Italy and starts legitimising English as a major player in the language of the Disney comics industry in Italy. Post-WW2 and after the creation of the 'iron curtain', Italy indeed entered, economically and culturally, the American sphere of influence. The censorship era brought in by Fascism was over, and editors and translators were able to use strategies of foreignisation, which will have had an extreme impact on the use of English ideophones in Italian comics. As a matter of fact, the most common English ideophones started appearing in Italian dictionaries during the 1960s.

The analysis carried out in this chapter provided significant insight into the diachronic changes in these forms. From a rate of 20% in the 1932-42 period to 73% in the 1970s, strategies of 'repetition' have been constantly on the rise—a tendency also noticed by Valero Garcés (2008, p. 243) in regards to English to Spanish translations of ideophones in comics. The time-frame which showed the highest percentage of repetitions was the 1970s, which coincides with the period of crisis for the Disney comics industry in Italy (Tosti, 2011, p. 117). Post-1980s, this trend is totally overturned as strategies of 'repetition' have undergone a steady drop over the last 12 years covered by this investigation and have experienced a 30% drop (from 70% to 40%) in favour of strategies of 'partial substitution'. This finding was unexpected, particularly considering the tendencies detected in the previous four time-frames. The drop in the rate of repetitions seems to happen in favour of two main strategies: partial substitution, which increases from 4% to 17%, and the use of English alternatives, which increases from 3% to 10%. The reason for this drop is difficult to identify at this stage but the technological advances experienced since the end of the 1980s have, most certainly, had an important role in this.

In summary, this second hypothesis was only partially confirmed as the translation shift in the last 12 years had not been predicted.

(3) Translator's dilemma examined: in the third hypothesis it was suggested that although strategies of substitution are expected to be favoured in the case of expressive forms in order to recreate the whole aesthetic effect through phonological and syntactical means familiar to the target text culture (Ippolito, 2008, p. 253), strategies of repetition were expected to be the most used throughout the eight decades analysed. This is due to (1) layout constraints and (2) linguistic and cultural reasons that caused English forms to feature more prominently as the years passed. Indeed, in the case of ideophones this hypothesis was confirmed, as chart 11 (page 206) showed that, when considering the use of strategies in all the stories regardless of time-frames, repetitions have the highest occurrence rate (49%). As expected, in the case of interjections, the strategy occurred with a percentage of 11%.

(4) Italian vs Spanish translation strategies: the last hypothesis suggested that some of the findings of this research project could be compared to the ones proposed by Valero Garcés (1996; 2008) in her project on the translation of onomatopoeia in comics from English to Spanish.

The following section will analyse all the main outcomes suggested by Valero Garcés and state whether these are also applicable to the current study.

(1) Valero Garcés identified two main strategies: the ideophone is either translated or left unchanged (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 241). This outcome is applicable to Italian Disney comics in translation. Indeed, when looking at the total distribution of strategies for ideophones only, the majority of of these involve either a translation or a repetition. Creations and deletions only make up for a total of 7%.

(2) English sound symbolism usually tends to be retained, particularly when the ideophone is outside balloons (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 240). Since the start of the importation of American comics during the 50s the prevailing tendency has been to leave English sounds untranslated, with minor localisation of certain types of

ideophones. This statement is only partially applicable. When ideophones are found outside balloon they indeed tend to be retained and after the 1950s repetitions start to systematically rise. As mentioned before, comics in Spain—or at least the ones analysed by Valero Garcés—did not seem to involve the revival of substitution strategies post-1980s detected by the current project.

(3) Mechanical or artificial sounds are usually retained while 'sounds produced by animals, unarticulated sounds produced by humans (including interjections) and sounds used to show feelings or attitude' tend to be translated more often (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 241-43). This statement is applicable. As stated during the analysis of the different strategies used for each ideophonic type, mechanical sounds had the highest percentage of repetitions while those belonging to the 'animal' or 'human' categories had the highest degree of localisation. As explained earlier, this could be due to the fact that mechanical events have a higher chance of being represented with non-lexicalised ideophones and of being placed outside the balloon. Corpus data shows that mechanical ideophones have the higher percentage of non-lexicalised forms while the 'human' category has the lowest (cf. chart 5, page 174).

(4) Ideophones in black and white stories tend to be localised more often (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 240; also mentioned in Martinez Fuentes, 2003). This is also applicable to the present study. As shown earlier, ideophones in coloured stories have a higher chance of being left unchanged. These findings also show that, indeed, there is a prevalence of repetitions in coloured strips, with roughly half of the strips in colour (51%) involving cases of repetition.

(5) When a sound is produced by a human (i.e. interjections), it is usually translated with a Spanish equivalent, if one exists. See 'atchoo' translated with 'aatchis', or 'ahem' rendered with an 'ejem' (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 242). This same finding holds true for the present study. Interjections have been shown to undergo a higher number of substitutions, with only 11% of interjections involving a repetition (cf. chart 13, page 207). Examples of this include the following: *howdy* > *ehi* (Jun. 1933); *whoopee* > *evviva* (Dec. 1935); *omigosh* > *ahimè* (Jul. 1940); *yeow* > *ahi* (Jan. 1958); *heh* > *eh* eh (Apr. 1962); *ouch* > *ahia* (Apr. 1974); *out* > *sciò* (Jan. 1992) and many more.

(6) Sometimes creative ideophones in English are translated with better-known English ones, which have become part of Spanish tradition (see 'sob' or 'sniff'). This shows that some English ideophones are perceived as being part of the Spanish language (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 244). As my previous research showed (Pischedda, 2010), some English ideophones are perceived by Italian people with a lower level of English as being of Italian or unknown origin. Strategies that use English equivalents that are considered simpler to understand have been shown to be gradually employed, particularly after the end of the 1950s. So this statement of Valero Garcés is also applicable to Italian translation of English expressive forms in Disney comics.

(7) Spelling is often adapted. See 'he he' for laughter translated as 'je, je' (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 243). The use of strategies of 'addition', that is the substitution of certain graphemes in order to provide a more familiar target text environment was found within the early time-frames. 'Addition' is one of those strategies that has shown to have been consistently used throughout the time-frames. Despite showing stable decrease through the time windows (22%-->24%-->17%-->11.5%-->12%), it has always been a fruitful way to localise ideophones and interjections in Disney comics published in Italy.

(8) A higher percentage (75%) of English ideophones has been retained in the last 15 years (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 243). This statement is not applicable because the current research project does not take into consideration publications post 1992 (Disney comics stopped being translated in the early 1990s). Nevertheless, it would be interesting, for future research, to evaluate whether this statement also applied to the Italian comics market. As things stand now, and following the statistics of the last time windows, strategies of repetitions would have been expected to continue to drop post-1992, but without any data this cannot be confirmed.

(9) A higher percentage of English consonants (particularly the non-Spanish letter /k/) has been retained during the last ten years (Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 245). Again, this is an interesting remark that cannot be confirmed or refuted as the current project did not focus on the last ten years of Disney comics in translation.

The data shows that out of nine outcomes, six appear to be true while one is only partially true and two more are non applicable as there is not enough data available to confirm them. Taken as a whole, Spanish and Italian do indeed seem to share similar trends both when it comes to translating and creating ideophones and interjections in comics. This phenomenon can be explored from both linguistic and graphical points of view.

From a linguistic point of view, both languages tend to use strategies of 'addition' as the best way to modify expressive forms for the target audience through the addition or removal of Anglophonic markers. On the same note, with reference to these two specific studies (Valero Garcés's and the present one), both languages seem to show a high reliance on English forms that have become widely understood, as evidenced by the growing use of strategies including English equivalents. Furthermore, Spanish and Italian both contain an extensive array of interjectional forms, evidence of which is provided by the higher localisation rate of interjectional forms when compared to ideophones[17]. The nature of the sound and what it represents has been shown to influence the strategies used. Therefore, non-lexicalised sounds that are visually and sonically more iconic (i.e. mechanical ideophones) will show a lower degree of localisation as they are already instinctively considered symbolic enough for the audience to instinctively grasp what they refer to, especially with the additional help of visual cues.

From a graphical point of view both Spanish and Italian comics seem to accept more localisation when the strips are in black and white and if ideophones are within balloons.

More data would be needed to investigate the validity of the last two 'non-applicable' statements and, also, more research should be carried out to provide evidence that the results of this current project also apply to other genres within the comic book industry, such as graphic novels, comic books created strictly for an adult audience and picture books including comic strips. Nevertheless, the findings suggest that Italian and Spanish share some attitudes in the treatment of sound symbolic

[17] Note that Bueno Peréz's research (1994) noticed that not only Spanish but also French translations of English ideophones generally tend to 'lose their onomatopoeic value' and often involve interjectional realisations (Ibid., p. 25).

forms in translation and that both place a high degree of reliance on English linguistic material as suggested by various scholars in the field (Bueno Perez, 1994, p. 25; Valero Garcés, 2008, p. 239; Pischedda, 2012; Dovetto, 2012, p. 208). This is particularly shown, in the case of Italian, by the presence of truncated forms in Italian comics that attempt to imitate English expressive forms ending in consonants, a phenomenon that does not appear to occur within the Spanish language of comics. Consonant-ending words are readily perceived to be more iconic as linguists have provided evidence that words ending in consonants are, in most languages, somehow considered more expressive as they are characterised by 'an inherent confining and limiting effect which words with a vowel sound do not possess' (Reid, 1967, p. 47). These results would go hand in hand with recent scientific studies (such as Assaneo et al., 2011) that have demonstrated that 'onomatopoeia across languages are indeed linked to the sounds they refer to by imitation' (Assaneo, 2011, p. 7) and not just through cultural and linguistic arbitrariness.

Chapter 9. Conclusions, Final Remarks and Suggestions for Future Research

The analysis carried out in this project has provided new original data on the use of ideophones and interjections in Disney comics since their first publication in the 1930s. The research has involved a close examination of the way this complex and overlooked set of forms has been created, employed and translated.

Ideophones and interjections have shown to be characterised by an intrinsic flexibility and a deep-rooted multimodality, which make them a rewarding topic for theoretical analysis. Drawing on theoretic concepts from comic book studies, theories of sound symbolism and translation theory, a choice of disciplines mirroring the inter-cultural and linguistic dimensions of the subject, a number of findings and conclusions have been formulated. These will be summarised and taken further in this final chapter.

The data brought to light in the course of this research has revealed the degree of creativity with which sound symbolic forms, and particularly ideophones, have been generated. It seems that the process of creating ideophones has stretched the Italian language in ways that are specific to the nature of the form. From the breaking of phonotactic or phonemic rules typical of Italian to the way creators push the linguistic and semantic boundaries of the language, there is a real sense that Italian Disney comics are sometimes establishing a sound symbolic language of their own. I believe that the originality also comes from the intrinsic brevity of these iconic renditions. The fact that they can only be based on approximate values forces cartoonists to choose phonetic and graphemic patterns that are perceived as more 'picturesque' (Dovetto, 2012, p. 201; translation mine) and unusual. I suggest that this sort of flexibility cannot be said to apply to English ideophones, which take fewer non-lexicalised forms more often than the Italian versions do, and evidence to support this view has been provided throughout the analysis. Catracalà ([no date]) even suggested that there is enough evidence to support the existence of a completely separate variety of Italian which is used when sound symbolic forms are involved within specific media (comics, in this case). Catracalà calls it *italiano figurato* ('metaphorical/figurative Italian';

translation mine), which 'finds its completeness and semantic value within the context of the comic book, specifically thanks to a strong visual-verbal synergy' (Ibid.; translation mine).

