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ROYAL DIALOGUES IN *THE CROWN*: A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF FORMS OF ADDRESS IN ITALIAN DUBBING

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores address forms in audiovisual (AV) translation, focusing on the transition from English to Italian dubbing in the TV series *The Crown*. Forms of address play a crucial role in establishing and maintaining social relationships and their choice is influenced by various factors, including social context and the personal dynamics between interlocutors. This research builds upon the foundational work of Brown and Gilman (1960s), who explored the distinctions in address pronouns across languages. The primary aim of this thesis is to investigate how these differences in address forms are handled in the dubbing process, focusing on the factors that influence translation choices. It explores the possible discrepancies between the original English version and the dubbed Italian version, analyzing whether these differences align with the linguistic norms of contemporary Italian. The research also examines the functions of shifts in modes of address. These shifts, whether occurring over time or within the same conversation, serve as key indicators of the evolution of interpersonal dynamics between characters. The thesis is organized into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the foundational concepts of address forms across languages, highlighting the distinction between the Italian system, which differentiates the informal *tu* and formal *lei* to convey different levels of familiarity and respect, and the English system, which lacks a clear distinction between address pronouns and relies on lexical elements. Chapter two explores the field of AV translation and provides a detailed observation on the dubbing process. The third chapter presents an overview of *The Crown*, which includes a brief synopsis of the plot and the main characters, and offers contextualization for the analysis. Chapter four outlines the research methodology and presents the analysis, identifying and discussing dubbing translation choices. The last chapter summarizes findings and reflects on the relevance of forms of address in AV translation. This work aims to emphasize the importance of accurately translating address forms in dubbing, in order to maintain the authenticity of dialogues while adhering linguistic norms.

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INTRODUCTION

As Clyne *et al.* (2009) point out, the way we address one another is essential in establishing and maintaining social relationships. Over the years, several studies have focused on forms of address, mainly based on the foundational research carried out by Brown and Gilman in 1960s. Their publications were among the earliest to highlight key differences between languages, like English, which lacks a clear distinction in address pronouns, and the majority of European languages, which typically have at least two distinct singular pronouns for addressing the interlocutor. Certainly, this is one of the two basic distinctions that need to be taken into account: what forms are available in a given language and the speaker's evaluation of the addressee and situation. Specifically, as far as Italian is concerned, the distinction is between the informal and familiar T pronoun *tu*, and the formal and distancing V pronoun *lei*. In English, since *you* is only address pronoun, interlocutors relate and position themselves to each other using vocatives, which - albeit not mandatory - allow, for example, to convey deference when necessary. It is crucial to investigate the variation in the use of forms of address, according to the social characteristics of the interlocutors, as well as the intimacy or distance of their relationship, which reflects on the choice. Various criteria, such as reciprocity and symmetry, are important to understand speakers' behaviour.

In particular, the aim of this work is to investigate this fluctuation in audiovisual (AV) translation, and to observe how the differences are handled in the shift from the original English language to dubbed Italian. To be precise, the analysis conducted focuses in particular on the asymmetrical and symmetrical interactions, and on the shifts in modes of address in Italian, that is, all the cases in which a speaker addresses his or her interlocutor using different vocatives or using a diverse address pronoun; this may occur over time, due to an evolution of their personal relationship, but also within the same conversation. One of the main points of this work is, in fact, to observe and understand how forms of address can be a strong representation of the interpersonal relationship within characters.

This thesis is divided into five main sections: this introduction aims to give a general overview of what will be discussed below. Chapter one is divided into three sections and is concerned with the forms of address available across languages, i.e. the address pronouns and the vocatives, concentrating on Italian and English. The second chapter focuses on AV translation, in particular how translators deal with forms of address, and presents in more detail the process of dubbing. In chapter three the TV series *The Crown* is introduced with a brief explanation of the plot, the characters, and some technical information about its production. The fourth chapter is the focal point of this thesis, as it presents the methodology, outlines the research questions, and carries out the analysis. The last chapter offers final remarks on what emerged during the research and analysis work.

1. FORMS OF ADDRESS ACROSS LANGUAGES AND AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

1.1 Address across languages

The terms "address" and "address practice" refer to the linguistic practice of using specific words to call or identify someone, signaling that the person is the intended addressee of a message. Address practices occur in interactions involving at least two individuals who can communicate. These practices can be part of both spoken and written interactions and can vary in different ways, depending on various factors such as the speaker's personal choices and preferences, the context of the interaction, and the relationship between the speaker and the addressee (Farese 2018:1).

According to Leech (1999:108), a form of address is defined as "a device used to refer to the addressee(s) of an utterance". By employing these forms, every language provides a diverse range of linguistic tools to express a speaker's personal and social stance toward others (Clyne *et al.* 2009, from Crystal 1993:7). These tools may include strategies such as avoiding direct address, using pronouns and verb forms, employing honorifics, titles combined with last names, or various combinations of these elements. Avoidance, though available in all languages[1], requires considerable communicative costs (Pavesi 1996:117). It often demands careful planning and an increased level of cognitive and linguistic effort, as speakers must identify ways to express themselves without directly addressing their interlocutor.

While each language possesses a unique repertoire of address terms, languages like Italian, French, German and other European languages, feature pronominal distinctions within their address systems. In contrast, English relies exclusively on the pronoun *you* for addressing others: this means that English

[1] Avoidance of personal pronouns is particularly used in languages such as Japanese and Korean, which instead employ complex nominal expressions (Formentelli 2009:180).

speakers are not required to make a deliberate choice about which pronoun or corresponding verb form to use before speaking, making it relatively simple to avoid directly signaling closeness or distance toward their interlocutor. However, this does not mean that English lacks ways to express personal and social orientation. Indeed, when aiming for formality, English speakers can use honorifics or titles, while informality or intimacy can be conveyed through terms of endearment, first names, or nicknames (Clyne *et al.* 2009:4).

According to Brown and Gilman, there is a crucial dichotomy[2] between pronouns of Power and Solidarity, which are typically represented with the symbols T and V[3]. Power can be understood as the extent to which one individual is capable of influencing or controlling the behaviour of another. It inherently exists as a relationship between at least two individuals and is characterized by its nonreciprocal nature. This asymmetry is reflected in the "power semantic," where the dominant individual uses a T form with the social inferior and expects to receive a V form, i.e. formal and respectful address. All the relations where a speaker is conceived to be “more powerful” than the other, are considered asymmetrical and generate asymmetrical, nonreciprocal forms of address in hierarchical relationships (Brown and Gilman 1960:257). On the other hand, the “solidarity semantic” generates symmetrical, reciprocal forms of address in response to perceived similarities in social distance or social proximity. Distant relationships will entail formal address, close relationships informal address. Various factors determine the inequality between interlocutors, such as age, social status, the specific context of the interaction, or, potentially, gender (Brown & Gilman 1960-1972; Kramer 1975; Braun 1988, in Pavesi 1996:120). The influence

[2] The presupposed universality of the dichotomous distinction T/V, suggested by Brown and Gilman, is the main limitation of their theory (Helmbrecht 2003, 2005, cited in Formentelli 2009:180). In fact, as already noted, many languages do not display a pronominal distinction, some of them (e.g., Romanian or Hungarian) are characterized by multiple distinctions in their pronominal paradigm, and others rely primarily on avoidance (Formentelli 2009:180).

[3] These symbols come from the European development of two singular pronouns of address, that started with the Latin *tu* and *vos*, which then became the two generic designators for the address pronoun in any language (Brown and Gilman 1960:253).

of this hierarchy of superiority and inferiority influences communication not only in the simple choice of pronouns, but also in the lexical choices of speakers: indeed, the superior might address the other by his/her first name alone, while the inferior uses a title or a title combined with a surname (Renzi 1995:350-375).

Furthermore, Molinelli (2002:294-297) outlines four main parameters of address: power, distance, respect, and solidarity. These dimensions may interact and form a continuum, as illustrated in FIGURE (1).

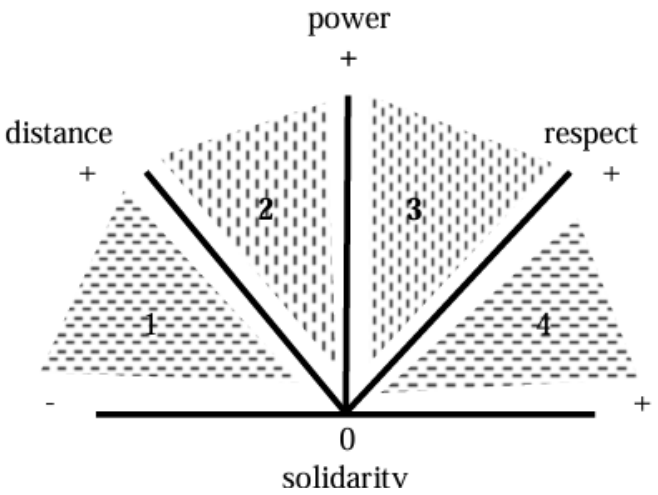


FIGURE (1). Dimensions of interactional systems (Molinelli 2002:296)

In this continuum, power denotes communicative asymmetry, where one interlocutor holds greater communicative authority than the other; solidarity signifies communicative equality, where all participants have equal access to the same communicative tools; distance reflects the state of being strangers or maintaining social boundaries; respect is based on the mutual recognition of prestige within a relationship and, unlike power, it can also exist between equals (Molinelli 2021:3).

The manner in which individual speakers or groups of speakers use the repertoire of address forms available to them within their language is called address behaviour. This becomes particularly significant in situations where speakers are faced with multiple address variants that are all grammatically acceptable within a specific conversational context. The choice of one variant over

another is rarely arbitrary; instead, it carries meaning and is influenced by various elements. These include extra-linguistic factors, such as social norms, cultural expectations, and situational dynamics of the interaction, as well as the speaker's personal, social and linguistic background (Braun 1988:18-19).

1.1.1 Address pronoun and politeness

As already mentioned, many languages feature a dual system of address pronouns, T and V form: the former is commonly referred to as “intimate” and the latter as “polite”. These terms are widely used, but it is essential to point out their limitations and potential vagueness, if not applied with precision. The label "polite” often associated with the V form can be misleading, as this is not necessarily positive or respectful in all contexts. In fact, it can carry negative connotations, such as coldness, condescension, or even disdain, depending on how it is used. Conversely, the T form, frequently described as “non-polite” due to its association with familiarity and informality, can also convey respect and solemnity in certain situations. The relationship between politeness and address forms is therefore more complex than a simple dichotomy of "polite" versus "impolite". For instance, a speaker can result very impolite even using a V form with his interlocutor, and, vice versa, another speaker may express politeness even using an informal and familiar T form, if it aligns with the relational dynamics and context. As Braun (1988:32) notes, also Brown and Gilman emphasize this fact: deviations of address norms do not automatically result in impoliteness or offense. On the contrary, such violations may carry positive connotations depending on the context. For instance, a shift to the T pronoun can sometimes signal an expression of appreciation, closeness or even respect. It can be gathered from the context and/or the intonation whether a spontaneous change of address is intended to convey goodwill and a sense of connection or, conversely, as an affront or disrespect.

It could be said that forms of address are considered polite when they are adequate to the situation, meaning that they correspond to the social norms and

expectations of the speaker-addressee relationship. On the contrary, a lack of alignment between the address form and the situation, regardless of whether the T or V variant is chosen, will likely be interpreted as impolite. This highlights the importance of pragmatic competence in the use of address forms, where the speaker's ability to value the social environment and adapt their language accordingly plays a crucial role in successful and respectful communication. (Braun 1988:23).

An important theory regarding politeness is the concept of “face” introduced by Brown and Levinson (1987): according to them, face is the public self-image that every adult member of society wants to claim for themselves. Brown and Levinson also distinguish between two aspects of “face”: negative face and positive face. The former represents "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction, i.e., to freedom of action and freedom from imposition". The latter, on the other hand, reflects the individual's desire for their self-image to be acknowledged, appreciated, and approved by others during interactions. (Brown & Levinson 1987, in Helmbrecht 2003:193). Speakers have the responsibility to preserve the interlocutor's face by avoiding or mitigating face-threatening acts (FTAs), which are actions or utterances that could, indeed, compromise the interlocutor’s face. For instance, orders and requests may threaten the addressee's negative face by imposing on their freedom of action, while expressions of disapproval, criticism, or complaints may harm their positive face by undermining their self-image. (Helmbrecht 2003:193) Politeness distinctions in the use of personal pronouns closely align with these aspects of social interaction.

The way language is used by individuals in specific contexts, influenced by both internal and external motivations, is defined “linguistic behavior”, and involves various strategies to manage social interactions and mitigate face-threatening acts. Linguistic behavior adapts to the dynamics of the situation, including motivations (i.e. politeness, efficiency, directness) which influence how

language is used in response to specific social or communicative circumstances (Helmbrecht 2014).

1.2 Address in English

Contrary to the common assumption held by speakers of languages with a pronominal distinction, the presence of a single, universal address pronoun in English (*you*)[4] does not render the English address system simple or without complexities. While it is true that English constitutes an exception among the European languages (Formentelli 2009:182), since it does not feature the same type of binary distinction as in languages like French, German, or Italian, this does not mean that it lacks equivalent mechanisms for expressing social relationships, levels of formality, or degrees of intimacy and respect (Clyne *et al.* 2009:17). English speakers rely mainly on other lexical strategies: nominal address forms, commonly referred to as vocatives. They do not indicate a semantic or syntactic relationship between a noun phrase and other parts of the sentence, instead the do have a pragmatic role, as they serve to identify or address someone within a specific speech context (Donati 2010:11). Vocatives are an heterogeneous, productive lexical category, open to addition, substitution and combination of terms, whose use varies according to different factors, and are characterized by a high degree of syntactic freedom within the utterance (Zwicky 1974, in Formentelli 2009:182).

Nominal forms of address play a significant role in communication, as they can signal different degrees of formality or informality and can be positioned along a continuum ranging from intimacy to distance. While they provide a general framework for interpreting the nature of an interaction, the specific nuances of meaning they convey are ultimately shaped by the context in which they are used and the nature of the relationship between the participants. Thus, the precise significance of any given nominal form of address is not fixed but is fluid, adapting

[4] Nevertheless, the use of *you* as vocative in imperatives, along with the emphatic repetition of the pronoun within the same utterance, can convey a negative tone of abruptness, hostility, or imposition toward the addressee (Formentelli 2009:182 in Pragmatics 19:2.179-196)

to the interplay of contextual and relational elements. (Formentelli 2009:183). A brief overview will now be provided, outlining the principal vocatives that English speakers commonly employ when addressing their interlocutors. This list (TABLE 1) highlights the variety of options available, each vocative carries its own connotations and is suited to particular contexts, making them an integral aspect of English communication (Biber *et al.* 1999:1108, Bruti & Perego 2007:65)

TABLE (1). *English nominal strategies*

Category	Subcategory/Description	Examples
Names	Full forms of First names (FN)	*Margaret, James, Elisabeth*
	Familiarised First Names	*Chris, Nick, Jim*
	Diminutive forms	*Sam, Andy, Mike*
	Nicknames (often affectionate or humorous)	*Champ, Tiger, Bunny*
	Last names (LN)	*Miller, Baker, Brown*
Kinship Terms	Reflect familiar relationship	*Grandmother, Mom, Mummy, Dad, Granny*
Familiarisers	Camaraderie forms expressing solidarity or belligerence	*Man, mate, buddy*
Terms of Endearment	Express affection or intimacy in romantic or familial contexts	*Dear, love, honey, gorgeous*
Titles	With last name (TLN), most common combination	*Mrs Johns*
	With first name (TFN), less common	*Professor John, Miss Emily*
	With common noun	*Mr Impudence*
	Professional titles	*Doctor, Professor, Officer, Captain*

	Honorifics	*Sir, Madam, Your Honor*
General Group Names	Serve a functional purpose, ensuring inclusivity	*Everyone, guys, y'all*
Insults and Dismissive Terms	Negative or confrontational vocatives, even neutral vocatives can adopt a negative tone if used sarcastically	*Idiot, stupid, genius, Einstein*

Every language differs in their honorific repertoires and the extent of stereotypic values associated with them. In any language community, indeed, not all the speakers do employ honorifics in the same manner (Agha 2007:301). Speakers choose a vocative based on the addressee's most prominent features, as their social role, and/or the context in which they are situated (Allerton 1996:622 in Bruti, Perego 2007:66). The role of context in the use of vocatives is central, since it deeply influences the interaction and understanding the vocative choice requires careful consideration of three key factors: formality**,** relationship**,** and cultural norms. The degree of formality in a situation largely dictates which vocatives are appropriate. In professional or formal settings, vocatives often include titles and honorifics, which convey respect and acknowledge social hierarchies. These are essential in maintaining decorum and establishing professionalism. Conversely, casual interactions between friends or family members often rely on first names, nicknames, or endearments, which foster a sense of closeness and reduce the social distance between speakers. Using an overly formal vocative in a casual context, or vice versa, can create discomfort or signal a misalignment in the perceived relationship.

Indeed, the relationship between speakers is another powerful determinant in the choice of vocative. For instance, strangers or acquaintances typically employ neutral or respectful forms, such as *sir* or *ma'am*. Addressing a stranger with a familiar or intimate vocative can be perceived as intrusive or inappropriate. Even the cultural context significantly influences vocative use: in some cultures, formal titles are used more consistently to show respect, while in others, casual or first-

name usage is the norm, even in professional settings. Indeed, as Fasold (1990:8) pointed out, languages vary in how they balance distance and closeness in order to activate the reciprocal use of *Tu* or *Lei*. English, for instance, is often regarded as highly informal due to the frequent use of first names, which would correspond to the informal pronoun in Italian (in Pavesi 1996:121).

It is essential for translators to maintain the same pragmatic weight that vocatives carry, when transferring them from one language to another. However, this is not an easy task, since the rich nature of the English nominal terms of addrss often lacks an adequate equivalent, or any equivalent at all, in Italian (Bruti, Perego 2008). This occurs because specific vocatives may be strongly culturally connoted, making their direct translation problematic or even impossible. In such cases, the terms may be inevitably omitted in the dubbed version (Licari, Galassi 1994, in Pavesi 1996:126).

1.2.1 Vocatives functions

Vocatives can be classified based on the functions they perform within verbal exchanges. According to Biber *et al.* (1999), vocatives fulfill three primary roles, which are often related to their position in discourse: (1) getting someone's attention, (2) identifying the addressee, and (3) creating, maintaining or reinforcing the social bond between interlocutors (Bruti, Perego 2008). Vocatives at the beginning of an utterance typically serve to capture attention and may also identify the addressee. In contrast, vocatives placed at the end are more commonly used to convey socio-pragmatic meanings, while still allowing for the identification of the addressee (Bruti, Perego 2007:64).

(1) The attention-getting function is typically associated with addressing an interlocutor who still has not been explicitly referred to in the conversation. This function often aligns with pragmatic objectives linked to perlocutionary effects, such as persuading, convincing or influencing the addressee;

(2) The identifying function is the most distinctive and essential feature of an act of address. It involves recognizing or explicitly sanctioning the addressee within a conversation, ensuring clarity about who is being addressed. This function often coexists with the other two;

(3) The third function refers to the use of vocatives as tools for establishing and developing an interpersonal relationship between speakers. It consists of looking for a sense of solidarity or emotional closeness within a conversation.

As far as their placement within an utterance is concerned, it often determines its role. Vocatives positioned at the beginning of an utterance generally fulfill the first function, frequently combined with the identifying one. Conversely, those appearing at the end of an utterance most often convey socio-pragmatic meanings, which may also include identifying the addressee[5].

1.3 Address in Italian

Italian has a rich pronominal address system, which is central to its linguistic and social dynamics. Like many European languages, Italian is reported to have a binary distinction between T and V address strategies (Helmbrecht 2006, in Formentelli, Hajek 2015:121), which are grammatically codified through the personal pronouns *Tu* and *Lei*. Furthermore, the Italian language also express the address lexically, using honorifics, titles, first names, kinship terms or terms of

[5] Moreover, as Huddleston and Pullum remark (cited in Bruti, Perego 2008), "vocative terms generally convey a considerable amount about the speaker's social relations or emotive attitude towards the addressee, and their primary purpose is often to express this meaning". This is especially true for languages, like English, that do not have the T/V distinction.

endearment (see TABLE 2, Formentelli, Hajek 2015:121). Italian, unlike English, uses verbs endings that are directly tied to specific address forms (such as *tu* and *Lei*) and, while address pronouns themselves are not always essential in speech, the corresponding verb forms are difficult to avoid when speaking with someone. This system of pronominal address marks person and number agreement on the conjugated verb, allowing the listener to disambiguate and identify the intended interlocutor without the need for an overt subject, which is indeed optional and, consequently, can be omitted (Davidson 1996:543). The implications of address pronoun use in Italian are both grammatical and pragmatic: grammatically, the choice of an address pronoun dictates not only the conjugation of verbs, but also agreement patterns across the sentence; pragmatically, these pronouns are fundamental in establishing and maintaining socially appropriate communication (Parkinson and Hajek 2004). Whenever Italian speakers address one another, they are immediately faced with a decision: whether to use the formal *Lei* or the informal *Tu* (Musumeci 1991). As already pointed out for others European languages, *Tu* is widely regarded as the familiar form, reserved for relationships such as those between family members, children, and intimate friends. In this sense, the concept of "common ground" (Bresin 2021: 4-5) is particularly significant. It refers to the mutual or shared knowledge present in interactions, which fosters a sense of closeness between individuals. Perceived similarity or common ground is often reflected in the use of T address forms. When interlocutors, initially using V forms, discover common ground, they may shift from exclusion to inclusion by transitioning from V to T address, acknowledging their sense of closeness.