Despite the creativity involved, it appears clear that convention plays a pivotal role in the creation and interpretation of these forms. There seems to be an implicit expectation on the part of creators that readers will interpret, or at least learn to interpret, English or non-lexicalised forms—relying heavily on the graphical features in the process. The category of ideophones in particular can be seen as a sectorial vernacular to which readers need to become accustomed and decode on a case-by-case basis, a vernacular whose interpretation changes according to the reader's familiarity with the genre (Morgana, 2003, p. 167). Although, it is also true that, over time, the repetition of the same items produces a shared, accepted vocabulary.

The Anglophonic influence is not only apparent from a translation strategies point of view. The linguistic analysis carried out in Chapters 6 and 7 has highlighted several linguistic processes that bear witness to a deep-rooted English-language impact on the Italian language of comics, the three main processes being (1) the presence of clippings, truncated Italian forms ending in consonants in an attempt to imitate English morphological patterns of consonantal syllabic codas, (2) the tendency to include English graphemes such as <k>, <sh> and <y> in Italian ideophones, a process defined as hyper-Anglicisation by the author of this thesis and, finally, (3) the abundant use of English-derived ideophones in original stories and not just in the translated ones. From a diachronic point of view, the history of the Anglophonic influence on the sound symbolic language of comics roughly seems to coincide with the information given by scholars on the general influence of English influence on Italian: the 'artificial censorship' imposed by Fascism is believed to be one of the few partially successful hindrances faced by Anglicisms post-unification (Cartago, 1994, p. 721). Even then, the pages of *Tuffolino* did see the appearance of a couple of English ideophones although the number of sound symbolic forms was indeed extremely low compared to the usual comic strips.

Comic strips that include English- and Italian-derived forms in a potpourri of linguistic diversity are very common and confer the comic book page with a real polyglot feel.

The effect of this Anglophonic presence is not, however, always that of making the readers aware of the real meaning behind the English term; the English term is perceived more as an iconic word linked to the specific action it represents rather than as a word of Anglophonic origin. This is why cases such as *gasp*, *gulp*, *sigh* and the like were inserted in the 'ideophone' category despite being English lexicalised words. As studies have shown (Pischedda, 2010; Valero Garces, 2008), the majority of Italophones and Hispanophones who do not possess a high level of English do not really perceive these terms to be English at all. The audience have learned to accept the ideophone as such, as a sound symbolic device aimed at making an event more expressive through a string of graphemes/phonemes that somehow resemble the situation pictured.

The status of sound symbolic forms, and of ideophones in particular, has confirmed their tendency to involve unusual linguistic patterns: see, among the rest, the tendency to add an impure s- to strengthen the expressivity of both Italian- and English-derived forms and the presence of irregular phonotactic patterns—characteristics that have allowed this investigation to align itself with scholarly work that stresses the status of sound symbolic expressive forms as 'linguistic rebels' (Kunene, 2001, p. 183). This project has also confirmed the highly non-lexicalised nature of Italian ideophones particularly when compared to English creations. Nevertheless, the seemingly linguistic uncertainty of these forms is not matched with semantic uncertainty. Their meaning is indeed usually relatively clear, also thanks to the help of the accompanying image, and their expressive power has been a constant since their appearance in the pages of the comic, to the point of their becoming one of the medium's most recognisable features. When looking at the number of forms found in the cartoons, it was discovered that the presence of ideophones grows through the decades, from 10 ideophones per story in the 1932-42 timeframe to an average of 23.25 forms in the last ten years (2005-13)—which acts as an additional evidence of their growing importance within the medium.

Another important finding that emerged in both the linguistic and the translation analysis is the evident revival of Italian-derived expressions, mainly interjections, during the last 15-20 years. Nevertheless, this does not happen to the

detriment of English forms, which are still present. The Italian revival was identified following analysis of the diachronic change of sound symbolic forms belonging to the 'human' category. For instance, the interjection *uao* ('wow'), used to show feelings of surprise, reappears in 1985 after decades of absence (previous use was recorded in 1935) and gets employed more and more often from that date. This is in line with the resurgence of Italianised expressions seen in the last fifteen years (2000-2015) in other interjectional forms such as *urrà* (from 1992), *uffa* (from 2006) and *boh* (from 1970) as indicated during the analysis. It should be noted that this revival does not seem to be dependent on whether the story is original or translated. In fact, English forms used to represent feelings start to appear side by side with the numerically increasing Italian forms in both original and translated stories.

When it comes to assessing the place of sound symbolic forms within the discipline of translation studies, one soon realises that it is not always a mere matter of recreating the same effects on the reader through phonological and/or morphological patterns. It is true that a 'bow-wow' can be easily converted into the Italian 'bau bau', but the process is not always this straight-forward. The constraints imposed by the format itself have to be considered and, if one adds to the mix the various cultural influences and interferences, the process of creating and translating these forms is hardly a predictable one. The role of English as lingua franca and the Anglophonic monopoly within media studies have a lot to answer for (De Swaan, 2001, p. 156-7; Crystal, 2008, p. 308; Fanfani, 2010; Crystal, 2010, p. 2-3; Chmielewska, 2011, p. 3). On top of this, if one considers the English language propensity when it comes to creating and modifying these forms and the evident ease in which this is achieved, it is clear why the English language has had a fairly easy job from the start. Romance languages[18] such as Italian and Spanish, on the other hand, had to try to figure out how to interpret and process these forms in a matter that felt useful and fruitful and that could make the most of the morpho-phonological devices offered by the language. And this apparent 'struggle' is indeed mirrored in the high variability of the translation

[18] Unfortunately there are no other significant research projects that focus on translated sound symbolic material coming from comics in other Romance languages such as French, Portuguese or Catalan. Articles analysing French or Catalan translations of onomatopoeia do exist (Bueno Peréz, 1994; Muñoz-Calvo, 2013) but they either concentrate on other media or do not offer enough data to allow for cross-linguistic comparison.

strategies detected throughout eight decades: an initial even distribution of the three main translation strategies (‘addition’, ‘repetition’ and ‘substitution’) in the pre-war period (1932-42) is followed by an increase in the rate of repetitions, which reaches its peak in the 1970s, which then drops again in the last time window (1980-92).

The discoveries regarding the diachronic use of translation strategies allow the researcher to place the translation of sound symbolic expressive forms within the concept of ‘transcreation’, which has been more and more relevant in translation theory (Melby et al., 2014). The term was coined during the 1960s and 1970s to refer to those texts that required a translation that retained the emotion of the source text as much as possible, a requirement often laid down within the marketing and advertising industries. As a matter of fact, the term is a portmanteau for ‘translation’ and ‘recreation’ and it aims to stress that the preservation of the message, the style, the images and the emotions of the source text is, in certain fields or media, much more central in order to fully localise the contents (Balemans, 2010). This is not to deny that all translations of texts aim to reach this kind of equivalence between the source and target text, but the aim of using the term ‘transcreation’ is to stress the importance, for certain types of texts, of the need to be expressive and to reach the hearts and not just the minds. This results in some types of texts requiring a higher level of transcreation than others (Balemans, 2010). Transcreation is therefore the adaption to the text that is not a ‘straightforward transfer of perceived meaning’ (Melby et al., 2014, p. 395), a process that scholars have defined as ‘reconceptualisation’, resulting in a translation that is only loosely tied to the original and its details (Ibid.). These concepts are familiar within translation practices in the marketing and advertising fields as they often involve texts that contain humour, play on words or visual-verbal puns that are necessarily tied to cultural, graphical and phonetic aspects of language, which might force the translator not to just change, but recreate the content (see ‘reconceptualise’) for the target audience. Sound symbolism in translation is, more or less, trying to achieve the same. For these reasons, I posit that the role of the translator of sound symbolic forms in comic books can be defined not just as a ‘semiotic investigator’ (Celotti, 2010, p. 33) but, rather, as a ‘creative semiotic investigator’. The translator of multimodal texts is indeed an interpreter of

different signs and how these shape narratives, as his/her aim is that of reaching the 'equivalence of the effect' rather than an 'equivalence of the lexicon, grammar or form' (Newmark, 1996, p. 48). This is particularly pertinent in a context, such as multimodal texts, in which the sensoriality and the interplay between different verbal and visual media is pivotal and represents a primary source of meaning. A rupture of balance between semiotic elements could jeopardise the entire reading experience. The term 'semiotic investigator' stresses the variety of sensorial inputs and perceptions available to the translator when trying to localise comics. Adding the adjective 'creative' stresses even more the need for a total recreation and reconceptualisation of the source text material in the case of ideophones and interjections. This is true particularly when one takes into consideration that the translation of these forms is a clear 'problematic task' (Noss, 2003, p. 53) that faces the translator with a 'wide variety of strategies' and options (Ibid.). This variety of options is a result of the intrinsic language-specific nature of these forms. On top of trying to imitate senses, and hence performing 'a referential function' (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 41), ideophones, in particular, are 'highly expressive words which also have tremendous allegorical potential' (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 41) since they can evoke specific feelings in the reader. This peculiarity, together with their highly-marked phonological status, lexical and grammatical uniqueness and genre-specific conventions, means the translator is confronted with a real 'translation dilemma' (Noss, 2003, p. 53) that certainly adds a certain level of difficulty to the translation process (Bueno Perez, 1994, p. 23). The iconicity of the word and the way it sounds to the reader become the central elements to take into consideration when transposing ideophones to the target audience and 'must be conveyed in the translation' (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 42). Considering that the two final aims of a translation are (1) to 'render the *feel* of the original' (Lathey, 2016, p. 61) and (2) 'to follow the *spirit* rather than the letter of the original' (Lathey, 2016, p. 61), one can understand how the whole process is very much left to the translators' and editors' instinct and creativity. Nevertheless, the established conventions of the genre play a central role as well, as shown throughout this analysis.

Studies such as the current one can provide a historical overview of how the treatment of these peculiar words has been changing through years and decades, particularly since their employment in comics. Future studies of this specific topic within translation and literary studies will help understand and foster discussion on the supposed untranslatability of these forms and it is hoped that it will allow for a 'disclosure of the fecundity of their use in different languages' (Bueno Perez, 1994, p. 23; translation mine). An investigation of the way their peculiar roles in language can be and have been transposed to another linguistic and cultural landscape will shed light on their functions and cross-linguistic discrepancies. As stated by Lathey (2016, p. 96), 'when translating literary effects that depend on aural qualities, as in the case of animal sounds, translators have to switch from one phonological system to another, transposing the barks, squeals, roars and neighs of a complete menagerie into the commonly accepted equivalents in their own tongue'. The inherently sonic feature of ideophones and interjections makes these words a particular case in translation studies, and this might lead the translator to avoid the usual approaches used in the field. While the translator might usually be 'more inclined to resort to the semantic equivalent' (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 42), particularly in the case of ideophones the sound becomes 'the most important component' (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 42). But ideophones do not only include animal noises. The wide range of senses and sensorial experiences described by ideophones makes translating them a highly demanding yet enjoyable task: if, on one hand, it puts translators to the test, on the other hand it is a highly creative process that can be both fulfilling and enjoyable as it fosters linguistic awareness in both readers and translators. Indeed, for each ideophone the skilful 'combination of sound and semantics and their interrelationship is unique' (Noss, 2003, p. 53).

If the words fail to deliver, there is always the context to give clues to the reader. A consolation when translating these forms is in fact the hope that the graphical features will deliver the meaning—or at least help to clarify it—whenever the linguistic side is failing to do so (particularly when foreign forms are retained). Also, this is evidence of the significant relationship between the visual and the verbal when creating and processing these forms (Catricalà, [no date]). Graphical features have

indeed shown to influence the treatment, creation and translation of sound symbolic forms. See, for example, the removal of rhyming couplets from the first Italian Disney strips in 1936, which led to a higher importance given to the visuals, ideophones included—or the *Topolino* format change in 1949, which had several repercussions on the layout of the magazine and led to a rise in the number of repetitions as the source text could not be modified as much anymore.

Finally, in addition to graphical factors, historical vicissitudes[19] could have significantly influenced the medium of the Disney comic book and its elements, including expressive sound symbolic forms: (1) the censorship imposed by the fascist regime up until WW2; (2) the crisis of the comic book during the 1970s and (3) the arrival of technological advances during the 1980s.

Before suggesting directions for future research, I would like to draw attention to the possible limitations of this research project. As mentioned already, the corpus was created according to archive availability, and so certain decades ended up being represented by more stories than others. Nevertheless, an effort has been made not to let this influence the integrity of the data by ensuring that a phenomenon had to be noted an acceptable number of times before it was deemed to be characteristic of a certain time window. Another issue faced was the problem when it came to contacting the Disney company in order to receive clarifications regarding any translation policies and on how these might have changed according to the cartoonist/translator—clarifications that would have helped to call into question certain assumptions about the active role of single translators when it came to the selection of one sound symbolic term over another and also on their role in the restoration of images. Finally, sound symbolic forms are intrinsically an unpredictable feature of language, hence their unclear status within the grammatical and syntactical system of a given language—a fact that makes them difficult to categorise and describe with rigour, and at times this makes assumptions about their behaviour seem unproved or not certain. For this reason, when taking about certain detected behaviours of these forms, the

[19] As mentioned before, failure to receive a reply from Disney meant that such assumptions could not be treated as certain but are, at this stage, only suppositions. Nevertheless, they were considered worth mentioning.

word ‘tendency’ has been used to refer to a specific observation about each of these rather than language suggesting that the perceived phenomenon is an absolute truth applicable to all cases. Finally, the corpus was manually compiled by the author of this dissertation and each form was categorised according to his judgment. As much as the author believes himself to have done his best to maintain consistency within this empirical and methodical approach, it could be that some characteristics have been overlooked or that other people would have categorised certain forms in a different manner. In the cases in which uncertainties regarding the right categorisation arose, the choice was to insert the categorisation under the ‘uncertain’ category and, at times, this was a useful chance for the author to point these cases out and reflect upon the reason for this and use them as a source of reflection.

In summary, the results offered by this project have provided the reader with an insight into the ways in which the Italian language has been dealing with expressive sound symbolic forms in Disney comics and the resulting Anglophonic influence in both original and translated stories published throughout eight decades. Imagetexts pose such a clear challenge to conventional translation theories because they are generally more self-reflexive than other text types, provoking attention to their stylistic composition rather than just their content. Figures of expression play an important part in establishing meaning in these texts but, especially in the case of ideophones, they present a problem for translators. ‘There is no unanimous agreement’ (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 53) over how to negotiate ideophones, considering that this is determined according to many factors: ‘methods adopted by the translator, the guidelines that govern the translations and the individual style of each translator’ (Casas-Tost, 2014, p. 53). Nevertheless, certain patterns can and have been detected, particularly when considering the Italian and Spanish contexts. Imagetext translators are technically expected to rewrite texts in the target language more fully, taking into account the primitive and non-negotiable relationship between language and meaning if they hope to maintain the coherence of the text—although rewriting has not always been possible, as shown by this research. As such, the translation issue is amplified for translators of young readers’ literature, because children, as non-proficient language users, have a peculiar receptivity to the crude expressivity of language and might

experience difficulties when processing these foreign forms. Although readers might have gotten used to and have started appreciating and accepting foreign forms as such. Nevertheless, deeper complexities are clearly involved when dealing with the translation of imagetexts, and emphasises the need for new research in this young and thriving field of study. On top of focussing on how sound symbolic forms have practically affected the Italian language in use and on the impact and role of individual translators' choices, future research could also look at the same issues but in other Romance languages, such as Portuguese, French, Romanian and Catalan and also in sub-languages and dialects related to these. Such task did not receive much attention in this research project but that would nonetheless be interesting, particularly to assess whether situations of diglossia might affect the perception and creation of sound symbolism. If more data were available on how other languages have treated these forms in translated and original comics a more general theory on the treatment of sound symbolic forms within the same language group (i.e. Romance languages) could be formulated. Such a theory would benefit such a thriving and young field of study and would help to clarify further the expressive and creative role played by iconic words within the comic book.

Bibliography

Abbott, D. 2004. *Animal sounds.* [Online]. University of Adelaide. [Accessed 25 June 2016]. Available from: http://www.eleceng.adelaide.edu.au/personal/dabbott/animal.html

Akita, K. 2009. A Grammar of Sound-Symbolic Words in Japanese: Theoretical Approaches to Iconic and Lexical Properties of Mimetics. PhD dissertation, Kobe University. [Online]. [Accessed 13 October 2014]. Available from: http://www.lib.kobe-u.ac.jp/handle_gakui/D1004724

Allen, G. 2000. *Intertextuality*. New York: Routledge.

Anderson, E. A. 1998. *A Grammar of Iconism*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.

Argiolas, P. P. et al. 2014. *Le grandi parodie Disney*. Rome: Nicola Pesce Editore.

Assaneo, M. F., Nichols, J. I. and Trevisan, M. A. 2011. The Anatomy of Onomatopoeia. *PLoS ONE* 6(12): e28317.

Baker, M. 1992. *In Other Words*. New York: Routledge.

Balemans, P. 2010. *Transcreation: translating and recreating.* [Online]. [Accessed 18 October 2015]. Available from: https://pbtranslations.wordpress.com/2010/07/14/transcreation-translating-and-recreating/ .

Balteiro, I. 2010. Word-formation and the Translation of Marvel Comic Book Charactonyms. *Vial-Vigo International Journal Of Applied Linguistics,* Vol. 7, pp.31-53.

Barbieri, D. 2014. *Breve storia della letteratura a fumetti*. Roma: Carocci Editore.

Barthes, R. 1974. *S/Z*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Barthes, R. 1977. *Image Music Text*. London: Fontana Press.

Batinti, A. 1993. *Il sistema fonologico dell'italiano. Proposte per ricerche statistiche nel lessico basico*. Perugia: Guerra.

Battaglia, 2004 [1996]. *Grande Dizionario della lingua italiana.* Torino: Utet.

Becattini, A. et al. 2012*. I Disney italiani*. Salerno: Nicola Pesce Editore.

Beccaria, G. L. 1994. *Dizionario di linguistica e di filologia, metrica, retorica*. Torino: Einaudi.

Beccaria, G. L. 2010. *Il mare in un imbuto. Dove va la lingua italiana*. Torino: Einaudi.

Beckett, S. 2012. *Crossover Picturebooks*. Oxon: Taylor and Francis.

Bocchiola, M and Gerolino, L. 1999. *Grammatica pratica dell'italiano dalla A alla Z*. Milan: Hoepli.

Bono, G. and Stefanelli, M. eds. 2012. *Fumetto! 150 anni di storie italiane*. Bari: Rizzoli.

Bono, G. et al. 2012a. Il regime dell'avventura. In: Bono, G. and Stefanelli, M. eds. *Fumetto! 150 anni di storie italiane*. Bari: Rizzoli, pp.74-87.

Bono, G. and Ferrero, G. 2012. La ricostruzione della fantasia. In: Bono, G. and Stefanelli, M. eds. *Fumetto! 150 anni di storie italiane*. Bari: Rizzoli, pp.112-27.

Bono, G. and Frediani, G. 2012. Un aroma americano. In: Bono, G. and Stefanelli, M. eds. *Fumetto! 150 anni di storie italiane*. Bari: Rizzoli, pp.154-67.

Bono, G. cur. 2013. *Topolino. 80 anni insieme*. Milano: Rotolino Lombardia.

Borodo, M. 2015. Multimodaity, Translation and Comics. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology,* 23, 1, pp.22-41.

Boschi, L. et al. 1990. *I Disney italiani*. Bologna: Granata Press.

Boschi, L. 2012. Guido Martina. In: Bono, G. and Stefanelli, M. eds. *Fumetto! 150 anni di storie italiane*. Bari: Rizzoli, p.183.

Boschi, L. 2012a. Disney Made in Italy. In: Bono, G. and Stefanelli, M. eds. *Fumetto! 150 anni di storie italiane*. Bari: Rizzoli, pp.501-5.

Bueno Pérez, M.L. 1994. La onomatopeya y su proceso de lexicalización: notas para un estudio. *Anuario de estudios filológicos*, 17, pp.15-26.

Bussagli, M. 2003. *Fumetto.* Milan: Mondadori Electa.

Cartago, G. 1994. L'apporto inglese. In: Serianni, L. and Trifone, P. *Storia della lingua italiana. Volume terzo*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, pp. 721-50.

Casas-Tost, H. 2014. Translating Onomatopoeia from Chinese into Spanish: a Corpus-based Analysis. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 22, 1, pp.39-55.

Castagna, C. 2005. *La fonotassi statistica dell'italiano e del tedesco: i nessi consonantici*. [Online]. [Accessed 1 March 2015]. Available from: file:///Users/Pier/Downloads/chiari_castagna2005.pdf

Castillo Cañellas, D. 1997. Limitaciones en la traducción de tebeos. In: Félix Fernández, L. and Emilio Ortega Arjonilla. eds. *Estudios sobre traducción e interpretación. Actas de las Primeras Jornadas Internacionales de la Universidad de Málaga,* pp.397-403.

Catricalà, M. 2000. *Come parla il fumetto e la multimedialità*. Comic Art Publishing: Rome.

Catricalà, M. [no date]. Fumettofonia, strategie iconiche, onomatopee? Ecco cosa ne penso. [Online]. [Accessed 4 July 2016]. Available from: http://magazine.unior.it/ita/content/maria-catricala-fumettofonia-strategie-iconiche-onomatopee-ecco-cosa-ne-penso .

Celotti, N. 2010. The Translator of Comics as a Semiotic Investigator. In: Zanettin, F. *Translating Comics*. Manchester: St Jerome, pp.33-49.

Chapman, R. 1984. *The Treatment of Sounds in Language and Literature*. Blackwell: London.