By contrast, when individuals perceive a sense of separation or difference in social interactions, it is referred to as "social distance", which describes the degree of emotional or social distance they feel from one another. When people feel distant (e.g., because of formal roles, age differences, or lack of familiarity), they often use V address modes (Bresin 2021:6). In Italian, *Lei* is the formal

pronoun, typically used to address strangers, acquaintances, older individuals, and people in positions of authority (Lazzarino *et al*. 2000, in Parkinson and Hajek 2004). However, over time, societies have changed, leading to an expansion of this traditional dichotomy: a third type of power dynamic occurs when one speaker holds a higher social position than the other, yet both adhere to the formal V-forms of address (Baran, Urbaniak 2021:141-142). Indeed, when the superior opts to use *Lei* in return, this choice linguistically equalizes the interaction, neutralizing the power imbalance and creating a symmetrical situation, foregrounding respect and equality, rather than emphasizing social disparities (Bates, Benigni 1975:287, in Pavesi 1996:121).

The complexity of the Italian address system goes far beyond this basic distinction: it also allows the use of *Voi* as a singular pronoun in certain contexts. While the northern regions of Italy predominantly stick to the binary singular system of *Tu* and *Lei*, in parts of southern Italy, singular *Voi* is still quite used. The status of this address pronoun is, indeed, quite complex to define, since, over time, it has been largely replaced by *Lei* in most parts of Italy, especially due to an anti-fascist reaction during World War II. Nowadays, *Voi*, although its use continues to decline over time, tends to carry regional and social connotations (Renzi 1995, Bates, Benigni 1975; in Pavesi 1996:119), and it is particularly associated with lower-class speech in Southern Italy. Nevertheless, it may also persists as a formal singular address pronoun in specific contexts, such as written commercial correspondence and certain ceremonial or formal situations (Maiden, Robustelli 2000). This form is used to convey respect without the intimacy of *tu*, which might be seen as overly familiar, and without the formality of *lei*, which could be interpreted as an act of exclusion from the local community (Bresin 2021:9).

The use of *Voi* is almost always non-reciprocal: speakers addressing someone with it typically expect to be addressed with *Tu* in return. Its non-reciprocal nature, together with its association with younger speakers addressing older individuals, suggests that it is primarily employed to express respect toward

older interlocutors. According to Niculescu (1974:67, in Suomela- Härmä 2003:310), *Lei* expressess greater distance and higher level of politeness, while *Voi* corresponds to a lower level of formality, positioning between the most formal *Lei* and the least formal *Tu*. Despite these regional variations and specific situations, there has been a general homogenization, with the binary *Tu*/*Lei* system becoming dominant across Italy (Schüpbach *et al.* 2007).

TABLE (2). *Italian pronominal and nominal address strategies* (from Formentelli, Hajek 2015:121)

Pronominal strategies		**Nominal strategies**	
V forms	**T forms**	**V forms**	**T forms**
Lei (singular)	*Tu* (singular)	Honorifics	First names
Voi (singular)		Titles	Familiarizers
		Titles+Last names	Terms of endearement

Changes in pronominal address usage have highlighted a growing shift toward reciprocal *Tu* in the recent years and, in general, a preference for reciprocal forms, employed to indicate either familiarity and solidarity or social distance and mutual respect (Renzi 1993; Mazzoleni 1995; Molinelli 2002; Scaglia 2003; Maiden, Robustelli 2007; in Formentelli, Hajek 2015:122). For instance, young adults in contemporary language tend to use mutual *Tu* with one another much more than previous generations, both in face-to-face interactions and in computer-mediated communication (Molinelli 2018:74, Formentelli and Hajek 2015, in Bresin 2019:188). As a matter of fact, throughout the 20th century, the use of *tu* progressively increased, gradually losing its role as a "strong sociolinguistic marker", and evolving into a simple, generic, indicator of informality (or semi-formality) (Sobrero 1993:418, in Revelli 2012:151).

However, non-reciprocal address (i.e. *Lei/tu* or Title/First name) persists in Italian[6], in contexts where there is an asymmetrical distribution of power, due for instance to differences in age, professional rank or social status (Renzi 1993; Parkinson and Hajek 2004, in Formentelli, Hajek 2015:122). It is indeed common for younger adults in a conversation to use formal *Lei* while receiving informal *Tu* in return, a phenomenon strongly influenced by age dynamics and social hierarchy (Parkinson and Hajek, 2004, cited in Schüpbach *et al.* 2007).

[6] This challenges earlier claims by Brown and Gilman (1960), who asserted that reciprocal address was becoming the norm in languages like French, German, and Italian due to increasing social mobility (Schüpbach *et al.* 2007).

2. AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

If, back in 1998, Chaume already had an inkling that audiovisual texts were growing in popularity, today, in 2025, it can undoubtedly be said that people consume more audiovisual texts than texts of any other kind. The term *audiovisual* emphasizes the simultaneous presence of two communication channels: the acoustic and the visual. In AV texts, meaning emerges from the interaction between these channels (Chaume 2004).

When talking about AV Translation (AVT), we mean the process through which the meaning of audiovisual content is conveyed from the source language (SL) to the target language (TL), and this is by no means an easy task, since the SL can present discrepancies with the linguistic norms of the target community (Pavesi 2009:89).

Maintaining coherence between the source text (ST) and target text (TT) is essential to ensure a coherent and cohesive translation: in order to do this, it is necessary to take into account various quality standars. Creativity[7] also plays a crucial role for translators, as it can enhance the final product, adding depth and value to the translation (Chaume, 1998:21). Creative solutions are particularly necessary when dealing with complex translation hurdles, such as metaphors, wordplay, or characters' use of non-standard language (Pavesi, 2015).

2.1 Translation modes

The three primary modes of AVT are dubbing, subtitling and voiceover[8]. Dubbing involves replacing the original soundtrack, including the actors' dialogue, with TL recording that conveys the original message while maintaining synchronization between the TL audio and the actors' lip movements. In this way, target viewers

[7] As Chaume (1998) highlights, it is true that creativity plays a central role, but it must be exercised within the edges of certain rules. Without adherence to these guidelines, the distinction between translation and other forms of creative writing would become blurred, compromising the integrity and purpose of the translation.

[8] As noted by Díaz-Cintas (2009), these are not the only language transfer options available in the industry. In fact, various scholars, such as Luyken *et al.* (1991), and Gambier (1996) have identified at least ten distinct types of multilingual transfer within the field of audiovisual communication. Nonetheless, the three modes mentioned above remain the most prominent.

are led to believe that the actors on screen are actually speaking their language[9]. Subtitling, on the other hand, involves displaying written text, typically at the bottom of the screen, that reflects the original dialogue and other relevant linguistic elements from the visual context or from the soundtrack. Voiceover consists in reducing the volume of the original audio to a minimal level, allowing the translated version, which is spoken over the original track, to be clearly heard by the audience. Generally, a brief segment of the original speech is audible before the volume is lowered, and the translated audio finishes slightly before the end of it, restoring the original volume in the final moments of the dialogue (Díaz-Cintas 2009).

2.2 Dubbing

Chaume (2012:1) provides a comprehensive definition of dubbing:

> [D]ubbing is a type of AVT [that] consists of replacing the original track of a film's (or any audiovisual text) source language dialogues with another track on which translated dialogues have been recorded in the target language. The remaining tracks are left untouched (the soundtrack, including both music and special effects, and the images).

There is a classification that reflects cultural preferences for foreign media consumption, and Italy, according to AVT studies, is part of the so-called "dubbing countries" (as France, Germany and Spain) opposed to those that are instead called "subtitling countries" (as Albania, Norway, United Kingdom etc.) (Chaume 2012). Subtitling and dubbing are both examples of "constrained translation" (Díaz-Cintas, 1999:31 in Sanna, 2021:10), a type of audiovisual translation that operates within strict limitations. Dubbing, in particular, presents distinctive quality standards (see §2.1.1) since it depends on the integration of both sound and image. The interplay between these two dimensions poses significant challenges for translators, narrowing their range of creative and linguistic choices (Ranzato, 2010:25 in Sanna 2021:10).

[9] A more detailed analysis of dubbing will be provided in Chapter 2, section 2.2.

In addition to these technical limitations, dubbing must also consider significant socio-cultural embeddendness present in the ST (Ranzato, 2010: 36, in Sanna 2021:13). Pym (2010:127, in Sanna 2021:13) notes that when a film or audiovisual product is deeply tied to its original cultural environment, finding translation solutions becomes increasingly complex. Dubbing generally adopts a domestication approach, focusing on aligning the content with the linguistic and cultural expectations of the target audience, fostering a sense of authenticity for viewers (Sanna 2021:15)

This study is focused on dubbing rather than subtitles for several reasons: firstly, in dubbing, spoken language has more relevance as it requires to be adapted to the original dialogue, both regarding the actors' lip movements and the specific tone of interactions. Furthermore, it has a greater impact on the audience compared to subtitles, as it completely replaces the original audio. Finally, in Italy, dubbing is the most widespread and appreciated mode for enjoying foreign audiovisual products.

2.2.1 Quality standards

According to Chaume (2012), in order to meet audience expectations and ensure a successful adaptation, dubbing must adhere to several conventions and quality standards.

First of all, it is necessary to have an acceptable Lip-Sync: synchronization[10] is fundamental and includes lip-sync (i.e. the alignment of the dialogue with the onscreen actors' mouth movements), as well as kinesic synchrony (i.e., the coordination with actors' body movements) and isochrony (i.e., respecting the duration of the original and translated utterences).

Secondly, dialogues must feel natural and credible: translated dialogues should sound authentic and align with the conversational norms of the target

[10] Synchronization is indeed defined by Chaume (2004) as the substitution of the original speech with a translated voicetrack that reproduces faithfully timing, phrasing, and lip movements of the original dialogue.

language. This requires a balance between fidelity to the source text and acceptability within the target culture. Achieving a "false spontaneity" creates a realistic environment that supports the audience's suspension of disbelief[11].

Equally important is the coherence between dialogues and visuals: effective dubbing ensures coherence between what the audience hears and sees. This involves aligning verbal expressions with onscreen actions and maintaining the narrative's internal cohesion, both linguistically and semiotically[12]. Additionally, the translation must remain loyal to the ST, since a successful dubbing remains faithful to the original content, preserving its meaning, style, and emotional impact.

The technical quality of the audio is another crucial factor: in order to ensure a clear and professional audio, free from background noises and distortions, translations are recorded in soundproof studios. Nothing from the original version should be heard, not even paralinguistic features, because it distracts the audience. The only responsables of the audio clarity are the sound engineers, since the translator can do very little to improve this process.

Lastly, the actors' performance must be balanced: acting must avoid both exaggerated or overacted performances and monotony, actors and actress should sound natural.

What is fundamental in both translated and original film dialogue, is to maintain similarities with real-life conversations to ensure that viewers feel engaged and fully immersed in the fictional world presented on screen (Korloff 2000, in Pavesi 2009:198). During the translation process, translators often move back and forth between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT), simultaneously activating both language systems in their minds (Mauranen 2004,

[11] This term was coined by Coleridge and refers to the willingness of the audience to disregard the medium's limitations, allowing the viewers to engage with the story (Chaume 2012).
[12] As cited in Chaume (2012), Hatim and Mason (1997) claim that various pragmatic features are often lost, for instance in the translation of address pronouns, question tags or phatic elements.

in Pavesi 2009:90). Additionally, AVT is influenced by specific norms that operate alongside or independently of these two language systems. These norms shape the final translated product, particularly in dubbing, where the language used becomes a distinct and autonomous entity (Pavesi 2005, in Pavesi 2009:90). The result is a cinematic illusion, designed to make the audience feel that the actors are genuinely speaking in the target language (Mason 1989:13, in Sanna 2021:11).

2.3 Translating address

As Kluge (2019) explains, the translation of terms of address (ToA) is a key issue in AVT, as most films and TV programs involve at least two interacting characters whose social relationship needs to be transmitted. Indeed, every time we come across an AVT, a translator has carefully chosen whether to use the T or V form of pronominal address, or an equivalent nominal ToA. A crucial decision every translator must take before starting the translation is selecting a strategy, whether to adapt the ST as much as possible to the target audience or whether its foreign origin is to be obvious to the target viewers (Kluge 2019:51).

As far as pronominal addresses are concerned, three potential scenarios are identified by Kluge (2019:52-53):

1) Languages with a similar system of address pronouns: translation between two languages that share an equivalent number of address pronouns should be rather unproblematic (for instance, French *tu-vous* and German *du -Sie*);
2) The SL has a less complex pronominal system than the TL: for instance, English and Italian. In this case, the translator must reconstruct the TL's norms of address. This process adds nuances in the translated version that are absent in the original English text;
3) The SL has a more intricate pronominal system than the TL: this scenario will not be explored further, as it falls outside the subject of this analysis.

Focusing on the second scenario (i.e. the translation of an original English ST into an Italian TT), two areas of typological contrast emerge. Firstly, as previously

discussed, Italian has a binary T/V distinction, which is absent in English. Secondly, while English requires the use of subject pronouns, in Italian, subject pronouns are optional. A consequence of the differences in linguistic structures is that Italian translators must often make explicit what may be left implicit or ambiguous in the source text, and they must decide which form of address is appropriate for every dyad, whether or not the source text provides a vocative to guide that decision. To avoid this explicitation, translators may choose to omit the pronominal address or to use a grammatical construction that does not require a pronoun of address (Meister 2016:530).

Despite this, when they are made explicit, they serve to strategically convey additional pragmatic meanings in the speaker's utterance (Davidson 1996, cited in Formentelli and Pavesi 2022). These pragmatic functions are various and are explained in the article “The pragmatic functions of tu and lei in films” (2022:19-24). First of all, one of their functions is to facilitate topic shifts and changes in the focus of attention. They help redirect or refocus attention on the interlocutor, often marking transitions between topics or reactivating previous discussions (Duranti 1984). In such cases, address pronouns are typically positioned at the beginning of a turn, signaling changes in speaker, frame, or scene and bringing the addressee back into the universe evoked in the conversation.

Another significant function is turn management. Pronouns like *tu* and *lei* are particularly effective in guiding conversational turns, especially when placed at the beginning of an utterance. They help structure the flow of dialogue, signaling when the floor is being yielded to another speaker. This strategic use of pronouns is often found in questions, which serve to gather information or regulate interpersonal relations (Weber 1993; Koshik 2005).

When address pronouns are made explicit, they also contribute to character identification and description by introducing personal details such as names, origins, and professions. In this way, they aid in constructing the story world and enhancing the viewer’s understanding of each character (Kozloff 2000).

Additionally, they play a role in highlighting contrasts between characters or their attitudes, often through the interplay of first and second person forms. This contrast creates dynamic exchanges and accentuates key conversational elements, reinforcing differences in perspectives or social standing.

In more confrontational contexts, explicit pronouns can serve to intensify conflict. In face-threatening situations, they amplify attacks on the interlocutor's face, with repeated use emphasizing accusations or exerting control over the conversation. This effect is particularly noticeable with the reiterated use of the *T* form *tu*, but even the *V* form *lei* can increase social distance and heighten tension between speakers.

On the other hand, another function is related to politeness strategies. Both *T* and *V* forms contribute to encoding politeness, with the *V* form associated with negative politeness, maintaining respectful distance, while both pronouns can appear alongside positive politeness strategies such as compliments or expressions of appreciation (Brown & Levinson 1987).

Finally, address pronouns can function as markers of stance. While stance is typically conveyed through first-person pronouns, *tu* and *lei* in audiovisual translation (AVT) can highlight the interlocutor's attitudes, beliefs, and opinions. This effect is especially pronounced when paired with stance verbs like *credere* (to believe) or *pensare* (to think), further emphasizing the speaker's position and evaluative perspective.

As demonstrated by the analysis carried out by Formentelli and Pavesi (2022), the most frequent pragmatic function performed by address pronouns, both in original and dubbed texts, is the one of topic shift and switch of focus of attention, with the least frequent being the function of expressing stance.

When discussing the translation of nominal forms of address, Kluge (2019:51) highlights the tendency of translators to employ an equivalent nominal address when the norms of the target language permit it. Ideally, the translation

should preserve the equivalent form, or, if not possible, use a similar category. This process involves careful consideration of variations in frequency of usage, to avoid what is known as the "shining-through effect", a term introduced by Teich (2003, in Kluge 2019:51) and explained as follows: "In a translation into a given target language (TL), the translation may be oriented more towards the source language (SL), i.e., the SL shines through" (Teich 2003:245, in Kluge 2019:51); in this way, features of the source language may become overly apparent in the translation. This might even force translators to either change the category or omit nominal addresses to avoid overuse. In AVT, particularly in subtitling, the omission of vocatives is a well-documented phenomenon, mainly because of constraints of space and timing[13], which often do not allow to include a nominal ToA.

Despite the constraints of AVT, vocatives play an essential role in dialogues. They function not only as markers of the relationships between characters, but also as tools for clarifying the intended addressee, especially in situations where multiple potential addressees are present. Due to the multimodality of AV contents, represented by different visual and audio elements, the absence of explicit nominal addresses in subtitles is generally compensated. For instance, a character's gaze or gestures (i.e. the paralinguistic features), can effectively signal the addressee, reducing the necessity for explicit vocatives. However, nominal addresses may still be included in subtitles when their omission could lead to confusion and ambiguity, or when they are crucial to maintain the relational dynamics between characters. In dubbing, nominal addresses are typically retained more, since, unlike subtitles, it is not limited by spatial or temporal constraints on the screen. This freedom allows ToA to be integrated into the spoken dialogue, enabling a more natural and dynamic interaction among characters, which aligns with the aim of replicating spontaneous spoken language (Kluge 2019:66).

[13] As reported in Kluge (2019:62), general subtitling conventions specify that subtitles should not exceed two lines, with each line containing 36 to 37 characters, except for Netflix, which allows up to 42 characters. Moreover, subtitles must remain on screen long enough to be read, typically at least one second.

As far as the pronoun *Voi* is concered, in early Italian-dubbed films, it was frequently used as form of address (Maraschio 1982, in Pavesi 1996:119). However, it was gradually replaced by the pronoun *Lei*, which has become the preferred and widely accepted form in films and TV series set in contemporary times, reflecting modern standard Italian usage. Despite this shift, the use of *Voi* has not disappeared entirely, neither in AV dialogues. It continues to appear in films and TV series that are set in historical contexts, particularly those depicting past eras where *Voi* was the customary form of address, in certain geographical regions, or to highlight differences in social classes (Renzi 1995; Bates, Benigni 1975 in Pavesi 1996:119).

Since modes of address express interpersonal relations and social hierarchies, their shift often marks a significant change in the relationship between speakers, signaling moments of growing closeness, shifts in social status, or changes in mutual perception. In English, changes in address are often less structurally marked than in Italian and typically involve moving from a formal address or the absence of direct vocatives to the use of first names, which inevitably signals increasing intimacy, equality, or familiarity. In contrast, in Italian, the shift often involves moving from the formal *Lei* (used either reciprocally or in asymmetrical dynamics with *Tu*) to the informal, symmetrical *Tu* which signifies a closer, more egalitarian relationship (Pavesi 2012). In Italian spontaneous conversations, transitions between formal and informal address are typically marked by a deliberate and explicit verbal exchange. It is common for one speaker to make a formal request, through specific formulas, *"Possiamo darci del tu?" ("Shall we use the T-form?")*, or for the other speaker to grant explicit consent, as in the phrase, *"Puoi darmi del tu" ("You can use a T-form").* These verbal cues serve to ensure that both parties are comfortable with the change. It is generally always the person of a higher social status that is considered the most adequate to initiate the ritual (Benigni and Bates 1977: 159, Renzi *et al.* 2001: 373, in Baran, Urbaniak 2021:154).

Pavesi (2012:348) identifies three main factors that can lead to address shifts: 1) address-related interlinguistic motivations (when the translator adjusts the text to align with the norms of the target culture, ensuring an appropriate level of formality or informality to the final product), 2) intersemiotic and linguistic explicitation (when the shift is prompted not by verbal elements but by non-verbal cues, such as paralinguistic features or visual context) and 3) narrative significance (a shift might signal a change in relationships, power dynamics, or emotional tone). Indeed, modes of address shifts in audiovisual texts are driven by the main aim of storytelling (Remael 2003,2008, in Pavesi 2012), and this becomes evident when these changes differ from the strategies of the real life interactions. These dynamic transitions between formal and informal modes of address are intentionally used to enhance narrative interest, unlike static pronoun choices, which might be less engaging.

When dubbing English films into Italian, these shifts are particularly critical, as they serve to reflect the evolving dynamics between characters while adhering to the conventions of the target language. Successfully adapting these elements requires balancing fidelity to the original narrative with the expectations of the Italian audience, making address modes a central focus in the translation and adaptation process (Pavesi 1996; Ulrych 1996, in Pavesi 2012).

The omission of vocatives in dubbing can be due to various factors. In general, if their absence does not affect the plot nor limit the audience's understanding, it is not a translational mistake but rather a deliberate choice (Golda 2021:149). Main factors are:

- Synchronization: dubbing requires the translated dialogue to match the lip movements and timing of the original actors, and sometimes omitting a vocative may be helpful;
- Relevance to Target Audience: In some languages or cultures, vocatives might be used more or less frequently than in the original language or can

signal different levels of intimacy or politeness. Dubbing often adapts speech patterns to make them feel natural for the target audience;

- Implicit understanding: in scenes where it is clear who is being addressed, vocatives might be considered unnecessary.

In multimodal events, as face-to-face interactions, two elements may be not-congruent and contrasting one another (e.g. the content and the way it is being said), creating dissonance and, as a consequence, disorientation and unease in the listener. This type of situation is know as interpersonal trope, and in audiovisual texts it is purposely employed to create multifaceted meaning for the audience. (Agha 2007, in Pavesi 2015:117-118).

As mentioned in Ulrych (1996:144), Braun highlights that variations in forms of address are closely linked to different sociolinguistic factors, including, for instance, class, education, age and gender. In other words, an individual's choice of a particular address variant is not arbitrary but is shaped by their social and linguistic background. Moreover, the context in which an interaction occurs plays a crucial role in determining the form of address selected: the situational context, indeed, whether formal or informal, professional or personal, hierarchical or egalitarian, can influence how individuals choose to address one another.

Ulrych (1996:148) provides a clear framework for outlining the general options available when selecting an appropriate form of address. She focuses on two key factors that influence these choices: the level of power and the degree of social distance between individuals. This framework is illustrated in TABLE (1), and will serve as a reference for the following discussions.

In the first scenario, both interlocutors (indicated with S, i.e. *superior*) hold a position of high status or authority, meaning they share the same level of hierarchical power. If there is closeness (C) between them, meaning they are familiar with each other or share a connection, they will likely adopt a more informal way of addressing one another. In Italian, this corresponds to the use of

tu, while in English, they would only rely on lexical items, as first names or, less frequently, surnames without titles (e.g., *Watson*). If, however, their relationship is marked by distance (D), the forms of address will be more formal. This would align with the V form in Italian (*Lei*), and in English, it would be reflected in the use of titles such as *Mr*, *Professor*, *Your Majesty*, or title plus surname (*e.g., Mrs Smith*).

The second scenario involves an asymmetrical interaction where one interlocutor has more power than the other (I stands for *inferior*). If the relationship is characterized by closeness, the higher-status individual will likely use the *T* form and address the subordinate by his/her first name (e.g., *Charles*, *Mary*). If, on the other hand, the relationship is more distant, the superior may maintain formality by using the V form, referring to the subordinate with a title followed by a surname or a first name (e.g., *Mr. Robinson*, *Miss Helen*).

The third scenario presents the opposite situation: an individual of lower status addressing a superior. In this case, the use of address forms follows a similar pattern. If there is a close relationship, the subordinate may use the T form and address the superior by their first name. However, if distance is maintained, the *V* form will be used along with formal titles, title plus surname (e.g., *Professor Newman*), or, in some cases, title plus FSN (First name and surname, e.g., *Doctor Emily Smith*).

The final scenario describes a symmetrical interaction between two individuals of lower status. Once again, the choice of address form depends on the level of familiarity between them. If they share a close bond, they will likely use the T form and first names. If the relationship is more formal or distant, they may use the V form but still address each other by first name, a practice common in Italian (e.g., *Mi scusi, Marco*). Alternatively, they may opt for title plus surname, maintaining an high level of formality.

POWER	SOCIAL DISTANCE	MODES OF ADDRESS
S → S	+ C	T; FN – SN
	+D	V; Tle - Tle SN – FN
S → I	+ C	T; FN
	+ D	V; Tle SN – FN
I → S	+ C	T; FN
	+ D	V; Tle – Tle FN – Tle FSN – Tle SN
I → I	+ C	T; FN
	+ D	V; FN – Tle SN

Legend

		T-V = pronominal forms
S= superior	C = closeness	FN = First Name
I= inferior	D = distance	SN = Surname
		FNS = First Name and Surname
		Tle = Title

TABLE (1): Combinations that may occur both in the source text and target text

3. BEHIND THE VOICES OF *THE CROWN*

3.1 The TV series

The Crown is a British-American historical drama series created and written by Peter Morgan for Netflix, produced by Sony Pictures Television and Left Bank Pictures. It was filmed at Elstree Studios in Hertfordshire, with additional shoots across the UK and internationally. The first season was released on 4 November 2016, while the final season was delivered in two parts, on 16 November and 14 December 2023. The series recounts the reign of Queen Elizabeth II and is divided into six parts, spanning approximately six decades, from her marriage to Philip Mountbatten in 1947 to the wedding of Prince Charles and Camilla Parker Bowles in 2005. Inspired by Morgan's earlier works, including the film *The Queen* (2006) and the play *The Audience* (2013), the series features a rotating cast every two seasons to depict the Queen and other main characters at different stages of their life.

3.2 The plot and the characters

The first season of *The Crown* covers eight years, beginning with Princess Elizabeth's 1947 wedding to Philip Mountbatten and her sudden ascension to the throne in 1952 after her father's (King George VI) death, when she was only 25 years old. The season follows Elizabeth's transition into her role as Queen, guided by Prime Minister Winston Churchill, while facing personal challenges, including Philip's frustration with her new responsibilities and Princess Margaret's forbidden marriage with Peter Townsend.

Season two focuses on the events of the timeline 1956-1964, in particular on the tumultuous marriage of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip, who embarks on a Commonwealth tour in late 1956. Key historical occurrences shape the narrative, including the Suez Canal crisis, which leads to Anthony Eden's resignation and Harold Macmillan's rise as Prime Minister, until October 1963.
Other significant developments include Princess Margaret's marriage to Antony Armstrong-Jones, the visit of President John F. Kennedy and Jackie Kennedy to

Buckingham Palace, and Prince Charles being sent to Gordonstoun School in 1962.

The third season spans nearly thirteen years, the longest period covered in the series so far. It opens with Harold Wilson becoming Prime Minister and continues with other important events, such as Winston Churchill's death in 1965, the Apollo Eleven moon landing, and the Queen's Silver Jubilee in 1977. Moreover, other notable characters are introduced, like Princess Anne, the Queen's only daughter, and Camilla Parker Bowles, who, from these years onwards, will start an extramarital affair with Prince Charles.

The Crown season four focuses on the 1980s and presents two fundamental female figures: Diana Spencer, Princess of Wales, and the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The marriage between Lady Diana and Prince Charles is turbulent and under pressure, especially from the press and the Royal Family itself. Despite this, the love felt for the two sons, William (future heir to the throne) and Harry, shines through very clearly. Key events include Lord Mountbatten's assassination by the IRA in 1979, Michael Fagan's intrusion into Buckingham Palace in 1982, and Thatcher's resignation in 1990.

The fifth season spans the shortest timeframe yet, covering the early 1990s, one of the most unsettling and challenging periods of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The season delves into the breakdown of Prince Charles and Princess Diana's marriage, culminating in their formal divorce in 1996. Among the significant events are included the Queen's "Annus Horribilis" in 1992, marked by the devastating Windsor Castle fire and scandals within the Royal Family, and Lady Diana's first encounter with Mohamed Al-Fayed, who is determined to gain acceptance in the British High Society, by planning an engagement between his son Dodi and the now-divorced Princess.

The sixth and final season primarily focuses on the last months of Princess Diana's life, exploring her affair with Dodi Al Fayed and the relationship between

Prince Charles and Camilla, which has now become of public knowledge. Diana's tragic accident in 1997 has serious consequences, particularly for her teenage sons, who struggle to find stability after her death. Key moments in this season include Prince William's meeting with Catherine Middleton during the University years, the deaths of two important figures in Queen Elizabeth's life (her sister Princess Margaret and The Queen Mother in 2002), the Golden Jubilee, and the marriage between Charles and Camilla[14].

[14] See the websites *The Crown's Complete Timeline Explained* and *The Crown | The Crown Wiki | Fandom.*

4. FORMS OF ADDRESS IN *THE CROWN*: A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

4.1 The language of address used by the Royal Family

The analysis is based on a corpus created by collecting data from the episodes of *The Crown,* chosen for its linguistic richness and social context. The TV series *The Crown* illustrates how members of the British Royal Family interact with one another taking into consideration the royal protocol. In this context, factors such as familial relationships, social status, age, and levels of politeness significantly influence communication dynamics (Morgan *et al.,* 2016 in Indirwan 2023:3). Despite the fact that these interactions are fictionalized and not actual social exchanges, the language used and the nature of their interactions provide a sufficient representation of communication within the British Royal environment (Indirwan 2023:3). As Farese (2018:92) points out, to address individuals considered "highly distinguished", such as monarchs, specific address nouns are used, for instance “Majesty” (*Maestà*) and “Highness” (*Altezza*), reserved for kings, queens, princes, and princesses. These terms are employed non-reciprocally in interactions characterized by a hierarchical, bottom-up relationship, and immediately convey a specific interactional meaning, which needs no additional semantic contribution. They are generally incompatible with the use of *Tu* or first names and are typically accompanied by the *V* form. (Farese 2018:92-93)

The study investigates both nominal forms of address and pronominal forms of address, and, as far as the methodology is concerned, it consists in a comparative qualitative analysis between the Italian dubbed version and the original English text, for which an accurate transcription of the dialogues was consulted[15]. This allowed for a direct comparison of the translation choices made in the dubbing process with the original forms of address.

Each scene was analyzed individually, considering the situational context (e.g., setting and level of formality) and the interpersonal relationship (e.g., social

[15] https://www.springfieldspringfield.co.uk/episode_scripts.php?tv-show=the-crown-2016

distance and social status) of the dyad(s)[16] within the scene. To narrow the process of investigation, the analysis focused on three main characters, previously identified for their central role in the narrative and for the variety of interactions they have with others, and each representing a different generation: King George VI, Queen Elizabeth, and Lady Diana Spencer (see TABLE 3).

Name	Actor/actress	Role	Crucial information[17]
King George VI (Albert Frederick Arthur George)	Jared Harris	King of the UK from 1936 to 1952.	Being the youngest son, he was not originally expected to ascend the throne; However, given the abdication of his elder brother, Edward VIII, he became King. He had two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret. In 1952, he passes away from lungs cancer, and the throne succeeded to his eldest daughter, Elizabeth.
Queen Elizabeth II (Elizabeth Alexandra Mary)	Claire Foy (S1-2) Olivia Colman (S3-4) Imelda Staunton (S5-6)	Queen of the UK from 1952 to 2022.	She was crowned when she was only 25 years old, and her reing became the longest in British history. In 1947, she married Philip Mountbatten, Prince of Greece and Denmark (later Duke of Edinburgh). They had four children, the eldest of whom, Charles, ascended to the throne after her death in 2022 (and is the current King of the UK).
			She became a member of the British Royal family by marrying Charles, the Prince

[16] A dyad refers to any interaction that includes an addresser and an addressee (Meister 2016:532).
[17] These information were taken form Wikipedia (List of The Crown characters - Wikipedia)

Diana Spencer	Emma Corrin (S4) Elizabeth Debicki (S5-6)	Princess of Wales	of Wales, in 1981. They had two sons, Princes William and Harry. Their marriage faced challenges due to incompatibility and infidelity, leading to their separation in 1992 and official divorce in 1996. Diana captivated the media and the public with her beauty, elegance, and unique approach to the royal life. Tragically, she passed away in a car accident in Paris in August 1997.

TABLE (3). *The Crown* selected characters, retrived from the website "*Wikipedia*".

Almost all the interactions involving these characters were examined, selecting only those that offered significant linguistic and translational elements, i.e. particularly relevant or potentially problematic. Furthermore, the primary objective of this study is to answer specific research questions:

- Which, among the various factors, has the greatest influence on translation choices in the dubbing of *The Crown*, in terms of forms of address;
- Identifying whether there are discrepancies between the original English version and the dubbed version, and then if this dubbed version matches the linguistic norms of contemporary Italian;
- Exploring the functions of shifts in the forms of address and how they represent the evolution of interpersonal relationships.

4.2 Symmetrical relationships

Since the pioneering studies of the 1960s, scholars have identified two primary parameters that influence the choice of address forms in dialogues: the superiority-inferiority parameter and the distance-closeness parameter. When the former prevales in the interaction, it creates asymmetry in the forms of address (Renzi 1995; Mazzoleni 1995 in Pavesi 1996:120). Conversely, when the distance-closeness parameter dominates, the choice of address forms tends to be equivalent, either towards a reciprocal V-form or a T-form, emphasizing mutual connection or distance (Pavesi 1996:120).

4.2.1 King George's reciprocal V-form interactions

The use of the reciprocal *Lei* conveys a specific social dynamic between interlocutors: it is, indeed, often employed to indicate absence of intimacy or familiarity between the individuals involved in the interaction, whom do not share a personal connection or wish to maintain a formal and respectful distance. Example (1)[18] illustrates one of the first symmetrical relationships observed in the TV series, between King George VI and his Doctor.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
KING GEORGE VI	**You** told me that, after the operation, I might expect some... soreness, some difficulty breathing. But **you** didn't tell me about this.	**Diceva** che dopo l'operazione avrei respirato male e sentito dolore, ed è così. Ma di questo, **Dottore**, non mi **ha** detto niente. (L)	The King shows him a bloodstained handkerchief.

[18] This (n) is how the numbered examples will be indicated.

DOCTOR WEIR	[EXHALES] At the time of the operation, as **you** know, structural alterations were discovered. […] It's time we gave that blockage a name, **sir**. It was a malignant tumur.	[EXHALES] Al momento dell'operazione, come **saprà**, abbiamo riscontrato delle alterazioni strutturali. […] È il momento di chiamarla con il suo nome, **Maestà**. È un tumore maligno. (L)

EXAMPLE (1). Season 1; Episode 1 "*Wolferton Splash"*

During this discussion about the King's health, Doctor Weir, as expected, addresses him formally, using vocatives appropriate to his elevated social status, such as *Sir*[19]. Conversely, in the English version, the King's form of addressing his Doctor shows no signs of formality: no vocatives, no greetings, and no notable non-verbal cues. Actually, the tone used by the King seems almost accusatory. In the Italian dubbed version, however, the Monarch addresses Doctor Weir using the formal V-form, and is even included the vocative *Dottore*. This addition is likely due to cultural conventions in Italian, while it is true that a Doctor is hierarchically inferior to the King, he belongs to the upper classes of society and is, still nowadays, considered a respectable figure.

4.2.2 The Queen's reciprocal V-form interactions

One of the most interesting relationships explored, and also one of the most significant as far as the crown and the reign are concerned, is the one between Queen Elizabeth II and the Prime Minister Winston Churchill (2).

[19] Although some vocatives are typically translated from English to Italian using fixed equivalents (e.g., *Sir* is generally rendered as *Signore*, and *Ma'am* as *Signora* [Pavesi 1996:125]), in this TV series, these terms are consistently translated as *Maestà* or *Altezza*, whenever referring to the King or Queen.

Protagonist	English original	Italian dubbing	Non-verbal context
PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL	**Your Majesty**. I so looked forward every Tuesday to my audiences with **your**... Dear Papa. […]	**Vostra Maestà**. Non vedevo l'ora di incontrare all'udienza del Martedì il **suo**… Caro Padre. (L) […]	The Prime Minister bows and kisses the Queen's hand.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Thank you. Do sit down, **Prime Minister**. I've ordered tea. Or something stronger, perhaps.	Grazie. Prego, **si sieda**, **Primo Ministro**. Io prendo un the. **Lei** vuole qualcosa di più forte? (L)	The Queen sits, the Prime Minister stands.
PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL	Oh, dear. Did no one explain? The Sovereign never offers a Prime Minister refreshment. Nor a chair. The precedent set by **your** great-great-grandmother was to keep us standing like Privy Counsellors.	Oh, cielo. Non **gliel'**hanno spiegato? La Sovrana non offre in nessun caso da bere al Primo Ministro. E lo stesso vale per la sedia. Fu precedentemente stabilito dalla **sua** trisnonna che noi rimanessimo in piedi come Consiglieri Privati. (L)	

EXAMPLE (2). Season 1; Episode 3 "*Windsor*"

Within the framework proposed by Ulrych, their dynamic can be classified as an S→S (superior to superior) relationship, and this hierarchical similarity is maintained throughout all their interactions portrayed in the TV series. However, despite the formal nature of their professional roles, their relationship develops and evolves on both professional and personal levels. Their first meeting, illustrated in (2), is held in a formal context: an official encounter in the audience room, and,

indeed, both the setting and their tone of address emphasize the formal atmosphere. At this early stage of her reign, Queen Elizabeth is beginning to face challenges and responsibilities of leading a Country, and it is Churchill, with his great experience and authority, who serves as a key figure in guiding her through the complexities of her role as Monarch. At this first meeting, the distance in their relationship is palpable, as expected, and this is effectively mirrored in the use of formal and respectful address. They both use the V-form to refer to each other, and both use formal titles, *Your Majesty* for the Queen, and *Prime Minister* for Churchill. Furthermore, their considerable age difference plays an important role in shaping the dynamic of their exchanges: at the time, indeed, the Queen is very young, whereas Churchill is more than fifty years older. This generational gap, though probably secondarily, influences the Queen's choice of language, further reinforcing the formal tone of their interactions. In following scenes, such as in (3), their relation remains basically the same.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL	**Ma'am**, word has reached me that it is **your** desire that **you** and **your** children should keep **your** husband's name, Mountbatten.	**Mia Maestà**, mi è giunta voce che è **suo** desiderio mantenere per **lei** ed i **suoi** figli il nome di **suo** marito, Mountbatten. (L)	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	It is.	È così.	
PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL	**Ma'am**, **you** must not. It would be a grave mistake. Mountbatten was the adoptive name **your** husband took when he became a British citizen. His real name, **you**'ll not need	**Maestà**, non **può** farlo. Sarebbe un gravissimo errore. Mountbatten è il nome acquisito di **suo** marito che ha preso con la cittadinanza Britannica. Il suo vero	The Prime Minister changes tone, and raises a bit his voice.

	reminding, was Schleswig-Holsteindis-Sonderburg-Glücksburg of the royal houses of Denmark and Norway and, latterly, of Greece! […]	nome, non serve che **glielo** ricordi, era Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg delle case reali di Danimarca e Norvegia e, in ultimo, di Grecia! (L) […]
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Yes, I am Queen, but I am also a woman. And a wife. To a man whose pride and whose strength were, in part, what attracted me to him. I want to be in a successful marriage. I would argue, stability under this roof might even be in the national interest. Had **you** considered that?	Sì, sono la Regina, ma sono anche una donna. E una moglie. Di un uomo che con l'orgolio e con la sua forza, in parte, mi ha attratta a lui. Voglio che il mio sia un matrimonio felice e credo che la stabilità di questa casa sia nell'interessa nazionale. L'**ha** considerato questo?
PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL	[SIGHS] Very well. I will discuss it with Cabinet.	[SIGHS] Molto bene. Allora ne discuterò con il Gabinetto.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	No. **You** will inform the Cabinet, **Prime Minister**. That is the favour **you** will do me, in return for one I'm already doing **you**. I know **your** party wants you to resign to make	No. **Lei** informerà il Gabinetto, **Primo Ministro**. Questo è il favore che **lei** farà a me, in cambio di quello che **le** sto facendo io. Ho saputo che il **suo** partito

way for a younger man. Mr. Eden. I also know that no one will bring up **your** resignation while **you** are actively engaged in planning the Coronation. So, by delaying my investiture, **you** are, in fact, holding onto power in which case, I would suggest **you** are, somewhat, in my debt. So, if I agree to the delay, perhaps **you** will consider supporting me in the matter regarding my husband's name. And perhaps **you** could also inform Cabinet that my husband and I intend to stay here at Clarence House.	vuole che si dimetta e lasci spazio ad un uomo più giovane. Mister Eden. So anche che nessuno **le** chiederà le dimissioni finchè **si impegnerà** ad organizzare la mia Incoronazione. E ritardando la mia investitura, **lei**, a tutti gli effetti, rimane al potere, in questo caso mi sembra che **lei** sia in debito con me. Quindi, se io acconsento al ritardo, magari **lei** potrebbe appoggiarmi per quanto riguarda il nome di mio marito. E **potrebbe** anche informare il Gabinetto che io e mio marito intendiamo restare qui a Clarence House. (L)

EXAMPLE (3). Season 1; Episode 3 *"Windsor"*

Despite the fact that some time has passed since the beginning of their professional collaboration, a tone of formality and detachment persists, and the Queen continues to address Churchill by his title, maintaining distance, receiving likewise formal titles, as *ma'am*. This formality characterizes their relationship throughout the first two seasons of the series.

Another interesting aspect of this conversational exchange can be observed in the Queen's final line. The reiterated explicitation of the address pronoun *Lei* in the Italian dubbed version is not accidental, it serves to increase the

tension in the exchange, as forms of address play a crucial role in reinforcing interpersonal dynamics. Indeed what happens in this scene (which can not be considered a true conflit, rather an imposition) is that the control over the addressee is emphasized through the reiteration of pronouns within the conversational turn (Formentelli, Pavesi 2022). It is only during their last audience in 1955, in (4), depicted toward the end of Season Two, that viewers witness more closeness in their relationship.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
QUEEN ELIZABETH	So this is our last audience?	Quindi è la nostra ultima udienza?	They talk close to each other.
PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL	Yes. [INHALE]	Sì. [INHALE]	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	However will I cope without **you**?	Come farò senza il **suo** aiuto?	
PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL	You will be fine, **Ma'am**. I have nothing more to teach **you**. Which is why it's time for me to leave. **Your Majesty**.	Ce la **farà** benissimo, **Maestà.** Non ho più niente da insegnar**le** ormai. E per questo è ora che me ne vada. **Vostra Maestà**. (L)	The Prime Minister kisses her on the forehead. He bows.

EXAMPLE (4). Season 1; Episode 9 *"Assassins"*

While their interactions remain formal in terms of language, with both continuing to address each other using proper titles and maintaining a respectful tone, the real change becomes evident in their personal proximity, reflecting growing closeness ans solidarity between them. At the end of the meeting, Churchill says goodbye to the Queen with a kiss on her forehead. This gesture clearly indicates that their personal relationship has evolved over the years, and that the distance that once

marked their interactions has decreased, leaving space to a genuine bond of trust and emotional connection, but always caratchterized by mutual respect.

The most noticeable change in their relationship occurs during their final conversation, just before Churchill's death, where a shift occurs in their forms of address (5).