Chiarello, M and Klein, T. 2004. *The DC Comics Guide to Coloring and Lettering Comics*. New York: Watson-Guptill.

Chiaro, D. 2009. Issues in Audiovisual Translation. In: Munday, J. ed. *Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge, pp.141-65.

Childs, G. T. 1994. African Ideophones. In: Hinton, L. et al. eds. *Sound Symbolism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.178-204.

Chmielewska, M. 2011. I suoni disegnati come elemento tipico dei fumetti. Le onomatopee nei fumetti italiani e polacchi – aspetto contrastivo. *Romanica.doc*, 3(4). [Online]. [Accessed 8 July 2016]. Available from: http://romdoc.amu.edu.pl/Chmielewska.pdf

Colomer, T. et al. eds. 2012. *New Directions in Picturebook Research*. New York: Routledge.

Contini, G. 1970. Il linguaggio di Pascoli. In*:* Contini, G. *Varianti e altra linguistica: una raccolta di saggi (1938-1968).* Torino: Einaudi, pp.219-45.

Costa, S. 2012. *La grande guerra del Corriere dei Piccoli. Intervista a Nicola Spagnolli.* [Online]. [Accessed 5 May 2016]. Available from: http://traroccecielo.blogspot.co.uk/2012/08/la-grande-guerra-del-corriere-dei.html

Crystal, D. 2007. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. 2008. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. Sixth Edition*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Crystal, D. 2010. *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

D'Achille, P. 2010. *L'italiano Contemporaneo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

D'Achille, P. 2010a. *Lingua d'oggi*. [Online]. [Accessed 15 June 2016]. Enciclopedia Treccani Online. Available from: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lingua-d-oggi_(Enciclopedia_dell'Italiano)/

Dardano, M and Trifone, P. 1995. *Grammatica italiana con nozioni di linguistica*. Milano: Zanichelli.

De Giacomo, F. 1995. Quando il duce salvò Topolino. *Immagini e fumetti*, 4. Milan: Epierre Publishing.

De Giorgio, M. 2011. *L'Italia s'è desta.* [Online]. [Accessed 15 June 2016]. Available from: http://www.comicom.it/comicom/2011/litalia-se-desta.html

Delabastita, D. 1989. Translation and Mass-communication: Film and TV Translation as Evidence of Cultural Dynamics. *Babel* 35(4), pp.193-218.

De La Cruz Cabanillas, I. and Tejedor Martínez, C. 2009. La influencia de las formas inarticuladas, interjecciones y onomatopeyas inglesas en los tebeos españoles. *Revista de Lingüística y Lenguas Aplicadas* 4, pp.47-58.

De Mauro, T. 2000. *Grande Dizionario Italiano dell'Uso*. Torino: UTET.

De Mauro, T. 2005. *La fabbrica delle parole: il lessico e problemi di lessicologia*. Torino: UTET.

De Swaan, A. 2001. *Words of the World*. Polity: Cambridge.

Diffloth, G. 1972. Notes on expressive meaning. *Papers from the Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*, 8,pp.440-47.

Dingemanse, M. 2008. *Three Misconceptions About Ideophones*. [Online]. [Accessed 25 June 2016]. Available from: http://ideophone.org/three-misconceptions-about-ideophones/

Dingemanse, M. 2012. Advances in the cross-linguistic study of ideophones. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 6, pp.654-672.

Dogana, F. 1994. *Le parole dell'incanto: esplorazioni dell'iconismo linguistico*. Milano: F. Angeli.

Dovetto, F. M. 2012. Onomatopee in diacronia nel fumetto. In*:* Manco, A. (cur.). *Comunicazione e ambiente. Orientare le risorse, Aiutare a capire, Stimolare ad agire, Ispirare il cambiamento*. Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale, pp.201-11.

Duncan, R and Smith, M. J. 2009. *The Power of Comics. History, Form and Culture*. New York, London: Continuum.

Eco, U. 1994 [1964]. *Apocalittici e integrati*. Milano: Bompiani.

Eco, U. 2001. *Experiences in Translation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Eco, U. 2008. Mumble Mumble Crash. *L'Espresso online*. [Online]. [Accessed 30 June 2016]. Available from: http://espresso.repubblica.it/opinioni/la-bustina-di-minerva/2008/11/28/news/mumble-mumble-crash-1.11062

Eisner, W. 2008 [1985]. *Comics and Sequential Art*. New York: Norton & Company.

Epstein, B. J. 2012. *Translating Expressive Language in Children's Literature*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Fanfani, M. 2010. Anglicismi. [Online]. [Accessed 10 June 2016]. *Treccani Online Encyclopedia*. Available from: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anglicismi_(Enciclopedia_dell'Italiano)/

Feist, J. 2013. Sound Symbolism in English. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 45, pp.104-18.

Ficarra, M. 2012. *Manuale di lettering, le parole disegnate nel fumetto*. Pomezia: Tunué.

Franceschi, L. 2009. *Le interiezioni primarie nei fumetti italiani contemporanei*. Laurea Triennale. Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Università di Pisa.

Frawley, W. J. 2003. Sound Symbolism. In: Frawley, W. J. ed. *The International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.110-14.

Frezza, G. 2012. Figurazione del parlato e imagine statico-dinamica nei fumetti. In: Pietrini, D. ed. *Der Sprache(n) der Comics*. München: Meidenbauer, pp.32-53.

Gadducci, F., Gori, L. and Lama, S. 2011. *Eccetto Topolino: lo scontro culturale tra fascismo e fumetti*. Battipaglia: NPE.

Gadducci, F. 2006. *Notes on the Early Decades of Italian Comic Art*. Pisa: Felici.

Gadducci, F. and Tavosanis, M. 2012. La scrittura non-standard dei fumetti italiani. In*:* Pietrini, D. ed. *Der Sprache(n) der Comics*. Münich: Maidenbauer, pp.113-26.

Gadducci, F. 2012. L'avventurosa unità d'Italia. In: Bono, G. and Stefanelli, M. eds. *Fumetto! 150 anni di storie italiane*. Bari: Rizzoli, pp.18-28.

Gadducci, F. et al. 2012. Giornali per l'età dell'entusiasmo. In: Bono, G. and Stefanelli, M. eds. *Fumetto! 150 anni di storie italiane*. Bari: Rizzoli, pp.44-54.

Gallo, C. and Bonomi, G. 2006. *Tutto cominciò con Bilbolbul*. *Per una storia del fumetto italiano*. Verona: Perosini.

Garcia De Diego, V. 1968. *Diccionario de Voces Naturales*. Madrid: Aguilar.

Gasca, L. and Gubern, R. 2004. *El Discurso Del Comic*. Madrid: Ediciones Catedra.

Gili Fivela, B. 2010. Consonanti. *Enciclopedia Treccani Online*. [Online]. [Accessed 10 June 2016]. Available from: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/consonanti_(Enciclopedia_dell'Italiano)/

Gonzales Davies, M. and Oittinen, R. 2008. *Whose Story? Translating the Verbal and the Visual in Literature for Young Readers*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Grun, M., & Dollerup, C. 2003. 'Loss' and 'gain' in comics. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, 11, pp.197–216.

Gubern, R. 1974. *El lenguaje de los cómics*. Barcelona: Ediciones Península.

Gubern, R. and Gasca, L. 2009. *Diccionario de onomatopeyas del comic*. Madrid: Catedra.

Hague, I. 2014. *Comics and the Senses: A Multisensory Approach to Comics and Graphic Novels*. New York & London: Routledge.

Halliday, M. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. New York & London: Routledge.

Hashimoto, T. et al. 2006. The Neural Mechanism Associated with the Processing of Onomatopoeic Sounds. *Neuro Image* 31, pp.1762–70.

Hinton, L et al. eds. 1994. *Sound Symbolism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holmes, J. S. 2004 [1988]. The Name and Nature of Translation Studies. In: Venuti, L. ed. *The Translation Studies Reader*. 2nd Edition. New York & London: Routledge, pp.180-92.

Hudson Hick, D. 2012. The Language of Comics. In: Meskin, A. and Cook, R. T. *The Art of Comics. A Philosophical Approach*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publication, pp.125-44.

Inose, H. 2011. *Translating Japanese Onomatopoeia and Mimetic Words* [Online]. [Accessed 1 February 2015]. Universidad de Granada, Spain. Available from: http://hera.ugr.es/tesisugr/18193778.pdf

Ippolito, M. 2008. The Relationship Between Text and Illustrations: Translating Beatrix Potter's Little Books into Italian. In: Gonzales Davies, M. and Oittinen, R. eds. *Whose Story? Translating the Verbal and the Visual in Literature for Young Readers.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp.85-96.

Ippolito, M. 2008a. Tradurre l'Oralità nei Libri per l'Infanzia. In: Mallardi, R. *Literary Translation and Beyond*. Oxford: Peter Lang, pp.253-73.

Jakobson, R. 2004 [1959]. On Linguistic Aspects of Translation. In: Venuti, L. *The Translation Studies Reader*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 138-44.

Jawad, H. A. 2010. Sound Symbolism, Schemes and Literary Translation. *Babel*, 56 (1),

pp.47-63.

Jewitt, C. and Kress, G. eds. 2003. *Multimodal Literacy*. New York: Peter Lang.

Jüngst, H. 2008. Translating Manga. In: Zanettin, F. ed. *Comics in Translation*. Manchester: St Jerome, pp.50-78.

Kabuto, B. 2013. A Semiotic Perspective on Reading Picture Books: The Case of 'Alexander and the Wind-up Mouse'. *Linguistics and Education 25*, pp.12-23.

Kaindl, K. 1999. Thump, Whizz, Poom: A Framework for the Study of Comics in Translation. *Target*, 11:2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V., pp.263-85.

Kilian-Hatz, C. 2001. Universality and Diversity: Ideophones from Baka and Kxoe. In: Erhard Voeltz, E. K. and Kilian-Hatz, C. eds. *Ideophones*. Typological Studies in Language 44. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp.155-63.

Kinney, J. 2007. *Diary of a Wimpy Kid.* New York: Amulet.

Khordoc, C. 2001. The Comic Book's Soundtrack. In: Varnum, R. and Gibbons, G. T. *The Language of Comics: Word and Image*. Jackson: University Press of Mississipi, pp.156-73.

Kramer, M. 2009. *The Phonology of Italian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kress, G. 2003. *Literacy in the New Media Age*. London: Routledge.

Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. 2006. *Reading Images*. London: Routledge.

Kunene, D. P. 2001. Speaking the Act. Ideophone as a Linguistic Rebel. In: Erhard Voeltz, E. K. and Kilian-Hatz, C. eds. *Ideophones*. Typological Studies in Language 44. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp.183-91.

Langer, S. 1957. *Problems of Art: Ten Philosophical Lectures*. New York: Scribner's.

Lathey, G. 2010. *The Role of Translators in Children's Literature. Invisible Storytellers*. London & New York: Routledge.

Lathey, G. 2016. *Translating Children's Literature*. London: Routledge.