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**Dear Winston**.	**Mio caro Winston**.	The Queen enters in Churchill's bedroom.
WINSTON CHURCHILL	**Your Majesty**.	**Vostra Maestà**.	Churchill, in bed, tries to bow.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Don't move. How are you?	**Stia** comodo. Come va? (L)	
WINSTON CHURCHILL	[GROANS] Gripped, **ma'am**. […]	[GROANS] Oh, molto preso, **Maestà**. […]	Gripped because he's watching the elections on TV.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**You** were my guardian angel. The roof over my head. The spine in my back. The iron in my heart. **You** were the compass that steered and directed me. Not just me, all of us. Where would Great Britain be without its greatest Briton? God bless **you**, Winston.	**Lei** è stato il mio angelo custode. Il tetto sopra la mia testa. La mia stessa spina dorsale. Lo scudo del mio cuore. **È** stato la fedele bussola che mi ha guidato. Non solo me, ma tutti noi. Dove sarebbe la Gran Bretagna senza il suo più grande Britannico? Che Dio **la** benedica. (L)	The Queen notices that Churchill fell asleep, so she kisses him on the forehead and leaves.

EXAMPLE (5). Season 3; Episode 1 "*Olding"*

Important factors must be considered when analyzing this change:

- firstly, unlike all their previous meetings, which took place at Buckingham Palace, this final encounter is held in a very different setting. Indeed, it takes place in Prime Minister's house, specifically in his bedroom. At this point, Churchill is gravely ill and is difficult for him to get out of bed;
- secondly, since a lot of time passed since he retired from the political role, he's no longer engaged in any professional or governmental work with the Queen;

The dynamics of their interaction are therefore different from all the previous ones, and thus may be deeply influenced by the personal and private nature of the encounter.

What stands out in this final meeting is the way the Queen addresses Churchill, calling him by his first name *Winston*. This change gives way to a more personal tone, but not entirely. The presence of informal elements, such as the use of a first name and terms of endearment as *Dear* (Italian *Mio caro*), contrasts with the continued use of the V-form in the Italian-dubbed version of the scene, particularly during the closing moment where, while the original English dialogue conveys a much stronger sense of intimacy (with the Queen saying *God bless you, Winston*), the Italian version retains the more formal *Che Dio la benedica*. This perceived difference between the English and Italian versions possibly reflects an attempt to highlight the profound respect and deference that the Queen has always held for Churchill, even in such a moment of personal connection, being him not only a key political role but also a mentor and a paternal figure for her. This complex mix of formality and personal affection is preserved in the way their final conversation is portrayed, balancing the deference she continues to show him with the undeniable closeness that had developed between them over time. As a matter of fact, as Ulrych (1996:149) suggests, in certain contexts, respect may prevail over intimacy, allowing the coexistence of first names terms and the formal pronominl form.

Throughout the years and the seasons, various prime ministers succeed one another, and the Queen continuously addresses each one in a formal way, always referring to them with their title (i.e. *Prime Minister*) in every encounter and situation[20], as with the new Prime Minister Eden.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
QUEEN ELIZABETH	The one body of people who might make it possible for me to keep my promise is Cabinet. A group whom I've learned count no fewer than four divorced men in their number.	L'unico gruppo di persone che potrebbe rendermi possibile mantenere la parola è il Governo. Gruppo al cui interno si contano non meno di quattro uomini divorziati a quanto sembra.	They are talking sitted one in front of the other, distanciated.
PRIME MINISTER EDEN	Yes.	Sì.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**Yourself** included, **Prime Minister.**	**Lei** compreso, **Primo Ministro.**	
PRIME MINISTER EDEN	Indeed.	Sì, è vero.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Now, I wonder, in light of this, whether **you** might go back and use **your** considerable influence and ask **your** Cabinet colleagues if they might reconsider their decision to oppose the marriage.	Mi domandavo se alla luce di questo **lei** potrebbe ritentare, ed usare la **sua** considerevole influenza per chiedere ai **suoi** colleghi ministri se mai potessero riconsiderare la loro decisione di opporsi al matrimonio.	

[20] The only exception is Churchill, with whom the Queen had a closer connection, as previously noted.

PRIME MINISTER EDEN	Certainly, **Ma'am**.	Certamente, **Maestà**.

EXAMPLE (6). Season 1; Episode 10 *"Gloriana"*

A remarkable point is that in this meeting with Prime Minister Eden (6), the original English version uses the pronoun *yourself*. As Carter and McCarthy (2006:385, in Levshina 2017:154) observe, this reflexive pronoun is sometimes used to express greater politeness and respect. However, given the slightly accusatory tone of the conversation, it may have been employed to convey a sense of increased interpersonal distance. Another instance where the Queen uses the reflexive pronoun *yourself* is illustrated in (7).

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
PROFESSOR HOGG	**Your Majesty.**	**Vostra Maestà.**	He bows at her and then they both sit on the couch.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**Professor Hogg**. During the course of my new daily life, I have to spend a great deal of time alone with statesmen. Men, like **yourself**, of exceptional intellect, who've risen to the very top of their profession by virtue of their intelligence and their ability. […]	**Professor Hogg**. La mia nuova realtà quotidiana prevede che io debba trascorrere molto del mio tempo con degli statisti. Uomini come **lei**, di straordinaria intelligenza, che sono arrivati ai vertici della carriera in virtù del loro ingenio ed abilità. (L) […]	
PROFESSOR HOGG	Perhaps **Her Majesty** would give me an idea of roughly how far **she** got?	E forse **Vostra Maestà può** darmi un'idea approssimativa del livello raggiunto?	

QUEEN ELIZABETH	When?	Come?
PROFESSOR HOGG	With **her** education.	Con la **sua** istruzione. (L)

EXAMPLE (7). Season 1; Episode 7 "*Scientia Potentia Est*"

In this case, this use seems to align more with the use intended by Carter and McCarthy, i.e. it serves to express a greater sense of deference toward the interlocutor. Specifically, in this scene, the Queen meets Professor Hogg for the first time, whom she has specifically requested for private lessons. As soon as the scene procedes, it becomes evident that she admires him, both through her words and her tone, highlighting the respect she holds for him. This respect is further reinforced by the use of the reciprocal V-form, as well by the choice of formal address, referring him with *Professor Hogg* (Title + Last Name), which is maintained in the Italian version[21].

The scene illustrated in (8) offers a clear example of interpersonal trope, where the combination of formality and tension becomes evident: the interaction is between Queen Elizabeth and Lord Altrincham, a young journalist recently appeared in a TV interview, openly criticizing the monarchy and recommending significant reforms. His audacious comments led to an invitation to Buckingham Palace for a direct meeting with the Sovereign.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**You** have managed to think of how this monarch might do something to her advantage.	**Lei** è stato capace di suggerire come per questo monarca sarebbe più conveniente comportarsi. (L)	They are sitted one in front of the other, and the Queen talks with a confrontational tone.

[21] Generally in Italian, in formal relations between adults, the simple *Lei* or *Lei* + Title (without last name) is preferred, since using a title followed by a surname tends to convey a sense of significant distance, excessive formality, or even aggressiveness (Pavesi 1996:124). However, this is not the case, as in this instance it is evident that the Queen's choice of address is purely a sign of respect.

LORD ALTRINCHAM	I have.	In effetti sì.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	And that same monarch is sitting before, forgive me, a failed politician and an unrecognized journalist and taking his advice on how to do her job.	E quello stesso monarca è seduto di fronte a, senza offesa, un mancato uomo politico e giornalista senza alcuna fama, ad ascoltare i suoi consigli su come dovrebe fare il suo lavoro.
LORD ALTRINCHAM	The situation is as baffling to me as it is to **you**, **Your Majesty**.	La situazione è inverosimile per me quanto lo è per **lei**, **Vostra Maestà**. (L)

EXAMPLE (8). Season 2; Episode 5 "*Marionettes"*

During the encounter, the Queen is clearly irritated and offended by Lord Altrincham's public critique, uses the V-form when addressing him, reinforcing the social and hierarchical distance between them. However, what makes this interaction particularly interesting is the contrast between her formal and polite way of addressing him with the severe and offensive content of her remarks (i.e., "failed politician" and "unrecognized journalist").

One of the scenes that mostly strike the audience as far as the choice of address in dubbing is concerned is when Michael Fagan breaks into Buckingham Palace, entering in the Queen's bedroom while she is resting. (9).

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Who are **you**?	**Lei** chi è? (L)	Michael sits on the Queen's bed.
MICHAEL FAGAN	My name is Michael.	Mi chiamo Michael.	

QUEEN ELIZABETH	Out! Get out!	Se ne vada!	
MICHAEL FAGAN	You have nothing to fear from me.	**Le** prometto che non ha niente da temere. (L)	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	There is an armed policeman outside this door.	C'è un poliziotto armato fuori dalla porta.	
MICHAEL FAGAN	No, there isn't.	No, non c'è.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Hello? What do **you** want? If it's money/	Aiuto! Cosa **vuole**? Se sono soldi io/ (L)	
MICHAEL FAGAN	I don't want money. I don't want anything. I just wanna talk to **you**, that's all, to tell **you** what's going on in the Country. 'Cause either **you** don't know, or **you** don't care.	Non voglio soldi, non voglio niente. Voglio solo parlare con **lei**, tutto qui, voglio **dirle** quello che sta succedendo lì fuori nel Paese. Perché o non lo **sa**, o non **le** interessa. (L)	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Of course I care. I care very deeply indeed. What a thing to say. An unkind, stupid-	Certo che mi interessa. Mi interessa profondamente. Ma cosa **dice**. (L) Uno scortese e sciocco-	
MICHAEL FAGAN	Don't do that, please.	Non lo **faccia**, per favore. (L)	He gets up and grabs her hands to stop her from reaching for the phone and call for help.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Don't **you** dare touch me!	Non mi **tocchi**! (L)	

	[SCREAMS] Hello? Help!	[SCREAMS] Aiuto! Aiuto!	The Queen screams.
MICHAEL FAGAN	Stop it! Just gimme a minute, will ya? I'll sort myself out, I'll say what I gotta say, and then I'll go! You don't have a cigarette handy, do ya?	**La smetta**! È che mi serve un minuto, va bene? Mi schiarisco le idee, dico quello che devo **dirle** e poi me ne vado. Non è che **ha** una sigaretta? (L)	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	No. Filthy habit.	No. Pessima abitudine.	
MICHAEL FAGAN	I know, I know. I just thought it might be good for **you** to meet someone normal who can tell it to **you**, you know, as it is.	Lo so, lo so. Pensavo potesse essere utile, per **lei**, incontrare qualcuno di normale, che potesse **dirle** come vanno le cose. (L)	

EXAMPLE (9). Season 4; Episode 5 "*Fagan"*

As soon as the Monarch wakes up and understands what is happening, she reacts in a questionable way: despite the fear and the alarming situation, she maintains her royal composure and formality. In the Italian dubbed version, indeed, she addresses the stranger using the V-form and receives back an high level of formality too. This linguistic choice is highly implausible for at least two reasons:

- first of all, in a moment of shock and fear, it is hard to imagine that someone would maintain such a formal and composed tone. If it is true that *Lei* can be used to "verbally push people away" (Musumeci 1991) it is also true that one would expect a more urgent or informal reaction in this context. The formal language here creates a strange contrast with the tension and fear that the scene aims to convey, since this is a typical situation that would prompt a shift from the V-form to the "T of contempt or anger" (Brown &

Gilman 1972), which occurs when one character psychologically or physically overpowers another[22], especially when the Queen says "*Don't you dare touch me!*";

- secondly, it is also debatable Michael Fagan's way of addressing her. For understandable reasons, (i.e. the fact that he is addressing to a queen) the V-form is used in the dubbed Italian version. However, looking at the original English version, this choice of language seems rather improbable. Firstly, it is important to consider Michael's character more carefully, since he is depicted as an unstable drunk individual, in a desperate seek for help. Furthermore, his way of talking is marked by several contracted and informal expressions commonly found in colloquial speech. For instance, phrases like "*gimme a minute, will ya?"* and "*You don't have a cigarette handy, do ya?"* or *"you know*" are all examples of language that wouldn't typically be associated with formal or respectful discourse. This creates a significant discrepancy between the original English dialogue and the Italian adaptation, as the formal tone in the dubbed version doesn't match the informal, almost disoriented way Michael speaks in the original[23].

The last noteworthy example of the Queen reciprocal use of *Lei* (10) highlights an S→I interaction between Elizabeth and the court musician.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
QUEEN ELIZABETH	I'm in the process of choosing the music and wondered if there was a	Al momento sto scegliendo la musica e mi chiedevo se ci fosse	

[22] In Italian dubbing, these shifts are commonly seen in episodes featuring aggressive behavior, outbursts of rage, arguments, or physical confrontations. By suddenly switching to the familiar pronoun, speakers express their disappointment with the person they are addressing (Pavesi 2012). Indeed, this technique has often been used by authors to dramatically convey the emotional shifts of characters (Brown & Gilman 1972 in Pavesi 1996:122).

[23] As a matter of fact, in the Italian subtitles, their interaction initially presents reciprocal formal allocutive forms, but suddenly undergoes a shift. This shift is surprisingly started by Michael, when he says "*Voglio solo parlarti, per dirti cosa sta succedendo nel Paese. Perchè o non lo sai, o non t'importa*". The Queen, despite this, continues to use a formal allocutive form.

	tune for the pipes **you** thought might work.	un brano per cornamusa da **lei** ritenuto adatto. (L)	
COURT MUSICIAN	Uh [HESITATES] There are a number of laments written for fallen soldiers, **Ma'am**. "I Will Go Home to Kintail" springs to mind. "Lord Lovat's Lament".	Ehm [HESITATES] Ci sono varie elegie per cornamusa scritte per i soldati caduti, **Maestà**. "I Will Go Home to Kintail", per esempio. "Lord Lovat's Lament".	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	But is there a particular one that **you** like?	Ce n'è una in particolare che **le** piace? (L)	
COURT MUSICIAN	What, me, **Ma'am**?	A me, **Maestà**?	The court musician is surprised by the request.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Yes, **Pipes**. **You**.	Sì, **pifferaio magico**, a **lei**. (L)	The Queen's tone seems quite ironic.

EXAMPLE (10). Season 6; Episode 10 "*Sleep, Dearie Sleep"*

What is particularly interesting to note is that the Monarch generally addresses most of her employees using the formal allocutive form, with few exceptions[24]. As already pointed out in §1.3, the reciprocal use of *Lei* may also serve as an intentional demonstration of respect and courtesy, particularly in cases where hierarchical differences could otherwise result in asymmetrical forms of address. Nevertheless, despite using the V-form to address him, the Queen still opts for a rather informal vocative in the final remark, *pipes (pifferaio magico* in

[24] Such exceptions are presumably influenced by other factors that, normally, may affect the choice of address form, as the age of the interlocutor or the non-professional context. These situations will be further explored through examples and presented in the following sections.

the Italian version), a playful nickname that often conveys a sense of humor, which might be used to lighten the atmosphere or to express a more relaxed attitude.

4.2.3. Diana's reciprocal V-form interactions

Regarding the symmetric formal allocutive forms used by Princess Diana, the first interaction analyzed is one of her early encounters with Prince Charles, the Queen's son and her future husband.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
DIANA SPENCER	**Your Royal Highness**. I just wanted to offer my condolences. It must have been completely devastating for **you**. And **your** reading at the Abbey, how **you** held it all together under the circs, I don't know how **you** did that. It was utterly brilliant.	**Vostra Altezza Reale**. Volevo **porgerle** le mie condoglianze. Deve essere stato devastante per **lei**. La **sua** lettura al funerale, **è** stato molto forte in quella circostanza. Non so come **abbia** fatto. È stato davvero ammirevole. (L)	They meet casually in an informal context.
PRINCE CHARLES	Thank **you**. I'm sorry. We haven't met.	**La** ringrazio. **Mi scusi**, non credo di conoscer**la**. (L)	
DIANA SPENCER	We have. I was in costume at the time. Sarah Spencer's younger sister.	Al contrario. Indossavo un costume, **ricorda**? La sorella minore di Sarah Spencer. (L)	
PRINCE CHARLES	The mad tree! [LAUGHS]	L'albero pazzo? [LAUGHS]	They both laugh.
DIANA SPENCER	Diana, yes.	Diana, sì.	

EXAMPLE (11). Season 4; Episode 1 "*Gold Stick"*

Despite her lower social rank and her very young age, she receives a formal way to address. The use of the reciprocal *Lei-Lei* form highlights an equal degree of respect and distance between the two individuals, signaling a lack of familiarity. When two people meet for the first time, they typically use the formal *Lei*, a choice driven by the factor of unfamiliarity between them. This initial use of *Lei* establishes a level of formality and distance, as the interlocutors do not yet know each other well. Age and gender do not immediately influence this decision but may become relevant at a later stage. This aligns with Serianni's statement (1989:19 in Suomela-Härmä, 2003:311), which asserts that "the alternation between address pronouns currently depends on the formal-informal distinction, with age being a secondary factor[25]". This form of address is, therefore, not surprising, as it is commonly used at the beginning of a relationship or when meeting someone for the first time, where the boundaries of formality and mutual respect are being established (Hajek 2004).

An interesting interaction (12) is the one between Diana (who, by this point, is divorced and no longer holds the official title of princess nor is part of the Royal Family) and Doctor Khan, a man she encounters during her visits to hospitalized children.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
DOCTOR KHAN	Hi. I just wanted to say thank **you** for what **you**'ve been doing.	Salve. Volevo solo **ringraziarla** per quello che **sta** facendo. (L)	They first meet in the hospital hallway.
DIANA SPENCER	All I do is talk to them and keep them company. It's nothing compared to what **you** do.	Parlo solo un po' con i pazienti e faccio loro compagnia. Niente in confronto a ciò che fa **lei**. (L)	

[25] The translation is mine.

	[…] Is there even a film **you**'d like to see?	[…] Non c'è un film che **le** piacerebbe vedere?	They are eating something togheter.
DOCTOR KHAN	Um Apollo 13?	Mh Apollo 13?	
DIANA SPENCER	Then let's go.	Allora andiamo.	
DOCTOR KHAN	**You** can't go to the cinema. **You're** the most recognizable woman in the world. It would cause a public disorder incident.	**Lei** non può andare al cinema, **è** la donna più riconoscibile di tutto il mondo. Disturberebbe la quiete pubblica. (L)	
DIANA SPENCER	Trust me, I've done it before. […]	**Si fidi**, non è la prima volta. (L) […]	
DOCTOR KHAN	I should go. Thank you very much. Good night. [KISSES]	Meglio che vada. Grazie mille. Buonanotte. [KISSES]	The Doctor kisses Diana on the cheeks.
DIANA SPENCER	Don't I get a proper kiss?	Non mi merito un vero bacio?	
DOCTOR KHAN	I don't understand what **you** see in me. I'm a totally average, socially inept, slightly overweight, workaholic doctor.	Cosa **troverà** di così speciale in me. Sono un comunissimo medico, socialmente inetto, leggermente sovrappeso e stacanovista. (L)	
DIANA SPENCER	I'm worried **you** think I'm this huge thing. This big, glamorous,	E **lei** penserà che io sia una rara creatura, un'essere celestiale e	Diana slowly walks towards him.

	celestial thing to be scared of.	affascinante di cui aver paura. (L)	
DOCTOR KHAN	**You** are.	Lo **è**. (L)	
DIANA SPENCER	No, I'm not. I'm no one anymore. [KISS]	No, non lo sono. Non sono più nessuno. [KISS]	They kiss.

EXAMPLE (12). Season 5; Episode 7 "*No Woman's Land"*

Their relationship begins in a professional context, and their initial exchanges are characterized by a formal and respectful tone, which, despite their interest in one another, persists through all their early interactions. After his hospital shift, Diana and Khan share a meal together and plan a date at the cinema. What is particularly noticible is that during this more personal and relaxed setting, their choice of address remains firmly within the boundaries of formality, even in the more intimate moment following the movie, when Diana asks for "a proper kiss".

Despite the emotional and physical closeness between the two, the reciprocal use of *Lei* persists, creating an unusual contrast[26]: it highlights the dissonance between their verbal exchanges, which maintain a sense of distance, and their physical proximity, which instead suggests intimacy. This intentional incongurence between visual and textual elements serves to involve the viewer deeply in the moment, completely drawing the attention in the narrative (Pavesi 2015:116). For an Italian audience, this adherence to formal address may be perceived as highly unusual, since it is rare for two individuals to continue using formal pronouns after experiencing such physical closeness (Pavesi 2012). Although the characters use formal address forms until the very end, the episode concludes with a kiss and the next scene (13) involving them, reveals a noticeable shift toward the more informal *Tu*[27].

[26] This is another case of interactional trope.
[27] Different types of shifts are analyzed in section 3.3.

Protagonist	English original	Italian dubbing	Non-verbal context
DOCTOR KHAN	Am I a mess?	Come sto?	Doctor Khan is about to leave Diana's house, running into the paparazzi.
DIANA SPENCER	Let me see. **You**'re fine. Covered in lipstick. Whoa [KISS]	**Fammi** vedere. **Sei** a posto. Pieno di lucidalabbra. **Aspetta** (T) [KISS]	Diana cleans him from lipstick. They kiss.

EXAMPLE (13). Season 5; Episode 8 "*Gunpowder"*

This shift from *Lei* to *Tu* is employed as a marker of their achieved intimacy, aligning with cultural norms, and allowing the audience to fully perceive the bond that has been established between them. Thus, the interplay of address forms here plays a central role in structuring the narrative and deepening the emotional impact of the story (Bruti, Vignozzi 2021).

4.2.4 The Queen's reciprocal T-form interactions

A symmetrical informal relationship in terms of address pronouns refers to a situation where both individuals use informal pronouns to address each other, signaling a mutual sense of closeness, equality and familiarity. As Lazzarino *et al.* (2000, in Hajek 2004) note, *Tu* in Italian is the familiar form used only with family members, children and close friends, but it is also protoypically used among younger people and informal contexts: the use of a reciprocal *Tu* tends to increase as the perceived similarity between interlocutors grows (Levshina 2017:157). In English, the sense of informality is conveyed through the absence of formal honorifics or titles and, instead, the possible presence of others familiar vocatives, such as First Names, diminutive forms, nicknames or terms of endearment.

As far as the family interactions are concerned, as expected, all those between the Queen and her family members are informal, marked by the reciprocal use of the familiar *Tu*. The individuals considered part of her immediate family

are, for instance, her parents, her sister, her husband, her sons, and her grandchildren. Below are some demonstrations: example (14) depicts a conversation between a young Elizabeth and her mother, known as "The Queen Mother".

Protagonist	English original	Italian dubbing	Non-verbal context
THE QUEEN MOTHER	**You** have a great many other virtues. You can't be expected to know everything.	**Possiedi** molte altre virtù, **mia cara.** Non **puoi** mica pretendere di sapere tutto. (T)	They are sitted one in front of the other.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Well, no, that's the point, **Mummy**. I know almost nothing.	Ma è questo il punto, **mamma**. Io non so quasi nulla.	

EXAMPLE (14). Season 1; Episode 7 "*Scientia Potentia Est"*

The use of vocatives, such as *mummy (mamma)*, in these symmetrical informal interactions plays a central role and is quite prominent. However, there are some differences between the original English version and the Italian dubbed one. In the latter, for instance, a vocative or, more specifically, a term of endearment (*mia cara*), was added to the mother's words, likely to convey a deeper sense of affection and closeness between the two.

As Dickey (1997) pointed out in her research work, a speaker almost always address his/her family members of a younger generation by First Name, nickname, or kinship terms (15).

Protagonist	English original	Italian dubbing	Non-verbal context
QUEEN ELIZABETH	So, come along, tell me about school.	Dunque, **William**, raccontami della scuola.	They are having lunch together at Buckingham Palace.

WILLIAM	It's just, so much bigger than Ludgrove. I get lost all the time. […] **You** could get satellite TV as well. With hundreds of channels from all over the world.	È molto più grande di Ludgrove. Mi perdo di continuo. […] **Potresti** avere la TV satellitare. Con centinaia di canali da tutto il mondo. (T)
QUEEN ELIZABETH	What? And abandon the BBC? I can't do that.	Cosa? E lasciare la BBC? Non posso farlo.
WILLIAM	**You** wouldn't be abandoning the BBC, **Granny**.	Non **lasceresti** la BBC, **nonna**. (T)

EXAMPLE (15). Season 5; Episode 7 "*No Woman's Land"*

In this example (15), indeed, a conversation between Queen Elizabeth and her grandson William is shown, and here, once again it is possible to note that in the dubbed version the vocative *William* has been added. The child, in turn, addresses her with the familiar term *granny*, since, obviously the bond they share through their familiar blood relationship outweighs her position as a Queen.

As far as non-blood relations are concerned, family members who are not typically blood relatives may, for various reasons, have a less close relationship with the respondent compared to those who are directly and genetically related (Parkinson, Hajek 2004). Despite this, the interactions reported in the following examples are quite different.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**

LORD MOUNTBATTEN	Thank you for seeing me.	Grazie per avermi ricevuto.	They kiss on the cheeks.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Well, I've got a long-standing commitment at the theater, I'm afraid. But I thought we'd have an early supper before I go. Mommy's most put out she hasn't been invited. […]	Oh **figurati**, ho un impegno preso da tempo a teatro purtroppo. Ho pensato che potessimo cenare insieme prima che io vada. Mamma si è molto offesa di non essere stata invitata. (T) […]	
LORD MOUNTBATTEN	Under normal circumstances, uh, a mad rush to war might be explained as a play for legacy. He was in Winston's shadow for so long, a quick and successful war might look good on his record.	**Vedi**, in circostanze normali diciamo, una folle corsa alla guerra potrebbe essere spiegata come una sorta di riscatto. È rimasto all'ombra di Winston per così tanto tempo che una guerra rapida ed efficace potrebbe avere un buon riscontro per il suo curriculum. (T)	They are having lunch together.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	What are **you** suggesting that I do about it?	Secondo **te** come dovrei comportarmi? (T)	
LORD MOUNTBATTEN	You have your weekly private audience in which the two of you are. Observe him	Voi due avete i vostri incontri settimanali in cui siete soli. **Osservalo** con cura. **Ascoltalo** con	

	carefully. Listen to him closely. Read your cabinet minutes minutely. Speak your mind. […]	attenzione. **Leggi** il verbale di gabinetto. **Chiedigli** spiegazioni. **Dì** ciò che pensi. (T) […]	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	And frankly, **Dickie**, the older and grander **you** get, the more common **you** become. [KISSES]	E francamente, **Dickie**, più **invecchi**, più **diventi** grossolano e sfacciato. (T) [KISSES]	They laugh and again kiss on the cheeks.

EXAMPLE (16). Season 2; Episode 1 "*Misadventure"*

As reported in (16), a young Queen Elizabeth shares a relationship of mutual informality with Lord Mountbatten, the uncle of her husband Philipe. Throughout most of their conversation, however, there are no clear factors or overt signs that would immediately indicate the use of the informal *Tu*[28]. Nevertheless, the translators made a conscious choice opting for this reciprocal form of address, influenced by the sense of familiarity that the two share, as well as the presence of the vocative *Dickie* used by the Queen in her final line, a name that is either a first name or, more likely, a nickname. Additionally, it is worth noting that Lord Mountbatten offers Elizabeth advice when she asks for it, which further suggests a strong, close relationship between them, marked by both emotional closeness and mutual respect, as well as affection.

What may be highly questionable is the interaction observable in (17), governed by the use of the reciprocal *Tu* between the Queen and Alice, Philip's mother.

[28] Actually, several factors may suggest the formal way of addressing. Firstly, they are in an official audience at Buckingham Palace, which typically calls for a more formal tone. Secondly, Lord Mountbatten is significantly older than Elizabeth, which could prompt her to adopt a deferential V-form. Since this does not occur, this situation again highlights that the factor of familiarity tends to prevail over others, such as the context or the age gap between the interlocutors.

Protagonist	English original	Italian dubbing	Non-verbal context
ALICE (PHILIPE'S MOM)	**Your Majesty.** [BOW]	**Vostrà Maestà.** [BOW]	Alice bows.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	We're so happy to have **you** here with us, safe and sound.	Siamo contenti di aver**ti** qui con noi sana e salva. (T)	
ALICE (PHILIPE'S MOM)	**You're** very kind. Too kind. [EXHALES DEEPLY] Bubbikins?	**Sei** davvero gentile. Troppo gentile. (T) [EXHALES DEEPLY] Birbantello?	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	I'm afraid **your** dear son is indisposed at the moment. He'll come and visit **you** soon. **You** must be tired, we'll find someone to take **you** to your room.	Temo che il **tuo** amato figlio non sia al momento disponibile. Verrà a trovar**ti** presto. **Sarai** molto stanca, troveremo qualcuno che **ti** accompagni in camera. (T)	
ALICE (PHILIPE'S MOM)	Thank you. […] **Your Majesty**. [BOW]	Grazie, grazie. […] **Vostra Maestà**. [BOW]	 Alice bows.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	I just came to make sure **you** had everything you need.	Sono venuta ad assicurarmi che **avessi** tutto. (T)	
ALICE (PHILIPE'S MOM)	Oh, yes. I have more than everything.	Oh, ma certo. Ho molto più di quello che mi serve.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	We'll get **you** some more cigarettes, and I promise we'll have a	Nel frattempo, **ti** farò avere altre sigarette e prometto che faremo	

	big jumble sale of all the palace valuables on our return.	una vendita di beneficienza dei nostri oggetti di valore appena possibile.	Alice gets up to take a bow and the Queen tells her to remain seated.
	Please.	**Stai** pure. (T)	

EXAMPLE (17). Season 3; Episode 4 "*Bubbikins"*

Given their relatively infrequent interactions (since even Philip, her own son, does not have a particularly close relation with her), it seems unlikely that they share such a sense of familiarity. Additionally, throughout their conversation, starting from their first encounter, there are numerous signs suggesting that a formal reciprocal address should be used instead:

- Firstly, Alice addresses Elizabeth with the formal title *Your Majesty* and bows whenever she sees her, which indicates a clear adherence to the formal protocol. Given this behavior, it seems improbable that she would then switch to the informal allocutive form, especially during their first meeting after so many years;
- Secondly, in general, when there is no direct blood relation and a noticeable generational age difference between speakers, it is less common for individuals to use informal reciprocal address with the parents of their spouse (Parkinson, Hajek 2004), and this is especially true when there is no strong personal bond between them.

Considering these factors, it remains unclear why the translator of the dubbed version chose to employ the reciprocal *Tu* between the two women. All the conversational elements suggest that a formal and reciprocal V-form of address would be more appropriate in this context[29].

[29] This reasoning is further supported by the fact that Italian subtitles do, instead, present the V-form as the reciprocal form of address, as in:
Queen Elizabeth: - *Siamo contenti di averla qui con noi sana e salva*.
Alice: - *Lei è davvero gentile*. *Troppo gentile.*

Another significant factor, apart from strong sense of closeness, which allows the use of reciprocal *Tu-Tu* is age proximity. Indeed, similarity in age plays a critical role in overriding the absence of a blood relationship, particularly in sibling-like relations formed through marriage, such as those with siblings-in-law or siblings of fiancé(e) (Hajek 2004). This may be one of the main reasons why the relationship between Queen Elizabeth and Lord Antony Snowdon (ex-husband of Margaret, the Queen's sister) is marked by a mutual *Tu* exchange.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
LORD SNOWDON (TONY)	**Your Majesty**.	**Vostra Maestà**.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**Dear Tony**. [KISSES] So kind of you to come. I know how busy **you** are.	**Caro Tony**. [KISSES] Grazie per essere venuto. So quanto **sei** impegnato. (T)	Tony kisses the Queen's hand and then they kiss on the cheeks.
LORD SNOWDON (TONY)	Before we start, just look what I found in my studio the other day.	Prima di iniziare, **guarda** cos'ho trovato nel mio studio l'altro giorno. (T)	Tony gives her an old photo of them.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	How young we were.	Come eravamo giovani.	
LORD SNOWDON (TONY)	How pretty **you** were.	E **tu** com'eri bella. (T)	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Oh, stop it. I've always loved this picture.	Oh, **smettila**. Mi è sempre piaciuta questa foto. (T)	
LORD SNOWDON (TONY)	All **yours**, **ma'am**.	Tutta **tua**, **Maestà**. (T)	

EXAMPLE (18). Season 3; Episode 10 "*Crie de coeur"*

At the very beginning, Tony addresses her using the formal title *Your Majesty*, but the Queen quickly sets an informal tone by calling him *Dear Tony*.

Their interaction further reflects their close and long-standing relation, evident in the warm and relaxed tone of their exchange. What may sound a bit contradictory in the Italian version is Tony's final line: "*tutta tua, Maestà*". This peculiar combination of the informal *Tu* + Title sounds unusual, but it may be intended to convey affection while still maintaining awareness of the high status.

One of the last persons with whom the Queen exchanges a reciprocal *Tu* is Eileen Parker, the wife of Philip's private secretary. Beyond their professional connection, the two men have been close friends for many years, which suggests that Elizabeth and Eileen have also known each other for a significant amount of time.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
QUEEN ELIZABETH	I'm afraid I don't know what **you**'re talking about.	Io non so di cosa **stai** parlando. (T)	They are sitted on the couch, at Eileen's house.
EILEEN PARKER	Then read this.	Allora **leggi** questo. (T)	Eileen stands, takes a letter, and gives it to the Queen.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Hmm.	Mmh.	
EILEEN PARKER	Don't bury it, **ma'am**, or sweep it away. It's there, in black and white.	Non **far** finta di nulla, non **rimuoverlo**. È tutto lì, nero su bianco. (T)	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Might I ask **you** a favor? That you hold off your announcement, just while we work out what to do, in light of this?	Posso chieder**ti** un favore? Di aspettare a renderlo pubblico, solo finchè non capiamo come comportarci alla luce dei fatti. (T)	

EXAMPLE (19). Season 2; Episode 3 "*Lisbon"*

The context in which their conversation takes place is private: indeed, the Monarch visits Eileen at her house to discuss an awkward topic, adultery, rumored to involve both of their husbands. Several factors could explain the use of the reciprocal *Tu* in this interaction: the informal and intimate nature of the context, the long-standing relationship between the two women, and the shared sense of solidarity, mutual understanding, and emotional alignment that bonds them in this particular moment. However, in the original English version, Eileen does address the Queen with the formal vocative *Ma'am* at one point, which is omitted in the dubbed Italian version. This vocative is used in English to show respect to a female superior, which suggests that, despite their familiarity, Eileen's relationship with the Queen was still one of respect. It's possible that, in the Italian dubbing, the formality was diminished, and the more informal T-form was used instead, possibly to align the conversational tone with how their relationship was perceived in that specific context.

4.2.5. Diana's reciprocal T-form interactions

Regarding Princess Diana's informal reciprocal interactions, a similar pattern can be observed. Most of her family interactions are characterized by the use of mutual *Tu* exchanges[30], as well as informal vocatives, especially nicknames and terms of endearment with which she addresses her two children, William and Harry (20).

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
DIANA SPENCER	I'll see you both tomorrow night. Just the three of us.	Ci vediamo domani sera, saremo solo noi tre.	They are talking on the phone.
HARRY	Okay, love **you**, Mummy.	Okay, **ti** voglio bene. (T)	

[30] With the exception of the Queen, with whom, as will be observed, Diana had an asymmetric relationship, using *Lei* while receiving *Tu*, at least as long as she was part of the Royal Family.

DIANA SPENCER	Oh, I love **you**, **my darling**. I love you.	Oh, **te** ne voglio anch'io, **tesoro**. Vi amo. (T)
WILLIAM	Love **you**, Mummy.	**Ti** voglio bene. (T)
DIANA SPENCER	I love you, **wombat**.	Anche io, tantissimo.

EXAMPLE (20). Season 6; Episode 3 "*Dis-Moi-Oui"*

In this context, her use of kinship terms such as *love* and *my darling,* highlights the affection she has for them (Bruti, Perego 2008) and further underlines their close bond. As already observed in §1.2, specific vocatives may be strongly culturally connoted and thus omitted in the dubbed version. An example of this can be seen in the affectionate nickname *wombat* that Diana use to refer to her eldest son, William. This term, referring to an Australian marsupial, has no direct equivalent in Italian, nor does it carry the same cultural weight in the target language. The nickname was given to William during a Royal tour in Australia, making it a deeply personal and too specific of another culture to understand it. To prevent confusion or the introduction of meaningless Italian equivalent, the translators opted for its omission in the dubbed version, using instead a superlative term and trying to preserve the original emotional weight.

In the series, only one of Diana's friendships, characterized by a consistent reciprocal exchange of informal address in all the interactions, is depicted: the one with the Irish doctor James Colthurst, one of her closest friends.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
JAMES COLTHURST	**You**'d record your side of the story, saying only what **you** want to say, all in **your** own words, and then Morton would	**Tu** registrerai la storia dal tuo punto di vista, dicendo solo ciò che **vuoi**, con le **tue** parole, e Morton scriverà il libro basandosi solo su	They are talking on the couch in an informal context.

	write the book from those recordings.	quelle. (T)
DIANA SPENCER	If he and I don't meet, how would he get the recordings?	Se non lo incontro, come avrà le registrazioni?
JAMES COLTHURST	There would have to be a middleman.	Tramite un intermediario.
DIANA SPENCER	And **you** would do that?	E saresti **tu**? (T)
JAMES COLTHURST	If **you** wanted me to.	Sì, se **tu** lo volessi. (T)

EXAMPLE (21). Season 5; Episode 2 "*The System"*

The use of informal address in the dubbed version aligns perfectly with the nature of their relationship, marked by trust, closeness, age proximity and friendship. This choice ensures that the emotional bond they share is accurately conveyed to the audience.

4.3 Asymmetrical relationships

Typically, with the prevalence of the superiority-inferiority parameter, the inferior individual uses *Lei* to address the superior, who, in turn, responds with *Tu*.

4.3.1. King George's asymmetrical interactions

This dynamic is evident in (22), where the interaction involves King George VI and various members of his staff, including butlers and the equerry.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
KING GEORGE VI to his BUTLERS	Question for you both. Spot of blood in my spittle yesterday morning. Ought I be concerned?	Ho una domanda per entrambi, ho notato un po' di sangue dopo aver tossito ieri mattina. È da ritenersi grave?	The King's butlers are helping him dressing.

BUTLER JAMES	Well, I'm not a doctor, **sir**.	Non sono un dottore, **Maestà**.	
BUTLER 2	If it's just specks, **sir**…	Non se è solo qualche goccia, **Maestà**…	
KING GEORGE VI	It was.	Lo era.	
BUTLER 2 to KING GEORGE VI	It's probably just the cold weather.	Probabilmente è questo clima freddo.	
KING GEORGE VI	The carriage will be cold too, **Peter**.	Anche in carrozza farà freddo, **Peter**.	
EQUERRY PETER TOWNSEND	I've arranged for there to be hot water bottles, **sir**.	Faccio preparare delle bottiglie di acqua calda.	
KING GEORGE VI to JAMES	Oh, for Christ's sakes, **James**! You're making bloody hard going out of this collar!	Ma Cristo santo, **James**! Quanto ci vuole ad abbottonare un colletto!	Butler James is taking a while to close the King's collar. The Monarch gets nervous and shouts at him.
BUTLER JAMES	Sorry, **sir**. Nearly there.	**Scusi maestà**, ho quasi fatto. (L)	
KING GEORGE VI to JAMES	You're doing it on purpose!	Lo **stai** facendo di proposito! (T)	
BUTLER 2 to KING GEORGE VI	Now, **Sir**, we're not going to let something as small as a collar agitate us, are we?	Mi **permetta maestà**, non **vorrà** alterarsi per una cosa insignificante come un colletto. (L)	

EXAMPLE (22). Season 1; Episode 1 "*Wolferton Splash"*

These subordinates, occupying lower ranks in the social hierarchy, address the King with the formal V-form, combined with the deferential vocative *Sir*, which is

rendered in the Italian dubbed version with the term *Maestà*. Conversely, the King, fully aligned with his position of superiority, addresses his employees using the informal T-form, signaling his higher status in the relationship and further emphasizing the asymmetry by the use of their first names, *Peter* and *James*, without any formal markers. Moreover, his position of authority is highlighted through the face-threatening acts[31] directed at his employees, which assert his dominance and reinforce the social distance between them. In light of the various factors that may influence and contribute to the rise of an asymmetrical relationship, as previously discussed, it is clear that in this specific instance (example 22 above), the decisive element is the difference in social status. While other factors, such as age, might often play a role in determining address forms, in this case, age is unlikely to have had any significant impact, as the interlocutors are approximately of the same age. Similarly, the context of their interaction and the nature of their interpersonal relationship are secondary factors with respect to their differing social statuses. Considering Ulrych's framework, this situation exemplifies an S → I (superior to inferior) relationship, and the King's choice of address further underlines this dynamic.

4.3.2. The Queen's asymmetrical interactions

A similar situation (i.e. S → I relationship) can be found in (23), in a conversation taking place between Queen Elizabeth and Emily, a young stablewoman who has recently been hired at the Royal palace.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**

[31] In this specific situation, the face-threatening acts (FTAs) primarily threaten the interlocutor's positive face, essentially expressing disapproval, criticism, or complaints (*You're making bloody hard going out of this collar!* and *You're doing it on purpose!* pronounced in a louder and more aggressive tone*)*. These acts, indeed, compromise the interlocutor's desire to be liked, respected, or valued by others, which is central in maintaining his positive face. It is speaker's responsibility to avoid this, by using mitigating strategies such as redressive actions, which, if not used, increase the speaker's imposition on the interlocutor and lead to a more direct or confrontational interaction (Helmbrecht 2003).

QUEEN ELIZABETH	It's Emily, isn't it?	**Tu** sei Emily, giusto? (T)	They meet in the Royal stable.
EMILY	Yes, **ma'am**. [BOW]	Sì, **Maestà**. [BOW]	Emily bows.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	How are **you** settling in?	Come **ti trovi** qui? (T)	
EMILY	Very well. Thank you, **ma'am**.	Molto bene. Grazie, **Maestà**.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	They keeping **you** hard at work?	Ottimo, **ti** fanno lavorare sodo?	
EMILY	Of course.	Certo.	

EXAMPLE (23). Season 5; Episode 6 "*Ipatiev House"*

In this instance, the Queen addresses Emily using the informal T-form, which is noteworthy since it contrasts with the typical linguistic behavior of the Monarch when addressing her subordinates. As observed in the previous example (10), indeed, she generally uses the formal V-form when referring to her employees, however, in the case of Emily, she opts for the more familiar forms. Thus, the most significant factor influencing this choice of address in this scene is probably Emily's age: in fact, at this point of the TV series, Queen Elizabeth is in her sixties and presents a considerable age difference from Emily, who is depicted as a very young woman (presumably around her twenties). This shows how social norms governing address forms are not rigid, but rather flexible and depending to the specific characteristics of the individuals involved.

Another instance where age seems to be the determining factor in creating an asymmetrical interaction is illustrated in the following example (24): a dialogue between Queen Elizabeth and Lady Romsey, the wife of a very distant cousin of Prince Philip.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**

QUEEN ELIZABETH	The Duke of Edinburgh said **you** might have a theory about who's to blame for the murder of the Russian Imperial family.	Il Duca di Edimburgo mi ha riferito che **avresti** una teoria sui colpevoli dello sterminio della famiglia Imperiale Russa. (T)	They meet for the first time in Buckingham Palace.
LADY ROMSEY	Ah, it's not my theory, **ma'am**. I'm just a curious student.	Ah, non è una mia teoria **Maestà**. Sono solo una studentessa curiosa.	