Leonardi, F. M. 2013. *Fondamento fisiologico della fonosemantica*. [Online]. [Accessed 10 June 2016]. Available from: https://www.academia.edu/10619854/Fondamento_fisiologico_della_Fonosemantica_2013_

Lewis, D. 2001. *Reading Contemporary Picturebooks: Picturing Text*. New York: Routledge/Falmer.

Liberman, A. 2005. *Word Origins. And How We Know Them*. Oxford & New York:

Oxford University Press.

Lorenzetti, L. 2003. *L'Italiano contemporaneo*. Roma: Carocci.

Mancini, A. 2010. *L'onomatopea nel 'Topolino'*. Tesi di Laurea di Vecchio Ordinamento in Lettere Moderne. Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II.

Manfredi, M. 2008. *Translating Text and Context. Translation Studies and Systemic Functional Linguistics*. Pittsburgh: Dupress.

Marchand, H. 1969. *The Categories and Types of Present-day English Word-formation*. München: Verlag C. H. Beck.

Martinez Fuentes, E. 2003. *Onomatopoeia Translation in Comic Books*. University of Terragona, PhD Dissertation.

Maynard, S. K. 1997. *Japanese Communication. Language and Thought in Context*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

McCabe, A. 2011. *An Introduction to Linguistics and Language Studies*. London: Equinox.

McCloud, S. 1993. *Understanding Comics. The Invisible Art*. New York: Harper Collins.

McEnery, T. et al. 2006. *Corpus-based Language Studies. An Advanced Resource Book*. London & New York: Routledge.

McGregor, W. B. 2011. *Linguistics: An Introduction*. London: Equinox.

Melby, A. et al. 2014. Defining the Landscape of Translation. *Revista Tradumàtica: tecnologies de la traducció*. 12, pp.392-403.

Mioni, A. 1990*. Fece splash e, gluglu, affondò. L'ideofono come parte del discorso*,. In: Berretta, M. et al. eds. *Parallela 4*, *Atti del Vo Incontro Italo-Austriaco della Società di Linguistica Italiana.* Tübingen: Narr, pp.255-267.

Mioni, A. 1992. Uao! Clap, clap! Ideofoni e interiezioni nel mondo dei fumetti. In: Banfi, E. and Sobrero, A. *Il linguaggio giovanile degli anni novanta. Regole, invenzioni, gioco*. Laterza: Bari, pp.85-96.

Mitchell, W. J. T. 1986. *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*. Chicago: University Chicago Press.

Mitchell, W. J. T. 1994. *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Morgana, S. 2003. La lingua del fumetto. In: Bonomi, I. et al. curs. *La lingua italiana e i mass media.* Roma: Carocci, pp.165-198.

Mphande, L. 1992. Ideophones and African Verse. *Research in African Literatures* 23(1), pp.117–29.

Muljačić, Z. 1969. *Fonologia generale e fonologia della lingua italiana*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Munday, J. 2008/2012. *Introducing Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge.

Muñoz-Calvo, 2013. ¡Ay!, ¡huy!, ¡paf!, ¡boum!, ¡zas!: interjecciones y onomatopeyas en las traducciones de *astérix en hispanie* en la península ibérica. *Transfer VIII: 1-2*, pp.117-152.

Newman, P. 2001. Are Ideophones Really As Weird and Extra-Systematic As Linguists Make Them Out to Be? In: Erhard Voeltz, E. K. and Kilian-Hatz, C. eds. *Ideophones*. Typological Studies in Language 44. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp.251-58.

Newmark, P. 1988. *A Textbook of Translation*. Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall.

Newmark, P. 1996. Looking at English Word in Translation. In: Anderman, G. and Rogers, M. eds. *Words, Words, Words: The Translator and The Language Learner*. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, pp.56-62.

Nida, E.A. 1964. *Toward a science of translating: with special reference to principles and procedures involved in Bible translating***.** Leiden: Brill.

Nobile, L. 2003. *L'origine fonosimbolica del valore linguistico nel vocalismo dell'italiano standard*. [Online]. [Accessed 17 June 2016]. Available from: http://w3.uniroma1.it/cogfil/fonosimbolismo.html

Nodelman, P. 2008. *The Hidden Adult. Defining Children's Literature.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Noss, P. A. 2003. Translating the Ideophone: Perspectives and Strategies of Translators and Artists. *Creative Circle: Artist, Critic, and Translation in African Literature*, 11, pp.40-58.

Novelli, M. 2008. Cocco Bill non muore mai. In: Spinazzola, V. cur. *Tirature '08. L'immaginario a fumetti*. Milano: Il Saggiatore, pp.38-48.

Oittinen, R. 2000. *Translating for Children*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Oittinen, R. 2008. Audiences and Influences. Multisensory Translations of Picturebooks. In: Gonzales Davies, M. and Oittinen, R. *Whose Story? Translating the Verbal and the Visual in Literature for Young Readers*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp.3-16.

Oittinen, R. 2008a. From Thumbelina to Winnie-the-Pooh: Pictures, Words, and Sounds in Translation. *Meta: Translators' Journal*, vol. 53, n° 1, pp.76-89.

Oswalt, R. L. 1994. Inanimate Imitatives in English. In: Hinton, L. et al. eds. *Sound Symbolism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.293-306.

Oszmiańska, A. 2001. Sound Symbolism as a Universal Drive to Associate Sound with Meaning: a Comparison Between English and Japanese. *Poznan Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 37, pp.147-55.

Ozumi, A. 2011*. Le onomatopee nei manga in Italia*. [Powerpoint Presentation]. [Online]. [Accessed 17 April 2016]. Available from: http://www.animeclick.it/news/27836- asuka-ozumi-j- pop-le-onomatopee-nei-manga-in-italia-ac-report

Pastis, S. 2013. *Timmy Failure: Mistakes Were Made*. London: Walker Books.

Patterson, J. 2014. *Middle School: The Worst Years of My Life*. London: Arrow.

Pedrocchi, C. 2012. Federico Pedrocchi. In: Bono, G. and Stefanelli, M. eds. *Fumetto! 150 anni di storie italiane*. Bari: Rizzoli, p.101.

Peirce, C. 1932. *Collected Papers by Charles Sanders Peirce*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.

Peirce, L. 2010. *Big Nate in a Class by Himself*. New York: Harper.

Pellitteri, M. 1998. *Sense of comics: la grafica dei cinque sensi nel fumetto*. Castelvecchi: Roma.

Peterson, K. 2007. The Acoustics of Manga: Narrative Erotics and the Usual Presence of Sounds. *International Journal of Comic Arts* 9 (1), pp.578-590.

Petrucci, L. 1977. Ancora qualche osservazione sul kappa 'politico' in Italia. *Lingua nostra*, 33 (3-4), pp.114-17.

Pietrini, D. 2009. *Parola di Papero: storia e tecniche della lingua dei fumetti Disney*. Firenze: Cesati.

Pietrini, D. 2013. Paperus in Fabula. *Treccani Enciclopedia Online*. [Online]. [Accessed 20 February 2016] Available from: http://www.treccani.it/lingua_italiana/speciali/fumetti/Pietrini.html

Pischedda, P. S. 2010. *Empirical Research on the Translation of Sound Symbolism from English to Italian: The Case of the 'Diary of a Wimpy Kid'*. MA Dissertation. University of Leeds.

Pischedda, P. S. 2012. Immagini suoni impressioni. *Rivista Tradurre*, 3. [Online]. [Accessed 29 June 2016]. Available from: http://rivistatradurre.it/2012/11/immagini-

suoni-impressioni/

Poggi, I. 1981. *Le Interiezioni. Studio del linguaggio e analisi della mente*. Torino: Bolinghieri.

Poggi, I. 2009. The Language of Interjections*. Multimodal Signals: Cognitive and Algorithmic Issues*. [Online]. [Accessed 10 May 2016]. International School Vietri Sul Mare, Italy, April 21-26, 2008 Revised Selected and Invited Papers. Available from: http://www.springerlink.com/content/e1511208q1217044/

Puurtinen, T. 1998. Syntax, Readability and Ideology in Children's Literature. *Meta*, 43(4), pp. 525.

Queirolo, A. 2011. Il lettering nella produzione di fumetti. *Conversazioni sul fumetto*. [Online]. [Accessed 19 November 2015]. Available from: http://conversazionisulfumetto.wordpress.com/2011/10/12/il-lettering-nella-produzione-dei-fumetti/

Raffaelli, L. 1997*. Il Fumetto*. Milano: Il Saggiatore.

Raffaelli, A. 2010. *Lingua del Fascismo*. [Online]. [Accessed 12 May 2016]. Available from: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lingua-del-fascismo_%28Enciclopedia_dell%27Italiano%29/

Reid, D. 1967. *Sound Symbolism*. Edinburgh: Constable LTD.

Reiss, K and Vermeer, H. 1984. *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie.* [Groundwork for a general theory of translation]. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Reiss, K. 2004 [1971]. Type, Kind and Individuality of Text: Decision Making in Translation. In: Venuti, L. ed. *The Translation Studies Reader*. 2nd Edition. New York & London: Routledge, pp.168-79.

Rota, V. 2003. Fumetti: traduzione e adattamento. *Testo a fronte 28*. [Online]. [Accessed 12 June 2016]. Available from: http://www.marcosymarcos.com/tradurre%20il%20fumetto.htm

Russell, R. R. 2011. *Double Dork Dairies*. London: Simon & Schuster Children's UK.

Sabatin, F. 2011. *Lingue del novecento*. [Online]. [Accessed 1 September 2015]. Enciclopedia Treccani Online. Available from: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lingua-del-novecento_%28Enciclopedia_dell%27Italiano%29/

Sanna, V. 2005. *Codice verbale e codice visivo: problemi di traducibilità del medium fumetto*. [Online]. [Accessed 30 June 2016]. BA Dissertation. Scuole Civiche di Milano, Italy. Available from: http://www.trad.it/codice-verbale-e-codice-visivo-problemi-di-traducibilita-del-medium-fumetto/

Santoyo, J. C. 1984. *El delito de traducir.* Léon: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Léon.

Saussure, de, F. 1994 [1916]. *Corso di Linguistica Generale*. Roma: Laterza.

Schmid, S. 1999. *Fonetica e fonologia dell'italiano*. Torino: Paravia.

Schmidtke, D. et al. 2014. Phonological Iconicity. *Frontiers in Psychology vol. 5*, pp.1-6.

Semprini, V. 2006. *Bam! Sock! Lo scontro a fumetti: dramma e spettacolo nel conflitto*. Milano: Tunué.

Serafini, F. 2010. Reading Multimodal Texts: Perceptual, Structural and Ideological Perspectives. *Children's Literature in Education* 41, pp.85–104.

Sinibaldi, C. 2012. Dangerous Children and Children in Danger. Reading and Translating American Comics under the Italian Fascist Regime. In: Kelen, K. and Sundmark, B. eds. *The Nation in Children's Literature. Nations of Childhood*. London: Routledge.

Sipe, L. 2011. The Art of Picturebook. In: Wolf, S. et al. eds. *Handbook of Research on Children's and Young Adult Literature*. New York: Routledge, pp. 238-55.

Sipe, L. 2012. Revisiting the Relationships Between Text and Pictures. *Children's Literature in Education*. 43:4, p.21. [Online]. [Accessed 30 June 2016]. Available from: http://www.springer.com/education+%26+language/book/978-94-007-4323-6

Smoll, L. 2012. *Towards a Typology of Ideophones*. [Online]. [Accessed 30 June 2016]. ResMA Thesis. University of Leiden. Available from: http://www.academia.edu/2649993/Towards_a_Typology_of_Ideophones

Snell-Hornby, M. 1988. *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*. New York: J. Benjamins Publishing.

Stajano, F. 1999. *Disney Comics From Italy*. [Online]. [Accessed 4 June 2016]. University of Cambridge. Available from: http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~fms27/papers/1999-Stajano-disney.pdf

Szpingier, B. 2008. Une breve sintesi sulla presenza degli anglicismi nel settore delle lingue speciali riguardo all'italiano contemporaneo. [Online]. [Accessed 18 June 2016]. *Université Adam Mickiewicz*. Available from: https://repozytorium.amu.edu.pl/bitstream/10593/3199/1/22_Beata_Szpingier_Una_breve_sintes_sulla_presenza_degli_295-304.pdf

Tabbert, R. 2002. Approaches to the Translation of Children's Literature: a Review of Critical Studies since 1960. *Target* 14, 2, pp.303-51.

Taglialatela, A. 2011. Le interferenze dell'inglese nella lingua italiana tra protezionismo e descrittivismo linguistico: il caso del lessico della crisi. [Online]. [Accessed 12 June

2016]. *Linguae*. Available from: http://www.ledonline.it/index.php/linguae/article/view/290/264

Tedlock, D. 1999. Ideophone. In: *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 9, Issue 1-2, pp.118–20.

Teilanyo, D. I. 2001. Translating African Ideophones. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, v. 9 no. 3, pp. 215-231. [Online]. [Accessed 27 June 2016]. Available from: http://0-www.tandfonline.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/doi/pdf/10.1080/0907676X.2001.9961418

Thomas, M. 2000. The Invisible Art in Plain Sight: A Look at the Art of Lettering. *Comic Book Resources*. [Online]. [Accessed 12 June 2016]. Available from: http://www.comicbookresources.com/?page=article&id=188

Thomas, S. 2004. Plaska! Iku-iku! Ji ji ji! Gwa-gocha! English is Squeezing the Sound-Words Out of the World's Languages. Tut-tut. *The Times*. [Online]. [Accessed 13 June 2016]. Available from: http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/arts/article2398679.ece

Tosti, A. 2011. *Topolino e il fumetto Disney italiano. Storia, fasti, declino e nuove prospettive*. Tunué: Latina.

Toury, G. 1980. In Search of a Theory of Translation. Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, Tel Aviv University.

Toury, G. 1995. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing.

Tsur, R. 1992. *What Makes Sound Patterns Expressive?* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Valero Garcés, C. 1996. Analísis comparativo del uso y traducción de formas inarticuladas y formas onomatopéyicas en comics y tebeos. In: González Fernández-Corugedo, F. Some Sundry *Wits Gathered Together. I Congreso de Filoloxia Inglesa*. Universidade de la Coruña, pp.227-36.

Valero Garcés, C. 2008. Onomatopoeia and Unarticulated Language in the Translation of Comic Books. The Case of Comics in Spanish. In: Zanettin, F. *Translating Comics*. Manchester: St Jerome, pp.237-49.

Varnum, R. and Gibbons, C. T. 2001. *The Language of Comic: Word and Image*. Jackson: University Press of Mississipi.

Venuti, L. 2012. *The Translation Studies Reader*. New York and London: Routledge.

Verda, S. 1990. La parola a Topolino. La lingua e lo stile del fumetto disneyano. *Italiano & Oltre*, 2/90, pp.53-59.

Voeltz, E.F.K. and Kilian-Hatz, C. 2001. Introduction. In: Erhard Voeltz, E.K. and Kilian-Hatz, C. eds. *Ideophones*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp.55-62.

Wartenberg, T. E. 2012. Wordy Pictures: Theorizing the Relationship Between Image and Text in Comics. In: Meskin, A. and Cook, R. T. *The Art of Comics. A Philosophical Approach*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publication, pp.87-104.

Zanettin, F. 2008. Comics in Translation: An Overview. In: Zanettin, F. ed. *Translating Comics*. Manchester: St Jerome, pp.1-32.

Zanettin, F. 2013. Comics in Translation Studies. An Overview and Suggestions for Research. *Academia.edu*. [Online]. [Accessed 6 June 2016]. Available from: http://www.academia.edu/3225523/Comics_in_Translation_Studies._An_Overview_and_Suggestions_for_Research

Zanettin, F. 2014. Visual Adaptation in Translated Comics. [Online]. [Accessed 3 May 2016]. *inTRAlinea*, vol. 16. Available from: http://www.intralinea.org/archive/article/2079

Zitawi, J. 2008. *The Translation of Disney Comics in the Arab World: A Pragmatic Perspective*. PhD thesis, University of Manchester.

Appendix

A. List of Italian Stories Analysed

Table 62. List of stories

#	Date of 1st Publication	Italian Magazine (note: reprint in brackets)	Publisher	Italian Story	Translation?	English Story
1	Dec-32	Topolino 3 and 4	Nerbini	**No Title**	N	n/a
2	Feb-33	Topolino 7 and 9	Nerbini	**Il ritratto di Minnie**	Y	Mickey's Nephews
3	Feb-33	Topolino 8	Nerbini	**Topolino conquistatore**	Y	A Cycle of Songs
4	Mar-33	Topolino 10	Nerbini	**Una coppia fortunata**	Y	Minnie's Lucky Day
5	Mar-33	Topolino 11 and 14	Nerbini	**La storia di Cupido e Topolino Conciliatore**	Y	Fireman Mickey part 1 and 2
6	Apr-33	Topolino 15	Nerbini	**Le disavventure di Pluto**	Y	Pluto and the Dogcatcher
7	May-33	Topolino 19	Nerbini	**Pluto cane... Figlio d'un cane**	Y	Never again
8	May-33	Topolino 21	Nerbini	**Due gelati**	Y	S'No Use Hiding
9	May-33	Topolino 22	Nerbini	**Topolino domatore**	Y	The Lair of Wolf Barker
10	Jun-33	Topolino 24-25-26-27-28	Nerbini	**Le prodezze di Topolino aviatore**	Y	The Mail Pilot
11	Jul-33	Topolino 31	Nerbini	**Il troppo storpia**	Y	Slide Mickey Slide
12	Dec-33	Topolino 54	Nerbini	**Il cane senza testa?**	Y	You Bring the Ducks
13	Jan-34	Topolino 60	Nerbini	**La serenata**	Y	Rival Romeos
14	Jul-34	Topolino 81-93	Nerbini	**Various**	Y	Dr. Oofgay's Secret Serum
15	Nov-34	Topolino 98	Nerbini	**Topolino e l'elefante**	Y	Bobo the Elephant
16	Aug-35	Topolino 138	Walt Disney-Mondadori	**Tre cani e un gatto**	Y	Pluto Joins the Club
17	Aug-35	Topolino 139-157	Walt Disney-Mondadori	**Various (Kangaroo stories)**	Y	Hoppy the Kangaroo

18	Oct-35	Topolino 148	Walt Disney-Mondadori	**Il romanzo di Clarabella**	Y	Race for Riches
19	Dec-35	Topolino 156-172	Walt Disney-Mondadori	**Il misterioso S flagello dei mari**	Y	The Pirate Submarine
20	Feb-36	Topolino 164	Walt Disney-Mondadori	**Quel mattacchione di un signor Felice**	Y	Mickey's Rival
21	Jun-36	Topolino 182-205	Walt Disney-Mondadori	**Topolino e Robin Hood**	Y	The Robin Hood Adventure
22	Dec-36	Topolino 207-222	Walt Disney-Mondadori	**Topolino nella casa dei fantasmi**	Y	The Seven Ghosts
23	Nov-37	Topolino 256-288	API (Ex Nerbini)	**Topolino e il gorilla spettro**	Y	In Search of Jungle Treasure
24	Dec-37	Paperino e altre avventure 1-18 (Zio Paperone 215-2008-17pp.)	Walt Disney-Mondadori	**Paolino paperino e il mistero di Marte**	N	n/a
25	Jul-38	Topolino 289-315 (Le grandi storie di Walt Disney 3-1987-52pp.)	API (Ex Nerbini)	**Topolino sosia di re Sorcio**	Y	The Monarch of Medioka
26	Jul-38	Trilogia di Topolino 1969	Mondadori	**Topolino e la banda dei piombatori**	Y	The Plumber's Helper
27	May-39	Trilogia di Topolino 1969	Mondadori	**Topolino e il mistero di macchia nera**	Y	Outwits the Phantom Blot
28	Jul-39	Topolino 343-359 (Le grandi storie di Walt Disney 7-1988-36pp.)	API (Ex Nerbini)	**Topolino e Robinson Crusoe**	Y	Mickey Mouse Meets R. Crusoe
29	Nov-39	Topolino 360	API (Ex Nerbini)	**Pipposcempiaggini**	Y	Now It's Your Move
30	Jan-40	Topolino 368	API (Ex Nerbini)	**La vita privata di Topolino**	Y	Mickey Gets the Drift
31	Jul-40	Topolino 394-410 (Le grandi storie di Walt Disney 9-1988-28pp)	API (Ex Nerbini)	**Topolino e il selvaggio Giovedì**	Y	An Education for Thursday
32	Jan-41	Topolino 437	API (Ex Nerbini)	**Pippo inventore (only part 1)**	Y	Purty Clever
33	Jan-41	Topolino 436	API (Ex Nerbini)	**Paperino e le cipolle**	N	n/a
34	Jan-41	Topolino 437	API (Ex Nerbini)	**Topolino e I topi d'albergo**	Y	Bellhop Detective
35	Apr-41	Topolino 436 (Topolino negli anni di fuoco 1939-44)	API (Ex Nerbini)	**Topolino Educatore**	Y	The Object Lesson
36	Jul-41	Topolino 449-467 (Trilogia di Topolino-	API (Ex Nerbini)	**Topolino all'età della pietra**	Y	On Caveman