EXAMPLE (24). Season 5; Episode 6 "*Ipatiev House"*

During their interaction, Lady Romsey addresses the Monarch formally, using vocatives such as *Ma'am*, whereas the Queen, in contrast, addresses her in a more informal manner. Taking into account that this is their first encounter and that essentially Lady Romsey is a stranger visiting the palace for the first time, it is reasonable to expect a more formal exchange. In such a situation, one would typically use the formal V-form, in order to maintain the social distance. In the Italian-dubbed version this expectation is not met, and is presented an immediate use of the informal T-form. In this case the choice may be influenced, besides their hierarchical difference, by the considerable age gap between the Queen and Lady Romsey, who is about thirty years younger.

Parent-type relatives, by engagement or marriage, do not establish the same type of address relationship that one typically has with their biological parents: when addressing the parents of one's fiancé(e), this is not surprising, given the only partially formalized familial relationship that usually exists before the marriage. In these cases, speakers often deal with a considerable level of uncertainty when determining the appropriate pronoun to use, as the relationship is still in a formative stage (Hajek 2004). In light of this, the decision in the dubbed version of creating an asymmetrical relationship (illustated in (25) below) between King George VI and Philip is completely reasonable.

Protagonist	English original	Italian dubbing	Non-verbal context
KING GEORGE VI	**You** understand, the titles, the dukedom... They're not the job.	**Devi** capire che i titoli che **hai**, il ducato… Non è quello il lavoro. (T)	They are talking quite close to each other, on a pier, before a fishing trip.
PHILIP	Sir?	Prego?	
KING GEORGE VI	She is the essence of **your** duty. Loving her. Protecting her. Of course **you'll** miss **your** career. But doing this for her.	Lei è essenza del **tuo** dovere. **Dovrai** amarla, **dovrai prendertene** cura. A volte **ti** mancherà la **tua** carriera, ma lo **farai** per lei. (T)	
PHILIP	I understand, **Sir**.	Comprendo, **Altezza**.	
KING GEORGE VI	Do you, **boy**? Do **you** really?	Davvero, **ragazzo**? **Capisci** davvero? (T)	
PHILIP	I think so.	Penso di sì.	

EXAMPLE (25). Season 1; Episode 1 "*Wolferton Splash"*

At this point in the narrative, George is still the King and this, alone, could warrant a formal form of address when referring to him. Moreover, since Philip is about to marry Elizabeth but has not yet officially joined the family through marriage, it is understandable the choice of a formal address. In addition to these factors, the generational difference also contributes to the choice of address. Speakers are less likely to use reciprocal forms of address with the parents of their fiancés or spouses, as they want to express deference and respect. Nevertheless, the shift from engagement to marriage, along with the increased contact and familiarity that comes with it, allows for some change over time. After marriage, the use of reciprocal *Tu* between a speaker and their spouse's parents tends to increase

significantly[32] (Hajek 2004). Unfortunately, this shift is not verifiable in the TV series, as King George passes away shortly after the marriage, and no further interactions between him and Philip are represented. Moreover, the vocatives used in this exchange are crucial for understanding the dynamics of their relationship. Philip addresses the King with the formal *Sir* (*Altezza*, in the dubbed version), while King George refers to Philip as *boy*[33]. Huddleston and Pullum (2000, in Bruti & Perego 2008) note that vocative terms often convey significant information about the speaker's social relations or emotional attitude toward the addressee. In this case, the King's use of the informal *boy* likely reflects a perceived closeness, signaling his desire to establish a strong connection with his daughter's future husband. This could be interpreted as the King assuming a paternal role, offering advices to Philip almost as a father would do with his son.

4.3.3. The asymmetric relationship between Diana and Queen Elizabeth

It will now be examined one of the most central and complex relationships depicted in the TV series: the one between Queen Elizabeth and Princess Diana (example (26) below).

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
QUEEN ELIZABETH to LADY DIANA	Now what we have here is a rather special box of chocolates. Some are	Questa è una scatola davvero speciale di cioccolatini. Alcuni sono della nostra	Diana is choosing her engagement ring.

[32] However, it is important to consider an important detail: this episode of the TV series is set in the late 1940s. In contemporary society, particularly with younger generations, this tendency has presumably diminished, leading to a more informal relationship being established from the very beginning.

[33] The term *boy*, translated as *ragazzo*, basically lacks a true equivalent in the everyday language of Italian speakers, since, typically, it is not used as a common term of address and may even sound odd. A more acceptable alternative would have been to use the first name (i.e. *Davvero, Filippo?*), but even in this case, it would have sounded more natural in Italian to avoid using a vocative altogether. However, the use of *ragazzo* in the dubbed version is due to the necessity to retain an address term, which is difficult to omit due to lip-syncing constraints. Additionally, it is important to remember that the source language is heavily reliant on allocutive forms, and in dubbing, it is rarely considered necessary to remain faithful to the target language, if this differs significantly from the source one. (Pavesi 1996:126).

	ours, passed down through the family, and some are for sale. Anyway, the idea is that **you** pick one.	famiglia da generazioni, altri sono in vendita. In ogni caso, l'idea è che **tu** ne scelga uno. (T)	

EXAMPLE (26). Season 4; Episode 3 "*Fairytale"*

Initially, their relationship appears relatively cordial, following a pattern similar to the one observed in the previous scene: Diana addresses the Queen with a V-form, and, also before the marriage to Prince Charles, Queen Elizabeth addresses Diana informally. After Diana's marriage to Charles (which is, as well known, troubled and complicated), the dynamic between the two women remains almost unchanged, and actually, it becomes somewhat ambiguous and peculiar. Example (27), perfectly shows this situation:

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Welcome back.	Bentornata.	
DIANA SPENCER	Thank you, **Mama.** **You** said I should always call **you** that.	Grazie, **Mamma**. Mi ha detto **lei** di **chiamarla** così. (L)	The Queen seems almost surprised because of the vocative used.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Of course. [KISSES] […]	Ma certo. [KISSES] […]	They kiss each other on the cheeks and sit on the chairs.
DIANA SPENCER	I'm struggling.	Sto lottando.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Struggling? **My dear**, **you**'ve just had a triumph.	Lottando? **Mia cara, hai** appena trionfato. (T)	

DIANA SPENCER	I don't consider it a triumph if at the end of it, my husband and I are wretchedly unhappy.	Non lo considero un trionfo se alla fine mio marito ed io siamo tremendamente infelici.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Look at these pictures of you both everywhere. Are **you** really telling me that's unhappiness?	Ci sono foto di voi ovunque. Mi **stai** davvero dicendo che quella è infelicità? (T)	
DIANA SPENCER	Well, not in that moment, no. He resents me, resents the attention I get.	Beh, non in quei momenti. Non mi sopporta, non sopporta l'attenzione che mi danno.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	And why is that?	E perché mai?	
DIANA SPENCER	I don't know. I was hoping **you** could tell me. He's **your** son.	Non lo so. Speravo me lo potesse dire **lei**. È **suo** figlio. (L)	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Because I've been a terrible mother? Is that what **you**'ve come here to tell me?	Perchè sono stata una madre terribile? È questo che **sei** venuta a dirmi? (T)	The Queen's tone becomes annoyed and accusatory.
DIANA SPENCER	No. All I want is to play for the team.	No. Voglio solo far parte della squadra.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**You**'re the Princess of Wales. So of course **you**'re part of the team.	**Sei** la Principessa del Galles. È ovvio che **tu** ne faccia parte. (T)	
DIANA SPENCER	Then show me.	Me lo **dimostri**. (L)	

QUEEN ELIZABETH	I think we've gone as far as we can. [BELL RINGS] We can continue another time.	Ci siamo spinte anche troppo in là per ora. [BELL RINGS] Continueremo un'altra volta.	The Queen stands and rings the bell to tell the butlers that the audience is over.
DIANA SPENCER	Don't dismiss me, please. Don't push me away.	Non mi **congedi**, **la prego**. Non mi **allontani**. (L)	Diana suddenly stands and gets closer to the Queen.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	What?	Cosa?	
DIANA SPENCER	**Mama**. That's all I want. It's all any of us want from **you**. Is it too much to ask?	**Mamma**. Voglio solo questo. È quello che vogliamo tutti da **lei**. È forse chiedere troppo?	Diana, without consent nor approval, literally throws herself into the Queen's arms, who does not return the embrace. The Queen leaves

EXAMPLE (27). Season 4; Episode 6 "*Terra Nullius"*

Diana, despite already being officially part of the Royal family, as the wife of the future heir to the throne, continues to address the Queen using the formal V-form in the dubbed version. At the same time, however, she employs a vocative that is notably informal, theoretically suggesting an high level of familiarity and closeness. The use of *Lei*, typically associated with formality and a lack of intimacy, suggests that speakers addressing immediate family members with this pronoun likely do not share particularly close relationships with them. This pattern might stem from various factors, such as infrequent interactions, a strained or emotionally distant relationship, or even a preference expressed by the interlocutors themselves to maintain formality (Hajek 2004). The presence of *Lei-Tu* dynamics within a family setting highlights an asymmetrical relationship, as noted by Brown and Gilman (1960, in Hajek 2004).

Typically, verbal and non-verbal forms of address work together to strengthen the intended message. However, they can also mutually contradict, as

gestures, posture, or facial expressions may betray the speaker's true intentions, even if their words suggest otherwise. Moreover, when linguistic markers are absent or ambiguous, non-verbal signals often become the sole means of interpreting the nature of the social interaction (Ulrych, 1996:145). The address modes used, together with the non-reciprocal physical proximity and the contrastive effect proposed the Italian translation between the formal V-form and the informal vocative, is particularly striking and effective. A mother-in-law, aware of her role within the family, may choose to address her daughter-in-law using *Tu*, especially if the latter comes from a social background perceived as more modest. Despite this, the daughter-in-law may continue to use the formal *Lei* when addressing her, as a sign of respect and acknowledgment of the family hierarchy. If the relationship between the women goes through a significant and positive event like marriage or the birth of a grandchild, the mother-in-law might suggest that the daughter-in-law call her *Mom* (or *Mama*, in this case) emphasizing a closer and more familial bond. However, this request for greater intimacy might not extend to the use of the informal *Tu*, thus preserving a level of formal distance that reflects respect for the mother-in-law's role (Suomela-Härmä, 2003:306) The scene seems carefully designed to convey, through the audiovisual canal, the profound sense of isolation and struggle that Princess Diana has been experiencing since becoming part of the Royal Family. This emotional effect is further intensified by the strategic use of forms of address, especially in the closing exchanges of their conversation. This interplay serves to heighten the viewer's awareness of the underlying tension, creating a palpable sense of discomfort and allowing them to perceive her struggles on a more personal level.

4.4 Shifts in the mode of address

This section focuses on how shifts in address modes are managed during the dubbing from English into Italian. In audiovisual translations, as seen in chapter two, this process is often represented to follow the natural flow and authenticity of

real-life conversations, giving the impression of spontaneity and realism in the dialogue[34]. However, as it will be possible to observe in several examples, films and TV series do not always adhere to this "convention". Transitions in address pronouns sometimes occur abruptly, without any explicit acknowledgment or "warning." In these instances, the shift may take place from one scene to the other, leaving the audience to infer the change based on the evolving relationship between characters and the context. Indeed, in Italian dubbed films and TV series, it is quite common to start new scenes with a change in pronouns, thereby avoiding the exact moment in which the address shift explicitly takes place. By doing this, the transition is located in an unspecified part of the story, to be inferred by the viewer, thus expanding the narration beyond the boundaries of the film, and simultaneously safeguarding its social-pragmatic coherence (Pavesi 2012).

4.4.1. Shifts in King George's interactions

The first example of address' shift, (28), occurs in a conversation between King George VI and the Prime Minister Winston Churchill, during their first official audience.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL	**Your Majesty**.	**Vostra Maestà**.	The Prime Minister bows and kisses the King's hand.
KING GEORGE VI	The people have spoken. **Your** party has won the election, and as.. as their Sovereign, I invite **you** to form a government in my name.	Il popolo ha parlato, il **suo** partito ha vinto le elezioni. Quindi, in quanto Sovrano, **la** invito a formare un governo nel mio nome. (L)	

[34] As in this extract from Season 1, Episode 6:

PRINCE PHILIP	I suppose it had better be "Philip" from now on.	Chiamami Filippo da questo momento.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL	An honor I gratefully accept.	Con onore e gratitudine accetto.	
KING GEORGE VI	My dear **Winston**. Congratulations. Would it be terribly unconstitutional of me to say how happy I am? I've missed our weekly chats. **Your** predecessor is a fine parliamentarian. A good man… But, well, as company, as a companion… [LAUGHS] Now you may congratulate me in return.	Mio caro **Winston**. Congratulazioni. **Credi** che risulterebbe incostituzionale se dicessi che sono molto felice? Mi mancavano le nostre chiaccherate. Il **tuo** predecessore è un raffinato parlamentare. Un brav'uomo. Ma, **vedi**, in compagnia... **Vedi Winston**[35], lui è... [LAUGHS]. Non **vuoi** congratularti con me adesso? (T)	They shake hands, smiling.
PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL	What for?	E per cosa?	
KING GEORGE VI	My rapid recovery.	Per la mia rapida guarigione.	

EXAMPLE (28). Season 1; Episode 1 "*Wolferton Splash"*

At the beginning of their meeting, the tone is strictly professional and formal, with the King addressing Churchill using the formal *Lei* pronoun in the Italian dubbed version, i.e. the V-form. Following the Royal protocol, the King formally proposes to Churchill to form a government in his name. Once Churchill accepts the assignment, a shift in the address occurs in the Italian dubbed version: the King starts using the informal *Tu*, reflecting a greater sense of closeness or connection.

[35]The addition of a vocative in the dubbed version with respect to the original, is peculiar: the repetition of the first name in Italian, indeed, often conveys an excessive warmth and familiarity, even more than the intended in the original language. In English, however, the repeated use of the first name can emphasize a position of power or indicate an attempt to assert control. As Kramer (1975:206) stated, "frequent use of address can indicate who is in control or is trying to gain control of a situation" (Pavesi 1996:127).

The shift is represented in the original English dialogue through the King's use of Churchill's first name, *Winston*, which is accompanied by the term *dear*, further enhancing the perceived proximity between the two men[36]. Generally, if a first name is used as a term of address in English, the same vocative will similarly be mantained in the Italian-dubbed version (Pavesi 2012). Churchill, despite the King's shift to *Tu*, continues to address the monarch with the formal *Lei*, adhering to the protocol and underscoring the hierarchical nature of their roles, actually rendering their relationship asymmetrical[37].

4.4.2. Shifts in the Queen's interactions

In the Italian translation of English dialogues, a shift from a formal to a more informal vocative does not always lead to a corresponding change in the address pronouns (from *Lei* to *Tu*), since it is not a strict rule. Indeed, the expected correlation between the use of a first name accompanied by an informal pronoun and the combination of a title and surname with a formal pronoun is not always observed (Pavesi 2012). In some cases, first names may be used with the formal *Lei* pronoun in Italian dubbing, even when the English version uses a more informal form of address[38] (Pavesi 2015). By doing so, it is possible to keep the target text close to the source text to facilitate synchronization (Pavesi 2012) and to capture more nuanced shades of social relationships, including various degrees of respect and familiarity, that the simple dichotomy *Tu/Lei* can not fully express (Renzi 1995; Scaglia 2003, in Pavesi 2012). This situation is illustrated in (29):

[36] Acording to Formentelli (2009), "the switch to informal vocatives is initiated by the superior and never by the inferior".

[37]Non-reciprocal shifts may signal the unequal power dynamic between the parties, highlighting the dominance of one over the other (Pavesi 2012). In this specific scene, Churchill refrains from using the informal pronoun and continues to address the King with the formal *Lei*, likely because of his awareness of the power inequality and of the Royal protocol, which requires the monarch to be addressed with formality during official meetings.

[38] The frequent use of *Lei* + First Name, without title, creates a shift toward a more familiar or close interaction. This combination represents an intermediate stage, which is not at the level of familiarity implied by the reciprocal use of *Tu*, but also not a "simple" form of *Lei* (the formal, polite address), even when a title is not used. Furthermore, this structure *Lei* + First Name is not used reciprocally: it is most often employed by someone in a position of authority or superiority, which instead is referred to by the inferior with a title (Pavesi 1996:120; as in the example, *Your Majesty* or *Ma'am*).

Protagonist	English original	Italian dubbing	Non-verbal context
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**Tommy**.	**Tommy**.	Tommy walks behind the Queen in Buckingham Palace.
TOMMY LASCELLES	Good morning, **Your Majesty**.	**Maestà**.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**You** tracked me down.	Mi **ha** seguita. (L)	
TOMMY LASCELLES	Slightly, **ma'am**. If your Majesty has no objection, I though we might attend to the Cabinet papers after your meeting with Their Majesties. **Your** schedule allows for 20 minutes.	Vagamente, **Maestà**. Se non **ha** obiezioni pensavo di dedicarci ai documenti di gabinetto dopo l'incontro con le Loro Maestà. Secondo la **sua** agenda **ha** 20 minuti. (L)	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	For the papers?	Per i documenti?	
TOMMY LASCELLES	No, **ma'am**, twenty minutes with Their Majesties, then directly on to the paperwork.	No, **Maestà**, venti minuti con le Loro Maestà, poi direttamente sulle pratiche.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	And then?	E poi?	
TOMMY LASCELLES	Things will become more manageable once everything settles down.	Sarà tutto più gestibile quando tutto si sistemerà.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Will it?	Ovvero?	

TOMMY LASCELLES	Once the palace is **your** main residence.	Quando il palazzo diventerà la **sua** residenza. (L)

EXAMPLE (29). Season 1; Episode 3 "*Windsor"*

Queen Elizabeth, having recently ascended to the throne, addresses her personal secretary by his first name, *Tommy*; despite this, she addresses him with the formal V-form represented in the verb morphology. Certainly, recognizing her High-Status identity[39], Tommy addresses her with the pronoun *Lei* and uses vocatives that express solemnity and deep respect, such as *Your Majesty* or *ma'am*, in deference to her position. In example (30) below, a shift in the mode of address between this two characters occurs, albeit unilaterally.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
TOMMY LASCELLES	You wished to see me, **Your Majesty**?	Voleva vedermi, **Maestà**?	They are in the Queen's office.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Yes, **Tommy**. I know how much my father depended on **you**. And how closely you worked together. Which is why I wanted to ask **your** advice. […]	Sì, Tommy. So bene quanto mio padre si fidasse di **te** e quanto lavoraste a stretto contatto, per questo vorrei chieder**ti** un consiglio. (T) […]	
TOMMY LASCELLES	I'm not sure if her Majesty is aware, but shortly before **your** father died, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, came,	Non so se Vostra Maestà è al corrente, ma poco prima che **suo** padre morisse, il Segretario degli Esteri, Mister Eden,	

[39] This term is used by Musumeci (1991): when the identity of the interlocutor is known to have high social prestige.

	begging his late Majesty to intervene, if not on an official level, then on a personal one. As a friend.	venne ad implorare il defunto Re di intervenire, se non a livello ufficiale, a livello personale. (L)	

EXAMPLE (30). Season 1; Episode 3 *"Windsor"*

The Queen begins to address Tommy with the informal *Tu*. This change is noticeable in the Italian-dubbed version, but not in the original English version, since Elizabeth had already used his first name in the previous scene, earlier suggesting a more informal relationship. This shift in the Italian version may be motivated by a perceived increase in the Queen's trust towards her personal secretary, reflecting a deeper psychological and professional bond that has developed between them. The relationship between Queen Elizabeth and her personal secretary, Tommy, takes an intresting turn when, in a later episode within the same season, the Queen returns to use the formal V-form when addressing him (31).

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
TOMMY LASCELLES	**Your Majesty** may or may not be aware, but this is my retirement year.	**Maestà**, non so se ne **è** al corrente, ma quest'anno andrò in pensione. (L)	Tommy walks behind the Queen in Buckingham Palace.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Is it really? How long has it been?	Davvero? Dopo quanti anni?	
TOMMY LASCELLES	Thirty-three years, **Ma'am**, serving four sovereigns.	Trentatrè anni, **Maestà**, ho servito quattro sovrani.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	One can hardly imagine the place without **you**. I'd like	Il palazzo non sarà lo stesso senza di **lei**. Vorrei che **sapesse**	They stop and talk one in front of the other.

	you to know how grateful we all are to **you**.	quanto **le** siamo grati tutti noi per i **suoi** anni di servizio. (L)
TOMMY LASCELLES	Thank you, **Ma'am**.	Grazie, **Maestà**.

EXAMPLE (31). Season 1; Episode 7 *"Scientia Potentia Est"*

This shift is particularly surprising since she had already transitioned to the more informal T-form, signaling a change in their dynamic. This situation appears unexpected and lacking of a clear motivation, as there seems to be no significant narrative event to justify the return to the formal address. In some cases, this type of shift is intentional and serves a narrative purpose: for instance, transitions from the T-form to the V-form are sometimes employed for intersemiotic explicitation, to convey the cognitive, interpersonal, and affective meanings expressed through nonverbal elements from the original version to verbal elements in the dubbed version, and emphasizing crucial moments in the storyline or marking a change in the interpersonal relationship between characters (Pavesi 2015:117). However, there are other instances where shifts in pronouns occur exclusively in the target text, without any apparent linguistic or narrative basis in the English source text (Pavesi 2012). The return to formal address in this context challenges the cultural norms of the target audience, since, typically, once a speaker has transitioned from the formal V-form to the informal T-form, it is uncommon for them to go back to the V-form in the same relationship.