		1969-30pp.)				Island
37	Feb-42	Topolino 478-564 (only 478-524 available)	Various	**Tuffolino**	Compilation	n/a
38	Dec-45	Topolino 565-582 (Le grandi storie di Walt Disney 2-1988-30pp.)	Helicon	**Topolino e il boscaiolo**	Y	The Mystery at Hidden River
39	Aug-46	Topolino 602-617	Mondadori	**Pinocchio**	Y	Pinocchio
40	Oct-48	Topolino 713-738 (Topolino libretto 1-April 1949, 9pp.)	Mondadori	**Topolino e il cobra bianco**	N	n/a
41	Oct-48	Albi d'oro 49154	Mondadori	**Paperino sceriffo di valmitraglia**	Y	Sheriff of Bullet Valley
42	Apr-49	Topolino libretto 1	Mondadori	**Paperino milionario al verde**	Y	Gladstone Returns
43	Jun-49	Topolino libretto 3	Mondadori	**Paperino chimico pazzo**	Y	The Mad Chemist
44	Oct-49	Topolino libretto 7	Mondadori	**Paperino in villeggiatura**	Y	Taming the Rapids
45	Oct-49	Topolino libretto 7-9 (I Classici di Walt Disney le grandi parodie 1-1977)	Mondadori	**L'inferno di Topolino**	N	n/a
46	Mar-50	Topolino libretto 12 (Zio Paperone 20-1991)	Mondadori	**Paperino e il Topo**	Y	Thievery Afoot
47	Apr-50	Topolino libretto 13 (I grandi classici Disney 9-1977)	Mondadori	**Topolino e i grilli atomici**	N	n/a
48	May-50	Topolino libretto 18 (La grande dinastia dei paperi 1)	Mondadori	**Paperino e la sposa Persiana**	Y	Donald Duck in Ancient Persia
49	Sep-50	Albi d'oro 52144	Mondadori	**Paperino e lo spirito del 76**	Y	The Spirit of 76
50	Nov-50	Topolino libretto 21 (Zio Paperone 201-2006)	Mondadori	**Paperino e il cavallo da fiuto**	Y	Donald Duck
51	Dec-50	Topolino libretto 22 (Io, Fratel Coniglietto-1993)	Mondadori	**Fratel Coniglietto Poliziotto Privato**	Y	Brer Rabbit
52	Feb-51	Topolino libretto 24 (Zio Paperone 210-2007)	Mondadori	**Paperino dorme in piedi**	Y	Sleepy Time Donald
53	Apr-51	Topolino libretto 26 (I maestri Disney 2 Paul Murry 1997)	Mondadori	**Nonna Papera e il fuorilegge**	Y	Grandma Duck
54	Jul-51	Topolino libretto 29 (Zio Paperone 39-1992)	Mondadori	**Paperino e i giocattoli**	Y	New Toys
55	Oct-51	Topolino libretto 33 (Topomistery 44-1996)	Mondadori	**Topolino e la mosca Zeta Zeta**	Y	Tzig-Tzag fever

56	Dec-51	Almanacco Topolino 1952	Mondadori	**Paperino e i doni inattesi**	Y	You can't guess
57	Jan-52	Topolino libretto 37 (Zio Paperone 27-1991)	Mondadori	**Paperino e il ventino fatale**	Y	A Christmas for Shacktown
58	Mar-52	Topolino libretto 36-40 (Topomistery 38-1995-52pp)	Mondadori	**Topolino e lo spettro fallito**	Y	The Ghost of Black Brian
59	Mar-52	Albi d'oro 52311	Mondadori	**Paperino e l'ospitalità del vecchio sud**	Y	Southern Hospitality
60	Apr-52	Topolino libretto 40	Mondadori	**Nonna Papera e la befana dell'orfano**	Y	Grandma Duck
61	Jul-53	Albi d'oro 53040	Mondadori	**Paperino re delle banane**	Y	In Panama
62	Sep-53	Albi d'oro 38 (Paperino Mese 140-1992)	Mondadori	**Paperino e la pesca subacquea**	N	n/a
63	Oct-53	Albi d'oro 42 (Paperino Mese 110-1989)	Mondadori	**Paperino e il suo fantasma**	N	n/a
64	Jan-55	Albo d'oro 53	Mondadori	**Paperino e il capodanno tropicale**	N	n/a
65	Feb-55	Topolino libretto 108-113 (I Classici di Walt Disney seconda serie 13 - I gialli di Paperino-1978)	Mondadori	**Paperino e il misterioso Mister Monster**	N	n/a
66	Jun-55	Topolino libretto 116 (Topomistery 39-1995)	Mondadori	**Topolino e il doppio segreto di macchia nera**	N	n/a
67	Nov-55	Albi della rosa 53	Mondadori	**Topolino miliardario**	Y	Mickey Mouse
68	Dec-55	Topolino libretto 129 (I Maestri Disney 21 - Luciano Bottaro-2001)	Mondadori	**Topolino e la doppia vigilia di Natale**	N	n/a
68	Feb-56	Topolino libretto 132-133 (Zio Paperone 187-2005)	Mondadori	**Paperino e i gamberi in salmì**	N	n/a
70	Apr-56	Topolino libretto 137-139 (Paperino Don Chisciotte-1971-44pp.)	Mondadori	**Don Chisciotte**	N	n/a
71	Nov-57	Topolino libretto 174-175 (Topolino 80 anni insieme)	Mondadori	**Paperino e la leggenda dello scozzese volante**	N	n/a
72	Jan-58	Topolino libretto 178 (Disney Time 10 - Natalissimo (1996)	Mondadori	**I 3 nipotini commessi natalizi**	Y	Guaranteed to Please
73	Jan-58	Topolino libretto 178-179 (I Classici di Walt Disney (seconda serie) 5 - Il miliardo (1977)	Mondadori	**Paperino e il re serpente**	N	n/a
74	Jan-60	Topolino libretto 226 (I Classici di Walt Disney (seconda serie) 17 - I classici di Paperino (1978)	Mondadori	**Paperino principe di Dunimarca**	N	n/a
75	Jan-62	Topolino libretto 320 (I Classici di Walt Disney (seconda serie) 94 -	Mondadori	**Topolino e I delfini a noleggio**	N	n/a

		Topolino special (1984)				
76	Apr-62	Topolino libretto 333	Mondadori	**Topolino e la montagna dipinta**	Y	The Big Canvas Caper
77	Apr-62	Topolino libretto 333	Mondadori	**Pippo e il totem alato**	Y	Tribe Trouble
78	Jul-62	Topolino libretto 344-45	Mondadori	**Paperino e la grotta di Aladino**	N	n/a
79	Mar-63	Topolino libretto 380 (Topomistery 40 1995)	Mondadori	**Topolino e l'uomo di Alcatraz**	N	n/a
80	Jul-63	Topolino libretto 399	Mondadori	**Topolino e il pranzo di gala**	N	n/a
81	Jan-65	Albi della rosa 531	Mondadori	**Paperino e il vecchio dell'anno nuovo**	N	n/a
82	Jun-65	Topolino libretto 500 (I Classici di Walt Disney (seconda serie) 58 - Paperino eroe (1981)	Mondadori	**Paperino e l'impareggiabile Rob**	N	n/a
83	Aug-65	Topolino libretto 508 (Albi di Topolino (nuova serie) 31 (1996)	Mondadori	**Pluto a cavallo d'una scopa**	Y	Pluto Blasts Off
84	Sep-65	Topolino libretto 511 (I Maestri Disney 35 - Rodolfo Cimino (2008)	Mondadori	**Paperino e l'aurite acuta**	N	n/a
85	Aug-67	Topolino libretto 610	Mondadori	**Zio paperone giovane leone**	N	n/a
86	Sep-67	Topolino libretto 617	Mondadori	**Topolino e il Piranka Kuka Baruka**	N	n/a
87	Sep-68	Topolino libretto 667	Mondadori	**Zio paperone e il traguardo difficile**	N	n/a
88	Sep-68	Topolino libretto 667	Mondadori	**Pippo e la spazzola del banchetto**	Y	The Brush Salesman
89	Sep-68	Topolino libretto 667	Mondadori	**Pippo e lo svaligiatore pipistrello**	Y	The High Cost of Clowning
90	Sep-68	Topolino libretto 667	Mondadori	**Paperino e il pullover di qualità**	N	n/a
91	Jan-69	Topolino libretto 685	Mondadori	**Zio paperone e il sasso sdrucciolo**	Y	The Telltale Hand
92	Mar-69	Topolino libretto 692	Mondadori	**Paperino e l'elettroperosità**	N	n/a
93	May-69	Topolino libretto 704	Mondadori	**Topolino e il trasposítore a transistor**	N	n/a
94	May-69	Topolino libretto 701	Mondadori	**Zio Paperone e il cipolrivelatore**	Y	The Ficklefortune Finder
95	Jul-69	Topolino libretto 713	Mondadori	**Archimede e la pensata pennuta**	Y	The Hopeless Helper
96	Apr-70	Topolino libretto 749	Mondadori	**Zio Paperone e il rimbombo lunare**	N	n/a
97	Jun-70	Topolino libretto 761	Mondadori	**Topolino e il tesoro surgelato**	Y	Secret of the Black Box

98	Jun-70	Topolino libretto 761	Mondadori	**Qui, Quo, Qua e il mondo delle favole**	N	n/a
99	Sep-70	Topolino libretto 771	Mondadori	**Strega Nocciola e il progetto U.V.**	N	n/a
100	Feb-71	Topolino libretto 795	Mondadori	**Paperino e la macchina acchiappafulmini**	N	n/a
101	Mar-71	Topolino libretto 800	Mondadori	**Super Pippo e la ramazza meccanica**	Y	A clean sweep
102	Jun-72	Topolino libretto 865	Mondadori	**Gli Aristogatti e il Dumbo Jet**	Y	The ARK with Dumbo
103	Jun-72	Topolino libretto 865	Mondadori	**Zio Paperone e l'oro calamitoso**	N	n/a
104	Jan-73	Topolino libretto 895	Mondadori	**Zio Paperone e il tesoro di Atlantide**	N	n/a
105	May-73	Topolino libretto 910	Mondadori	**Archimede e il richiamo per uccelli**	Y	The Bird Call
106	May-73	Topolino libretto 910	Mondadori	**Topolino e il risveglio sapiente**	N	n/a
107	Feb-74	Topolino libretto 952	Mondadori	**Topolino e il record ferroviario**	N	n/a
108	Feb-74	Topolino libretto 952	Mondadori	**Zio Paperone e lo scherzo cinese**	N	n/a
109	Apr-74	Topolino libretto 961	Mondadori	**I sette nani e i bassotti minatori**	Y	The Seven Dwarfs' Diamond Mine Job
110	Jan-75	Topolino libretto 999	Mondadori	**Topolino e il furto in guanti gialli**	N	n/a
111	Jan-75	Topolino libretto 999	Mondadori	**Paperino e il disco della fortuna**	N	n/a
112	Jul-75	Topolino libretto 1025	Mondadori	**Paperino e il casco respingente**	N	n/a
113	Aug-75	Topolino libretto 1030	Mondadori	**Moby Duck e il borsaiolo marittimo**	Y	The Tin Fish Mystery
114	Feb-76	Topolino libretto 1057	Mondadori	**Zio paperone e la vittoria a 50 karati**	N	n/a
115	Mar-76	Topolino libretto 1060	Mondadori	**Paperino e l'audace colpo dei mini-bassotti**	N	n/a
116	Sep-76	Topolino libretto 1087	Mondadori	**Topolino e la vendetta di Buffoninoff**	Y	The Case of the Secret Saucer
117	Jan-77	Topolino libretto 1102	Mondadori	**Topolino e la difesa dell'indipendenza**	N	n/a
118	Sep-77	Topolino libretto 1136	Mondadori	**Zio paperone e il qui pro quo di cuore**	N	n/a
119	Sep-77	Topolino libretto 1136	Mondadori	**Topolino e la mortifera pioggia verde**	N	n/a
120	Feb-78	Topolino libretto 1158	Mondadori	**Paperino e l'intrepido Paper-Tarzan**	N	n/a
121	Jul-78	Topolino libretto 1182	Mondadori	**Tooplino e la base segreta**	N	n/a
122	May-79	Topolino libretto 1224	Mondadori	**Cip & Ciop e il corvo ciarliero**	Y	The House Guest

123	May-79	Topolino libretto 1224	Mondadori	**Topolino e le guardie del corpo**	N	n/a
124	Nov-79	Topolino libretto 1252	Mondadori	**Topolino e il mito di Gancio**	N	n/a
125	Feb-80	Topolino libretto 1264	Mondadori	**Paperino il ficcanaso**	Y	Super Snooper
126	Mar-80	Topolino libretto 1270	Mondadori	**Paperino e I pesci d'Aprile**	N	n/a
127	Nov-80	Topolino libretto 1304	Mondadori	**Paperino e il recupero del decino**	N	n/a
128	Feb-81	Topolino libretto 1316	Mondadori	**Paperinik contro il re del rock**	N	n/a
129	Jul-81	Topolino libretto 1336	Mondadori	**Paperino e l'umiltà di breve durata**	Y	The Grounded Eagle
130	Nov-81	Topolino libretto 1357	Mondadori	**Paperino e la ricerca del Kikiby**	N	n/a
131	May-82	Topolino libretto 1381	Mondadori	**Topolino editore**	N	n/a
132	May-82	Topolino libretto 1381	Mondadori	**Paperone e le tasse a peso d'oro**	N	n/a
133	Nov-82	Topolino libretto 1409	Mondadori	**Super Pippo e la freccia... direzionale**	Y	The Return of the Red Arrow
134	Apr-83	Topolino libretto 1430	Mondadori	**Topolino e il tesoro dello gnomo**	N	n/a
135	Apr-83	Topolino libretto 1430	Mondadori	**Super Pippo e gli inceneritori spaziali**	Y	The UFO Foe
136	Feb-84	Topolino libretto 1471	Mondadori	**Dal diario di Paperina: la spilla di smeraldi**	N	n/a
137	May-84	Topolino libretto 1486	Mondadori	**Gastone e la sfida impossibile**	N	n/a
138	Set-84	Topolino libretto 1503	Mondadori	**Paperino e la casa elettronica**	N	n/a
139	Mar-85	Topolino libretto 1529	Mondadori	**Archimede e la cura del sogno**	N	n/a
140	May-85	Topolino libretto 1537	Mondadori	**Le GM e l'aspirante marmotta**	Y	The Visiting Clyde
141	May-85	Topolino libretto 1536	Mondadori	**Cip & Ciop e le avventure in città**	Y	The Lark in The Park
142	Sep-85	Topolino libretto 1555	Mondadori	**Topolino e il segreto della Gioconda**	N	n/a
143	Dec-85	Topolino libretto 1569	Mondadori	**Pippo e l'ultimo viaggio di Babbo Natale**	N	n/a
144	Sep-86	Topolino libretto 1607	Mondadori	**Topolino e l'isola del mistero**	N	n/a
145	Mar-87	Topolino libretto 1632	Mondadori	**Paperino e la villa stregata**	N	n/a
146	Aug-87	Topolino libretto 1654	Mondadori	**Paperino mimo incompreso**	Y	Pantomime Time
147	Oct-87	Topolino libretto 1664	Mondadori	**Il nuovo sistema di Zio Paperone**	Y	The Jack-in-the-Box Plots
148	Apr-89	Topolino libretto 1742	Mondadori	**Paperinik e la città sporcacciona**	N	n/a

149	Nov-89	Topolino libretto 1771	Mondadori	**Paperino e il tesoro di Chiodin Chiodello**	N	n/a
150	Feb-90	Topolino libretto 1787	Mondadori	**Zio Paperone e la lampada del paladino**	N	n/a
151	Jul-90	Topolino libretto 1809	Mondadori	**Nonna Papera e i racconti attorno al fuoco: Ombretta e l'angolo dei salici parte 1**	N	n/a
152	Apr-91	Topolino libretto 1846-47	Mondadori	**La guarnigione segreta**	N	n/a
153	Jul-91	Topolino libretto 1859	Mondadori	**Minni detective**	N	n/a
154	Jan-92	Topolino libretto 1887	Mondadori	**Zio Paperone e il bastone milleusi**	Y	The Educated Cane
155	Feb-92	Topolino libretto 1888	Mondadori	**Paperina e la forza del pettegolezzo**	Y	The Old Switcheroo
156	Feb-92	Topolino libretto 1891	Mondadori	**Paperino e Paperina. Silenzio prego!**	Y	Quiet, please!
157	Aug-92	Topolino libretto 1914	Mondadori	**Topolino e l'enigma del faro**	N	n/a
158	Oct-92	Topolino libretto 1923	Mondadori	**Paperin Pestello e la via delle Indie**	N	n/a
159	Dec-92	Topolino libretto 1933	Mondadori	**La Bella e la Bestia part 1 + 2**	Y	Beauty and the Beast
160	Mar-93	Topolino libretto 1945	Mondadori	**Indiana Pipps e il trono magico part 1**	N	n/a
161	Oct-93	Topolino libretto 1975	Mondadori	**Paperino e i mocassini del 2000**	N	n/a
162	Jan-94	Topolino libretto 1988	Mondadori	**Paperino e Gastone.. Scherzi a parte!**	N	n/a
163	Jan-94	Topolino libretto 1992	Mondadori	**Qui, Quo, Qua e il giovane Archimede**	N	n/a
164	Mar-94	Topolino libretto 2000	Mondadori	**Topolino 2000**	N	n/a
165	Oct-94	Topolino libretto 2027	Mondadori	**Topolino e il trasloco spaziale**	N	n/a
166	Feb-95	Topolino libretto 2045	Mondadori	**Gastone e la sfortuna a comando**	N	n/a
167	Feb-97	Topolino libretto 2149	Mondadori	**Paperino e i funghi difficili**	N	n/a
168	Apr-97	Topolino libretto 2161	Mondadori	**Una baita per Ciccio**	N	n/a
169	May-97	Topolino libretto 2162	Mondadori	**Topolino, Minni e il concerto di Topolinia**	N	n/a
170	Nov-98	Topolino libretto 2243	Mondadori	**Topolino e il fiume del tempo**	N	n/a
171	Feb-99	Topolino libretto 2254	Mondadori	**Il grande splash**	N	n/a
172	May-99	Topolino libretto 2266	Mondadori	**Super Pippo paziente complicato**	N	n/a
173	Apr-00	Topolino libretto 2314	Mondadori	**Paperino e il risveglio del silente**	N	n/a
174	May-00	Topolino libretto 2321	Mondadori	**Tip & Tap e il gioco dell'oca**	N	n/a

175	Oct-00	Topolino libretto 2340	Mondadori	**Paperino e il cocco della diva**	N	n/a
176	Oct-00	Topolino libretto 2340	Mondadori	**Chiamate Ciccio, l'assaggiatore**	N	n/a
177	Jul-02	Topolino libretto 2434	Mondadori	**Paperino e il posto sicuro**	N	n/a
178	Feb-03	Topolino libretto 2463	Mondadori	**Paperino e Paperoga e le indagini di mercato**	N	n/a
179	Jul-05	Topolino libretto 2590	Mondadori	**Pippo tuttofare del Mousemarket**	N	n/a
180	Aug-05	Topolino libretto 2593	Mondadori	**Brigitta e la vacanza rigenerante**	N	n/a
181	Nov-05	Topolino libretto 2607	Mondadori	**Topolino fotografo d'azione**	N	n/a
182	Jan-06	Topolino libretto 2617	Mondadori	**Ciccio assistente qualificato**	N	n/a
183	Feb-06	Topolino libretto 2621	Mondadori	**Zio paperone e il denaro cantante**	N	n/a
184	Mar-06	Topolino libretto 2623	Mondadori	**Topolino e Pippo e la consulenza soffittesca**	N	n/a
185	May-06	Topolino libretto 2631	Mondadori	**I bassotti e il cugino Zero Zero Nulla**	N	n/a
186	Oct-06	Topolino libretto 2654-63	Mondadori	**Wizards of Mickey**	N	n/a
187	Apr-07	Topolino libretto 2679	Mondadori	**Zio paperone e le delizie dell'orto**	N	n/a
188	Jul-07	Topolino libretto 2692	Mondadori	**Paperino piastrellista pavimentista**	N	n/a
189	Oct-07	Topolino libretto 2708	Mondadori	**Paperoga cugino senza parole**	N	n/a
190	Dec-07	Topolino libretto 2716	Mondadori	**Zio paperone e lo chef laureato**	N	n/a
191	Feb-08	Topolino libretto 2724	Mondadori	**Archimede e la lista imprevista**	N	n/a
192	Apr-08	Topolino libretto 2731	Mondadori	**Gilberto e l'intervista difficoltosa**	N	n/a
193	May-08	Topolino libretto 2739	Mondadori	**Zio Paperone, Rockerduck e il concorrente imprevisto**	N	n/a
194	Jan-09	Topolino libretto 2774	Mondadori	**Ciccio avventuroso goloso - I cespugli di crocchette**	N	n/a
195	Apr-09	Topolino libretto 2786	Mondadori	**Paperino, Gastone e l'iperfortuna incontrollabile**	N	n/a
196	Dec-09	Topolino libretto 2822	Mondadori	**Paperino e i volodroidi versatili**	N	n/a
197	Mar-10	Topolino libretto 2834	Mondadori	**Zio Paperone e la spedizione astromineraria**	N	n/a
198	Jul-10	Topolino libretto 2849	Mondadori	**Quacklight - Vampiri fascinosi a Paperopoli**	N	n/a
199	Aug-10	Topolino libretto 2853	Mondadori	**Paperinik e il subdolo pericolo cucciolo**	N	n/a
200	Sep-	Topolino libretto 2861	Mondadori	**I Bassotti e la settimana**	N	n/a

	10			**della buona creanza**		
201	Apr-11	Topolino libretto 2891	Mondadori	**Zio Paperone, Paperino e il mostro dei ghiacci**	N	n/a
202	Jun-11	Topolino libretto 2899	Mondadori	**Topolino, Indiana Pipps e il rumore dell'acqua**	N	n/a
203	Aug-11	Topolino libretto 2907	Mondadori	**Paperino, Paperoga e la migliore delle scuse**	N	n/a
204	Nov-11	Topolino libretto 2921	Mondadori	**Una giornata importante**	N	n/a
205	Jan-12	Topolino libretto 2930	Mondadori	**Indiana Pipps e i giardini di Asgard**	N	n/a
206	Mar-12	Topolino libretto 2939	Mondadori	**La Banda Bassotti & Paperino autostirante**	N	n/a
207	Apr-12	Topolino libretto 2943	Mondadori	**Archimede e la trovata della carta riclassificata**	N	n/a
208	Jun-12	Topolino libretto 2949	Mondadori	**Pippo on line - Affari di famiglia**	N	n/a
209	Jan-13	Topolino libretto 2979	Mondadori	**Agente Speciale Ciccio in la lunga notte delle lenticchie**	N	n/a
210	Jan-13	Topolino libretto 2979	Mondadori	**Il thriller**	N	n/a