While it is true that the choice of pronouns can be influenced by the context or the circumstances of the conversation, in this case, all three exchanges between the Queen and Tommy take place in the same setting: Buckingham Palace, in private conversations where external factors are unlikely to have caused the change. Consequently, this specific pronoun shift remains ambiguous and seemingly unjustified, as no clear contextual, linguistic, or narrative explanation is provided for the switch. It may reflect an oversight in the translation process.

Lastly, there is a third notable shift (example 32) in the way Queen Elizabeth addresses Tommy.

Protagonist	English original	Italian dubbing	Non-verbal context
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**Tommy**?	**Tommy**?	
TOMMY LASCELLES	**Your Majesty**.	**Vostra Maestà**.	They meet outside Buckingham palace. Tommy bows.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	I thought **you** were supposed to be in happy retirement.	Credevo **ti** stessi godendo un meritato riposo. (T)	
TOMMY LASCELLES	I am, ma'am.	Ed è così infatti.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Then what on earth are **you** doing here? Oh, dear. Either **you** missed the place more than **you** could bear, which would be-	Come mai **sei** qui allora? Oh, cielo. O **ti** manchiamo più di quanto **pensassi**, il che sarebbe- (T)	
TOMMY LASCELLES	-Tragic	-Tragico	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Yes. Or there's a serious problem, and **you**'ve been called in to help.	Esatto. O c'è un problema serio che richiede il **tuo** intervento. (T)	

EXAMPLE (32). Season 2; Episode 3 "*Lisbon"*

Once again, this change originates from the Monarch herself. Indeed, throughout all the interactions, Tommy keeps addressing the Queen using the V-form and vocatives reflecting her status. In contrast, Elizabeth returns to use a T-form when talking to him. This time, the shift seems to be motivated by the circumstances of

their meeting: unlike their previous interactions, this encounter does not occur within a professional setting, instead, the Queen and Tommy meet in a casual, more informal situation outside the formal confines of the Royal palace. At this point, Tommy is retired and no longer employed by the Sovereign, and the absence of a professional dynamic between them possibly influenced the way the Queen perceived their relationship, allowing her to feel that a less formal form of address was appropriate. As a matter of fact, this shift could signal a slight redefinition of their roles and status in relation to one another. Without the hierarchy that once dictated their interactions, Elizabeth may have addressed Tommy in a manner that suggested familiarity or a more personal rapport.

It is now clear that address speech events, indicated by the second person pronoun, carry important sociolinguistic information regarding how the speaker and addressee perceive their roles and their identities: the choice of pronouns is, indeed, adjusted and encoded to reflect various types of relationships (Rintell 1981; Keevallik 1999 in Hajek 2004). For example, in the case of distant and non-blood relations (such as a brother and sister-in-law, among others), the relationship may not be as close as the one with immediate family members, especially during the first meetings. However, as time passes and the relationship matures, no distinction is usually made between blood relatives and acquired ones: once someone enters the family through marriage, the latter are typically granted the same close familial status as the former. At this point, the reciprocal use of *Tu* becomes the norm (Hajek 2004). This dynamic takes place in Episode 6 of Season 1, between Queen Elizabeth and Peter Townsend, who was initially an equerry to King George VI and later to the Queen herself.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
PETER TOWNSEND	Do **you** have a moment, **Lilibet**?	**Hai** un momento, **Lilibet**?	The queen makes a slightly surprised face hearing this vocative, Tommy sits in front of her

QUEEN ELIZABETH	Yes, of course.	Sì, certo.
PETER TOWNSEND	I just wanted to apologize for all the press attention. And to thank you for inviting me along in the first place. I do appreciate the gesture.	Volevo solo chieder**ti** scusa per l'attenzione della stampa. E inoltre volevo ringraziar**ti** per avermi invitato ad accompagnar**ti**. L'ho apprezzato moltissimo. (T)
QUEEN ELIZABETH	It's the least I could do. I regretted having to take **you** off the Rhodesia trip.	Beh mi sembrava giusto, mi è dispiaciuto far**ti** rinunciare al viaggio in Rhodesia. (T)
PETER TOWNSEND	Yes. […]	Sì. […]
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Thank you so much, **Peter**.	Grazie di tutto, **Peter**.
PETER TOWNSEND	**Ma'am.**	**Maestà**.

EXAMPLE (33). Season 1; Episode 6 *"Gelignite"*

Peter becomes romantically involved with Princess Margaret, the Queen's sister, and the two eventually plan to marry. Looking for the Queen's approval, they arrange a dinner with her to formally ask for permission, which is initially granted. Although, up to that point, there are no scenes where Peter and Elizabeth interact directly, it is assumed that, as an official in the Queen's service, Peter would have addressed her using the formal V-form. However, after this dinner, something changes in their dynamics. In the episode shown in Example 33, while they are traveling on a private flight, i.e. a more intimate setting, Peter addresses the Queen by using her first name, *Lilibet*. In the Italian-dubbed version of this scene, this shift is reflected by the use of the informal pronoun, *Tu*, togheter with the use of the first name. However, this situation is quite ambiguous and the shift in the form

of address initiated by Peter appears quite risky. On one hand, with the Queen's approval, Peter is about to marry her sister, which would make him her brother-in-law and, therefore, a member of the family. On the other hand, the marriage has not taken place yet, and Peter is still an employee of the Queen, essentially, her subordinate. Given their asymmetrical relation, he should still address her using the formal V-form, in the Italian dubbed version, and it sounds also rather inappropriate for him to use a diminutive form of her first name (*Lilibet* instead of *Elizabeth*) at this stage, since it encode an endearing effect. This change in address may sound audacious or overly familiar to viewers, creating a sense of unease or raising questions about the appropriateness of the gesture. Furthermore, as soon as they land and are surrounded by others Queen Elizabeth's officials, Peter goes back to a more formal mode of address, calling her *ma'am* once again. Hence, it is presented another V→T→V shift, but this time it seems motivated. Indeed, the change in the address form signals a return to a more respectful, professional relationship, due to the presence of others and public nature of the situation. This transition highlights how context and the social environment can impact the way individuals address each other, moving from informal to formal depending on the circumstances.

Shifts in the mode of address also serve to take on significant narrative roles within the overall structure of the dialogues. In fact, the audience's interest does not lies in the static use of address pronouns or vocatives, but in their dynamic transitions, and these shifts help driving the narrative forward and often carry a climactic impact, especially when placed at significant moments (Pavesi 2015:116).

Another scene in which forms of address play a fundamental role is found in example 34, in a conversation occurred at Buckingham Palace during an official audience between Queen Elizabeth and one of her closest and long-lasting friends, Patrick Plunket.

Protagonist	English original	Italian dubbing	Non-verbal context
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**Patrick**.	**Patrick**.	
PATRICK PLUNKET	**Your Majesty**. [DOOR SHUTS]	**Vostra Maestà**. [DOOR SHUTS]	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	It's so kind of **you** to come. [KISSES]	**Sei** stato davvero gentile a venire. (T) [KISSES]	They kiss on the cheeks.
PATRICK PLUNKET	It's really not far.	Non sono affatto lontano.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Are **you** still just round the corner?	**Abiti** sempre qui dietro a Wellington Barrancks? (T)	
PATRICK PLUNKET	I am.	Esatto.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	And are **you** still traveling up and down the country, recruiting for all the regiments from the top schools?	E **viaggi** ancora per il paese reclutando soldati da tutte la migliori scuole?	
PATRICK PLUNKET	That’s me.	Esattamente.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	[ELIZABETH LAUGHS] I gather **you** saw the First Lady at dinner recently.	[ELIZABETH LAUGHS] Ho saputo che **hai** visto la First Lady ad una cena.	
PATRICK PLUNKET	Who?	Chi?	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Mrs. Kennedy. Margaret mentioned it.	La signora Kennedy. Me l’ha accennato Margaret.	
PATRICK PLUNKET	Did she?	Davvero?	

QUEEN ELIZABETH	Yes. So how was that?	Sì. Beh, com'è andata?
PATRICK PLUNKET	Pleasant enough. Uneventful. [NERVOUS LAUGHS] **You** know how it is at the Radziwills'.	È stato abbastanza piacevole direi. [NERVOUS LAUGHS] Lo **sa** com'è dai Radziwills. (L)
QUEEN ELIZABETH	No, I don't.	No, non lo so.
PATRICK PLUNKET	Well, the food's always good.	Ecco, il cibo è sempre buono.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Yes, well, I wasn't asking about the food. I'd like to know what was said. [PATRICK EXHALES] **Patrick**, we grew up together and we've always had a very frank and a very open relationship.	Sì, beh, non volevo sapere del cibo. Ma di che cosa si è parlato. [PATRICK EXHALES] **Patrick**, siamo cresciuti insieme e abbiamo sempre avuto un rapporto molto aperto e sincero.
PATRICK PLUNKET	Yes, **ma'am**. […]	Sì, **Maestà**. […]
QUEEN ELIZABETH	And did she have anything to say about me?	E ha avuto qualcosa da dire riguardo a me?
PATRICK PLUNKET	Oh, **Lilibet**. I was at the other end of the table, I But the words I think I overheard were that in our head of state, we had a middle-aged woman so incurious, unintelligent and unremarkable that	Oh, **Lilibet**. Ero all'altro capo della tavola, io… Ma le parole che mi pare di aver sentito, sono che il nostro capo di stato sarebbe una donna di mezza età, così priva di interessi, poco intelligente e

	Britain's new reduced place in the world was not a surprise, but an inevitability.	mediocre, da far apparire inevitabile la nuova posizione ridotta della Gran Bretagna nel mondo.

EXAMPLE (34). Season 2; Episode 8 "*Dear Mrs. Kennedy"*

This exchange is particularly noteworthy due to the asymmetry in the use of address forms between them: the Queen addresses him in an informal manner, using his first name *Patrick* and, in the dubbed version, the T-form, which is typically reserved for close relationships. In contrast, Patrick, despite the strong friendship that has developed between them over the years, and the fact that he shares a deep personal connection with Elizabeth, continues to address her with a high degree of formality. He uses the classic respectful vocative *Your Majesty* and maintains the formal V-form, reflecting the power dynamics inherent in their roles and the fact that, despite their closeness, the societal structures still govern the interaction. However, as the conversation proceeds, the topic becomes more delicate: the Sovereign, willing to understand what the First Lady (whom she has recently met) said about her and her Reign, urges Patrick for an answer. Patrick, fully aware that he must convey unflattering comments, attempts to avoid the issue but, after some hesitation, he is forced to reveal the truth. Knowing that the words he is about to say will probably hurt the Queen, he establish a more personal connection, moving away from the formal *Your Majesty* and instead addressing her with the more intimate, diminutive form of her first name, *Lilibet*[40].

One of the last shifts of terms of address involving the Queen is observed in the conversations with her dear friend Porchey.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
PORCHEY	Hello?	Pronto?	They are talking on the phone.

[40] According to some researches, shifting from formal to informal forms of address reflects an intention to extend solidarity ethic to conversational partners (Musumeci, 1991).

QUEEN ELIZABETH	**Porchey**? I hope I'm not disturbing.	**Porchey**? Spero di non disturbare.
PORCHEY	Goodness.	Santo cielo.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Am I disturbing?	Allora **ti** disturbo? (T)
PORCHEY	No.	No.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Good. It's Aureole. I think we're making a mistake. I think we should lead from the start.	Bene. Si tratta di Aureole. Credo che stiamo commettendo un errore. Dovremmo ricominciare dall'inizio.
PORCHEY	And I think **you**'re wrong.	E io credo che **ti** sbagli. (T)

EXAMPLE (35). Season 1; Episode 9 *"Assassins"*

Throughout the first season, the two address each other informally with the reciprocal *Tu*, which seems entirely plausible given their close friendship. Additionally, Elizabeth refers to him by the diminutive form of his name, *Porchey*, derived from "Lord Porchester" (example 35 above). However, in the third season, a noticeable shift occurs, with him now addressing the Queen using a formal V-form, and even referring her with titles (example 36 below).

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
QUEEN ELIZABETH	If I tell you something, do you promise it will stay between us?	Se **ti** dico una cosa mi **prometti** che rimarrà tra noi? (T)	They are having dinner together, alone, in Buckingham Palace.
PORCHEY	Of course.	Ma certo.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	This is how I'd like to spend all my time. [PORCHEY CHUCKLES] Owning horses,	Questo è il modo in cui vorrei passare tutti i miei giorni.	

	breeding horses, racing horses. It's what makes me truly happy. And I actually think it's what I was born to do, until the other thing came along that someone else was born to do, that they elected not to do, which meant that first my father, and then I, had to do a job we were never meant to do.	[PORCHEY CHUCKLES] Avere dei cavali, poterli allevare, e farli gareggiare. È ciò che mi rende più felice al mondo. E credo che fosse questo il mio destino, prima che arrivasse l'altro lavoro, che era destinato ad un altro, il quale non potè svolgerlo, cosa che obbligò prima mio padre e poi me, a cambiare il nostro destino.
PORCHEY	Well, you've managed to make it look like the other thing is the only thing you were ever meant to do.	Beh, allora devo ammettere **Maestà** che **è** riuscita a dare l'impressione di essere nata per l'altro lavoro. (L)
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Hmm. **You**'re kind. But it isn't.	**Sei** gentile. Ma non è così. (T)

EXAMPLE (36). Season 3; Episode 5 "*Coup"*

To understand what may have caused this change, it is essential to consider the differences between the two interactions, (35) and (36). In the former, both of them are relatively young, and Elizabeth has only recently ascended to the throne. Furthermore, the conversation is through the phone, making it a more informal and private exchange, similar to most of the others interactions they have during this season. In contrast, in the second interaction, both have aged and are now in their fifties, and their exchanges occur in formal, public settings, such as during horse races or, as in this specific instance, during a dinner at Buckingham Palace (where, however, they are alone). These differences, in their ages and in the contexts, do

not seem, under any circumstances, sufficient to explain this shift in the allocutive forms. The translators deliberately decided to increase the level of formality in the way Porchey addresses the Queen by adding formal titles, such as *Maestà*, to the dubbed version, which is not present in the original English one[41].

The shifts toward the formal pronoun *Voi* observed in the series are particularly interesting, as they occur in two very different situations. The first one (37) occurs in an interaction between the First Lady Jackie Kennedy and Queen Elizabeth.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
FIRST LADY JACKIE KENNEDY	I asked to speak to **you** in private ahead of our lunch on Friday because I owe **you** an apology.	**Le** ho chiesto di vederci in privato prima del nostro pranzo di Venerdì perché so di dover**le** delle scuse. (L)	They are having breakfast together.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Whatever for?	A che proposito?	
FIRST LADY JACKIE KENNEDY	I think we both know the answer to that question.	Credo che entrambe conosciamo già la risposta.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	I'm quite sure that **you** meant no harm, nor disrespect. After all, why would **you**? We barely know one another.	Sono certa che **lei** non intendesse offendermi, né mancarmi di rispetto. Perché **dovrebbe**? Dopotutto, ci conosciamo a malapena. (L)	

[41] Once again, the subtitles reveal that the doubts about this questionable shift are well-founded, as they maintain the mutual informal *Tu* relationship, confirming that the shift to formality in the dubbed version seems somewhat unfounded.

FIRST LADY JACKIE KENNEDY	I can't tell **you** how much distress it's caused me. The idea that I might've upset someone I admire so much.	Non so dir**vi** quanta sofferenza mi abbia causato. L'idea che io possa aver offeso qualcuno che ammiro così tanto. (V)
QUEEN ELIZABETH	That's very kind of **you** to say.	È molto gentile da parte **sua**. (L)
FIRST LADY JACKIE KENNEDY	The way **you** do **your** job, the way **you** cope with the pressure, the personal sacrifices **you**'ve made, not to mention **your** composure and dignity.	Il modo in cui **fate** il **vostro** lavoro, in cui **gestite** la pressione, e i sacrifici personali che **avete** fatto, per non parlare della **vostra** compostezza e dignità. (V)

EXAMPLE (37). Season 2; Episode 8 "*Dear Mrs. Kennedy"*

They initially address each other using the reciprocal *Lei.* After a few lines, however, the First Lady switches to *Voi.* While both these address pronouns are formal, they are not equivalent in the degree of respect or distance they express. The First Lady, visibly embarassed, visits the palace to personally apologize to the Queen for unkind statements she made about her at a dinner. Although the fact that, as previously noted, in modern contexts and some regions of Italy, *Lei* is considered more formal and appropriate than *Voi*, in certain situations the latter can be perceived as more respectful. In Italy, indeed, *Voi* is often associated with nobility: the Queen embodies an institution of the highest prestige, and the use of this address pronoun reinforces this perception. The shift of address from *Lei* to *Voi* in this dialogue could be attributed to various factors. In this specific scenario (i.e., a formal apology), the First Lady might adopt *Voi* to emphasize her humility, accentuate her respect for the Sovereign, or even to convey a increased awareness of her mistake. Furthermore, this shift occurs at a crucial moment in the

conversation, when the First Lady expresses her major remorse. This suggests that the translator recognized the need to elevate the level of solemnity and reverence precisely at the point where the First Lady highlights her emotional suffering. *Voi,* here, adds a theatrical atmosphere, perfectly suited to conveying the emotional weight of a heartfelt apology.

The second shift toward *Voi* encountered in the episodes examined, occurs during an interaction between Prince Philip and his wife, Queen Elizabeth, during the coronation. Obviously, in all their other interactions, the two address each other with a reciprocal *Tu*.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
PRINCE PHILIP to QUEEN ELIZABETH	I, Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, do become **your** liege man of life and limb, and of earthly worship. And faith and truth I will bear unto **you**, to live and die, against all manner of folks.	Io, Filippo, Duca di Edimburgo, diventro **vostro** vassallo a costo della vita e con terrena devozione, con fede e verità io **vi** sosterrò nella vita e nella morte contro ogni avversità. (V)	Philip is kneeling to the Queen during the inconoration.

EXAMPLE (38). Season 1; Episode 5 *"Smoke and Mirrors"*

Here (38), the shift is motivated by a different reason than before, but it remains clear why this choice was made: the context is official and extremely solemn, thus using *Voi* could be seen as more appropriate even according to the Royal protocol. This choice may also have been considered more fitting by the translators to further emphasize the importance of the moment and the reverent atmosphere surrounding the coronation. Prince Philip was not particularly willing to "prostrate" himself before his wife during the coronation, and this reluctance had actually already been subject of discussion between the two. The use of *Voi* in this context makes Philip's forced "submission" to the Queen, and, as a consequence, to the Crown, more intense. In this way is highlighted the conflict between his personal feelings and

the ceremonial duty he must fulfill as part of the royal establishment, accepting the formal, almost distant, relationship between them in this specific and special moment.

4.4.3. Shifts in Diana's interactions

Similarly, in Princess Diana's relationships, several shifts in the mode of address can be observed. The one shown in (39) illustrates a first shift that occurs during an intermediate phase of her relationship with Prince Charles.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
PRINCE CHARLES	Do **you** have a busy summer?	**Hai** impegni quest'estate? (T)	They are talking after their first date at the theatre.
DIANA SPENCER	No, I'll be in London for most of it. I'll be too free, if that's what **you** mean. […]	No, per lo più rimarrò a Londra. Sarò fin troppo libera se è questo che **intende**. (L) […]	
PRINCE CHARLES	Good night. Was that very frigid?	Buonanotte. Così è troppo frigido?	They handshake.
DIANA SPENCER	Yes. [CHUCKLES] But perfectly gentlemanly.	Sì. [CHUCKLES] Ma da perfetto gentiluomo.	
PRINCE CHARLES	Princely. [LAUGHS]	Da principe. [LAUGHS]	They both laugh.
DIANA SPENCER	Sorry. Princely. [BOW]	Oh, **mi scusi**. Da principe. [BOW]	Diana bows.

EXAMPLE (39). Season 4; Episode 2 "*The Balmoral Test"*

Initially, as noted in section 4.2.3, their linguistic exchange was characterized by mutual formality, with both addressing each other using the formal *Lei*. However,

during their second meeting, a shift takes place, leading to an asymmetric relationship. Prince Charles begins to address her with informal forms of address, while she, in the dubbed version, continues to use the respectful and distanced V-form. The fact that, during the first date, one of the interlocutors uses *Lei* while the other uses *Tu* might seem unusual to an Italian audience. One might expect Charles to reduce or eliminate the social difference reflected in the forms of address, signaling somehow consent through negotiation strategies, as invitations or requests to opt for a T-form (Pavesi 2012), but this does not happen.

More than their verbal communication, it is their non-verbal gestures that reveal the nature of their relationship, which at this stage appears to remain partially formal. Prince Charles, for instance, greets Diana with a handshake, a gesture that reflects a certain lack of familiarity or closeness between them, and he humorously recognizes the formality of his own action, perhaps as a way to ease tension or awkwardness. Diana responds in a way that emphasizes the social distance between them, influenced by the elevated social status of Prince Charles, she bows to him before going home. Their gestures serve as clear indicators that their relationship is still marked by genuine embarassement, hesitation and distance, typical of early dates, where a strong connection has yet developed.

There is a second and final shift toward the reciprocal *Tu* and it occurs in the same episode, specifically in the very next scene in which they appear together: the selection of the engagement ring. In this specific case this shift is forward-looking, since it indicate an increasing intimacy or involvement between the characters, and creates anticipation in the audience, drawing attention to the story's progression (Pavesi 2012). At this point, obviously, their relationship is already well-established and formality has been replaced by a more familiar and intimate dynamic.

Another shift in Diana's interactions can be identified in the relationship with Martin Bashir, a journalist who accompanies her during the release of an important BBC interview.

Protagonist	English original	Italian dubbing	Non-verbal context
DIANA SPENCER	**You** don't know what it means to me. To be understood. And finally have someone on my side. For so long, I've wanted people to know the truth about what it's been like to be part of this family. The sheer loneliness of it. But I didn't know who I could tell. Or who I could trust.	Non **sa** cosa voglia dire per me essere capita. Avere qualcuno dalla mia parte. È da tanto che voglio far sapere la verità su come sia far parte di questa famiglia, sulla solitudine. Ma non sapevo a chi dirlo, o di chi fidarmi (L)	They are talking in a car, a hidden place to avoid paparazzi.
MARTIN BASHIR	**You** can trust me. And I promise I will protect **you** every step of the way.	**Può fidarsi** di me. E **le** prometto che **la** proteggerò ad ogni signolo passo. (L)	

EXAMPLE (40). Season 5; Episode 7 "*No Woman's Land"*

Initially, their relationship is formal, marked by the use of a distanced and reciprocal *Lei*, reflecting the fact that they had only recently met. Despite this, already in the exchange documented in (40), a psychological closeness begins to emerge and this growing connection is, indeed, later reflected in the shift to a reciprocal *Tu*, signaling increased intimacy and mutual understanding between them (example 41 below).

Protagonist	English original	Italian dubbing	Non-verbal context
MARTIN BASHIR	Hi.	Ciao.	They meet again in the car.
DIANA SPENCER	My brother called me. He's a little concerned.	Mi ha chiamata mio fratello. È un po' preoccutato.	

MARTIN BASHIR	What about?	Riguardo a cosa?
DIANA SPENCER	**You**. […]	A **te**. (T) […]
MARTIN BASHIR	I think they might've got to **your** brother. These are serious people.	Temo siano arrivati a **tuo** fratello. (T) Questa è gente che non scherza.
DIANA SPENCER	Mm.	Mm.
MARTIN BASHIR	That kind of change of heart is just too irrational. Too random. Which is why I think the sooner we get this done the better.	Il cambio di rotta di **tuo** fratello è troppo irrazionale. Troppo strano. Perchiò io penso che prima lo faremo e meglio sarà. (T)

EXAMPLE (41). Season 5; Episode 8 "*Gunpowder"*

Nevertheless, shortly after and within the same episode, there is another shift, returning to the previous form of address: the formal *Lei* (example 42).

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
MARTIN BASHIR	What impact did the illness have on **your** marriage?	Che impatto ha avuto la malattia sul **suo** matrimonio? (L)	They are recording the official interview.
DIANA SPENCER	Well, it gave people a marvelous new label to pin on me. "Diana's crazy."	Beh, è stato l'ultimo pretesto per afibbiarmi un nuovo titolo. "Diana è pazza".	

EXAMPLE (42). Season 5; Episode 8 "*Gunpowder"*

This change is strictly context-dependent and limited to this specific situational framework, since Martin employs the formal pronoun exclusively while

addressing Diana during the official recording of the interview. This shift appears for a clear reason, that is, to convey a tone of greater formality and detachment in his questions, highlighting the seriousness and neutrality required in his role as a journalist, and contrasting with the more informal tone used in their personal interactions outside the recording

One of the last shifts analyzed takes place among Lady Diana, Mohamed Al Fayed, an Egyptian billionaire businessman, and his son Dodi Al Fayed. When they first met (43), the interaction is marked by the formal exchange of reciprocal V-forms and respectful Titles, as *Your Royal Highness*.

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
DIANA SPENCER	I'm afraid you've got me.	Purtroppo ci sono io.	During a horse race, the Queen tells Diana to take her seat next to Mohamed.
MOHAMED AL FAYED	**Your Royal Highness**.	**Vostra Altezza Reale**.	He stands up and bows.
DIANA SPENCER	I realize I'm no substitute for the Big Chief. Oh, a lovely Harrods cushion. Ooh, and look, a gift bag. Special gifts for the Boss Lady?	So di non poter sostituire il Grande Capo. Oh, un delizioso cuscino di Harrods. E anche un sacchetto regalo. Qualcosa di speciale per il Capo?	Diana sees the presents that Mohamed had prepared for the Queen.
MOHAMED AL FAYED	Ah, not that it gets me anywhere. Boss Lady seems allergic to me.	Tanto non è servito a nulla. Sembra che la Signora Capo sia allergica a me.	

DIANA SPENCER	Well, that makes two of us. […] (HANDSHAKE)	Anche a me, se **vuole** saperlo. (L) […] (HANDSHAKE)	They shake hands.
MOHAMED AL FAYED	Mohamed. But **you** must call me **Mou Mou**.	Mohamed. Però **lei** mi deve chiamare **Mou Mou**. (L)	
DIANA SPENCER	Why must I call **you** Mou Mou?	E perchè dovrei **chiamarla** Mou Mou? (L)	
MOHAMED AL FAYED	[LAUGHS] All my friends do.	[LAUGHS] Perchè lo fanno tutti i miei amici.	They both laugh.
DIANA SPENCER	Gosh, we're friends already? That was quick.	Cielo, siamo già amici? È stato veloce.	Dodi arrives.
MOHAMED AL FAYED	May I present my son, Dodi?	Posso **presentarle** mio figlio? (L)	
DODI AL FAYED to DIANA	**Your Royal Highness**.	**Vostra Altezza Reale**. (L)	Dodi bows.
MOHAMED AL FAYED to DODI	Will **you** join us?	**Ti unisci** a noi? (T)	
DODI AL FAYED	Uh, I can't. I'm I'm with friends. Pleasure meeting you.	Uh, non posso. Sono con degli amici. È stato un vero piacere.	

EXAMPLE (43). Season 5; Episode 3 "*Mou Mou"*

Mohamed, however, quickly begins to change the tone of their relationship, signaling his willingness for a closer connection. In (43), he explicitly invites Diana to call him by a nickname, Mou-Mou, (a form of address reserved only for his close friends), despite this, the woman for the moment continues addressing

him formally. As far as Dodi is concerned, he interacts with Diana in the same scene and in the same formal manner. Their relationship grows over time, particularly when Diana and her children go on vacation with Mohamed and his family. The context of a vacation, private, friendly, and relaxed, naturally leads to a shift towards an informal forms of address, both between Diana and Mohamed (44), and between her and Dodi (45).

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
MOHAMED AL FAYED to DIANA	**You** remember? **You're** clever clever. Now, very sadly, I have some work to do, but I can leave **you** in Dodi's hands. He's much more funny then me.	**Tu** ricordi? **Sei** sveglia sveglia. Ora purtroppo ho del lavoro da fare, ma **ti** lascio nelle mani di Dodi. Lui è molto più divertente di me. (T)	They are on Mohamed's yacht. As soon as Dodi arrives, Mou-Mou leaves.

EXAMPLE (44). Season 6; Episode 1 "*Persona Non Grata"*

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
DODI AL FAYED	So, **you**'ll be on your own for the rest of the summer?	Quindi **resterai** sola per il resto dell'estate? (T)	Diana and her sons are about to leave.
DIANA SPENCER	Yes, all on my little lonesome.	Sì, tutta sola soletta.	
DODI AL FAYED	I don't like the sound of that.	Non mi piace **saperti** sola. (T)	
DIANA SPENCER	I'll be fine. That's mostly how it is these days.	Starò bene. E poi è così che va ultimamente.	

DODI AL FAYED	Well **you**'re always welcome here. Come back anytime. The boat is **yours**.Whenever **you** want, for as long as **you** want, with whoever **you** want. Okay?	Beh qui **tu sei** la benvenuta, **torna** quando vuoi, la barca è **tua**. Tutte le volte che **vuoi**, per il tempo che **vuoi** e con chiunque **tu vuoi**. Okay? (T)
DIANA SPENCER	**Your** fiancée is a lucky girl.	La **tua** fidanzata è fortunata. (T)

EXAMPLE (45). Season 6; Episode 1 "*Persona Non Grata"*

4.4.4. Shift in the relationship between Diana and Queen Elizabeth

This analysis concludes with one of the most impactful and complex relationships within the series: the one between Queen Elizabeth and Princess Diana, which, as discussed earlier, was filled with complications from the very beginning. From their first interactions, the relationship was characterized by an asymmetric relation: the Queen, who held superiority both in age and social status, addressed the young Diana using a T-form, while her, in return, used a V-form as sign of deference and respect. In the series there are no further scenes where the two women directly interact with each other using forms of address, until the end of the fifth season, when their last conversation takes place (depicted in example 46 below).

Protagonist	**English original**	**Italian dubbing**	**Non-verbal context**
DIANA SPENCER	**Mama**, thank you for seeing me. There's something I wanted **you** to hear from me first, and I expect as a consequence **you**'re going to think	**Mamma**, grazie per avermi ricevuta. Ci terrei ad essere io a **parlarti** di una cosa che accrescerà ulteriormente la **tua** disitima nei miei confronti. (T)	Diana, this time, does not bow, nor greets her with kisses on the cheeks.

	less of me than you already do. I've given an interview.	Ho rilasciato un'intervista.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	What kind of interview?	Che genere di intervista?	
DIANA SPENCER	A full, rather frank interview to the BBC. I felt the need to clear a few things up. About my marriage. About the fact that I've so often been shut out, and left to cope on my own.	Ho rilasciato un'intervista senza filtri alla BBC. Sentivo il bisogno di chiarire alcuni aspetti. Del mio matrimonio. Sul fatto che sono stata esclusa, e abbandonata a me stessa.	
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Oh, honestly. It's like a broken record. Haven't we heard all this before? A thousand times. Does it not occur to you that if you feel the need to clear a few things up, a public forum might not be the best place to do it? That such matters would best be discussed in private with the people involved?	Oh, per favore. **Sei** come un disco rotto. Non sono cose già sentite un migliaio di volte? Non **hai** mai pensato che, se **senti** il bisogno di chiarire una paio di cose, forse una piazza pubblica potrebbe non essere il posto più adatto? Che certi temi andrebbero discussi in privato coi diretti interessati? (T)	The Queen switches to an accusatory tone.
DIANA SPENCER	I've tried that. On numerous occasions over the years. I've asked to see **you** so that we might talk face-to-face. And on every	Ho provato a farlo. In più di un'occasione negli anni ho chiesto di veder**ti**, per poter**ti** parlare *vis-à-vis*, ma ogni volta,	Diana sits.

	occasion, you refused or were unavailable. […]	immancabilmente, **ti sei** negata o non **eri** disponibile. (T) […]	The Queen sits.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	**You**'re wife to my eldest son, mother to my grandsons, and a valued senior member of this family, so I defend **you** each and every time. Loyally. Emphatically. To the hilt. The enemy **you** imagine I am, the hostility **you** imagine we all feel is a figment of **your** imagination.	**Sei** la moglie del mio primogenito, la madre dei miei nipoti ed un esponente importante di questa famiglia, e io **ti** difendo sempre e comunque in tutte le occasioni. Con lealtà. E fermezza. Senza esitazione. **Sei** convinta che io **ti** sia nemica, e **ritieni** che tutta la famiglia **ti** sia ostile, ma è soltanto frutto della **tua** immaginazione. (T)	The Queen talks in a very serious and authoritative tone.
DIANA SPENCER	Is it?	Davvero?	Diana has tears in her eyes.
QUEEN ELIZABETH	Yes. All any of us want, **Diana**, is for **you** to be happy. And one day, to be our next Queen.	Certo. Tutti quanti noi, **Diana**, vogliamo che **tu** sia felice e che un giorno **tu** diventi la nostra Regina. (T)	

EXAMPLE (46). Season 5; Episode 8 "*Gunpowder"*

In this interaction, a notable shift emerges: Diana addresses the Sovereign using a reciprocal T-form. At this point, the Princess of Wales is in a state of emotional chaos, since she feels completely abandoned by the Royal family and is about to divorce. Despite the use of the T-form, which, in theory, signals a closer, more familiar relationship and mutual alignment between the two, as well as the use of informal forms of address (such as *Mama)* and first names, Diana seems to feel more distant from her mother-in-law than ever before. In this case, the shift, which

indeed takes place towards their last conversation, may have a backward-looking function, that is, it confirms a discrepancy which was already manifest previously in the characters' behaviour (Pavesi 2012). Although the Queen's reassuring words to Diana in the final exchange, the overall atmosphere remains undeniably tense and emotionally distant, a feeling that is further amplified by the accusatory tone used by the Monarch. The use of the T-form in conflictual situations is often employed to advance the plot and to underline the emotional intensity of the scene, engaging the audience more deeply (Cattrysse, Gambier 2008, in Pavesi 2012).

4.5 Overview of the main findings from the analysis

Regarding King George's interactions, it can be observed that, in general, he maintains formal reciprocal interactions with people of high status, as his doctor, with whom he consistently uses *Lei*. Notably, with the Prime Minister, the King initially adopts a formal tone but later shifts to the informal T-form. It should be considered that the Prime Minister holds a higher position in the hierarchy compared to the doctor, but lower compared to the King. This suggests that the status of the interlocutor is not the sole determining factor in the King's use of forms of address. His shift to the informal T-form with the Prime Minister indicates a willingness to establish a closer, more personal relationship, drawing on shared ideologies to strengthen their bond. On the other hand, the King always employs *Lei* with his doctor, likely due to the professional nature of the doctor-patient relationship.

King George's reciprocal T-form interactions (though not presented in the analysis) only occur with his family members and close friends.

Regarding asymmetrical interactions, King George uses his hierarchical power to assert his position over those of lower status, such as his employees, including butlers and his personal secretary.

The Queen behaves quite differently from her father. In general, she maintains formal reciprocal interactions with almost everyone around her, regardless of their lower rank: employees, her personal secretary, her tutor, and even strangers. There are only a few exceptions where Elizabeth uses the T-form, and, as noted, these are typically influenced by differences in age or context.

A particularly significant relationship is that between the Queen and the Prime Ministers. Over the years, many have held this position, and with each of them, she has always maintained formal reciprocal interactions, even with Winston Churchill. Despite their long-standing affectionate and working relationship, the Italian dubbing consistently uses the formal *Lei* even in situations where, in the original English version, the Queen addresses him by his first name, *Winston*.

The only interactions in which the Queen uses a reciprocal T-form are with her family members (both by blood and in-laws), including, of course, her husband Philip, and her close friends.

When discussing Diana's interactions, it's important to consider that, although she held high social prestige as a princess, her status was still lower than that of the King or the Queen. She joined the royal family through marriage, so she was not a member by blood. In fact, at the beginning of her relationship with Prince Charles, she used the formal V-form when interacting with him. During their marriage, as a princess, she generally maintained a formal approach with employees and others around her, using reciprocal T-forms only with her husband and children.

After the divorce, once she was no longer "officially" part of the royal family, her interactions began to change, following a more "natural" path. Initially, when meeting new people, she would use formal modes of address, but, over time, she would switch to the informal reciprocal T-form.

The relationship between Diana and Queen Elizabeth is particularly noteworthy. Even after Diana's marriage, she continued addressing the Queen using the V-

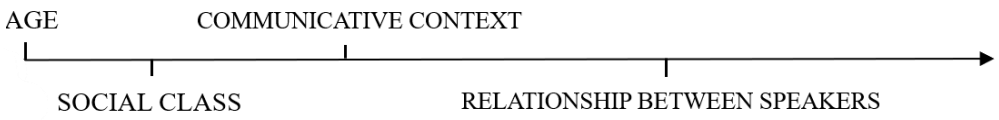
form, while the Queen addressed her with the T-form. It was only after the divorce that Diana felt free to use informal forms of address with the Queen. As previously noted, this shift is often employed to highlight emotional intensity and create a deeper connection with the audience.

Several instances of shifts in forms of address are presented in *The Crown*. The most striking example occurs between King George and the Prime Minister, where the shift happens abruptly within the same conversation. This sudden change reflects a sense of mental alignment and growing closeness, as it follows Churchill's acceptance of forming a government in the King's name.

In the majority of the other cases, shifts in the mode of address signal a change or development in the relationship between characters. Nearly all of these shifts involve a transition from the formal *Lei* to the informal *Tu*, marking an increased sense of closeness or familiarity between the speakers. However, unlike the case of King George and Churchill, these shifts usually do not occur within the same scene or conversation. Instead, they tend to be introduced at the beginning of a new scene, where the change has already taken place.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this thesis was to conduct an in-depth study of address forms in the dubbed dialogues of the British TV series *The Crown*. The research aimed to answer key questions regarding 1) the main factor influencing address forms and translation choices in dubbing, 2) the possible discrepancies between the original English version and the Italian dubbed adaptation, and 3) the functions of shifts in these forms of address. To achieve this, the study analyzed the interactions of three key characters: King George VI, Queen Elizabeth and Lady Diana. The research confirms that the choice of address forms is influenced by different factors, including the speakers' age, social class, communicative context, situational setting, and the relationship between interlocutors. Given that this study specifically focuses on the linguistic interactions of aristocrats and members of the royal family, most interactions take place in formal settings. It is difficult to establish a rigid classification of these factors in terms of their influence, as each communicative situation presents specific characteristics. However, a general pattern can be identified, where some factors present a weaker influence, while others are more decisive in determining the choice of address forms. This can be represented as follows, from the least to the most influential:



Some of the interactions in this TV series are influenced by the age of the interlocutors, but this factor has a limited impact. There are relatively few cases where age is the determining factor in the choice of T/V forms and, even in these instances, other elements often play a role in reinforcing a particular choice. In other words, age alone rarely dictates modes of address selection in the examples analyzed above.

At first glance, social class might seem to be one of the most decisive factors in shaping address forms, particularly given the aristocratic context of *The*

Crown. However, this study reveals that its influence is relatively limited or, better said, is not the strongest factor influencing the use of address forms. Despite belonging to the highest social class, indeed, some of the royal family members many times address lower-ranking individuals with formal address forms. For example, Queen Elizabeth often uses *Lei* when speaking to her employees.

One of the most significant influences on forms of address choices is the communicative context. The majority of the analyzed interactions take place inside Buckingham Palace or important settings, where a certain level of formality is expected. In some cases, the situational setting even outweighs the personal relationship between interlocutors, such as when Prince Philip addresses his wife, Queen Elizabeth, with *Voi* during her coronation; when the journalist Martin Bashir uses the V-form when interviewing Princess Diana, despite having already previously used the T-form in private conversations; or when Peter Townsend switches back to *Lei* when addressing Queen Elizabeth when they are in public, despite their prior familiarity when speaking in private. These instances demonstrate that certain situations demand a shift towards a more formal register, regardless of the relationship between speakers.

However, among all the factors analyzed, the degree of familiarity and personal relationship between speakers emerges as the most influential factor in determining modes of address choices. In the majority of the examined cases, a strong personal bond (whether as family or friends) leads to the mutual use of the T-form, regardless of all the other factors or of the formal context in which the interaction takes place. Conversely, when familiarity is lacking, the use of formal address forms persists, even in more relaxed or informal settings. Intimacy and context are, in this specific research, the key factors influencing how characters address one another in conversations: this means that the level of personal closeness and the situational context between individuals in a conversation determine whether they should use formal or informal address forms in fictional dialogues.

Regarding the second research question, i.e. the possible discrepancies between the original English version and the dubbed Italian version, it can be said that there are no significant differences. Generally speaking, the dubbed version follows the "guidelines" set by the original English text. While it is true that the translator faces great challenges (having to move from English, a language that does not distinguish between formal and informal address in the second person, to Italian, which differentiates between *Lei* and *Tu* and requires grammatical concordance), the overall approach, at least in the interactions examined here, adheres to the same linguistic choices for the lexical modes of address. This means that when the original English version employs titles or honorifics, the Italian dubbed version tends to use the formal *Lei*. Conversely, when first names, nicknames, or familiar terms are used, the informal *Tu* is generally adopted in Italian. However, some discrepancies between the two versions do emerge. One example is the final conversation between Queen Elizabeth and the Prime Minister Winston Churchill: in the original, she addresses him as *my dear Winston*, which implies closeness. However, in the Italian dubbed version, the formal *Lei* is maintained, despite the familiarity suggested by the original. An opposite situation appears in the scene where Alice, Philip's mother, meets the Queen: in the Italian version, the two address each other informally using *Tu*. However, in the original English version, Alice uses the formal title *Your Majesty* and bows whenever she sees the Monarch. This, together with the overall tone and non-verbal cues, suggests that a formal register might have been more appropriate in that encounter. Another interesting case is the irregular use of formal and informal address forms in conversations between Queen Elizabeth and her private secretary, Tommy Lascelles. In the Italian version, the Queen sometimes uses the V-form and other times the T-form, and these shifts take place without an evident reason, whereas in the original English version, she consistently addresses him by the diminutive form of his first name, *Tommy*.

In addition, overall, the dubbed version aligns with contemporary Italian linguistic norms, as most interactions sound natural and appropriate within the Italian cultural context. However, there are instances that raise questions. For example, some interactions between Queen Elizabeth and her close friends, Patrick Plunket and Porchey, present peculiar choices. Despite the Queen herself acknowledging a long-standing and deep friendship with both men, in the Italian version sometimes they address her with *Lei* and use honorifics like *Your Majesty*. To an Italian audience, this might sound unnatural, as one would generally expect a more intimate form of address after many years of close friendship.

As far as the final research question is concerned, i.e., the functions of forms of address shifts and how they reflect the evolution of characters, it can be said that, in general, most of the analyzed shifts take place from a V-form (formal) to a T-form (informal), and that they are almost always motivated. There are a few exceptions, such as the shifts that take place in the interactions between the Queen and her secretary Tommy or between the Queen and Porchey, where, as previously noted, the transitions appear to lack a specific trigger. In almost all the shifts examined, the exact moment when the change occurs is not explicitly represented. By avoiding this crucial moment, the viewer infers that the transition takes place at an undefined point in the storyline, and this expands the narrative beyond the rigid temporal and spatial boundaries of the film or TV series. (Pavesi 2012:351). One of the clearest examples of address shift is observable in the conversation between King George and Winston Churchill. As soon as Churchill agrees to form a party in the King's name, the King's expression brightens, and he immediately feels "free" to address Churchill by his first name and uses the T-form. This change is driven by a sense of closeness, a shared ideology, and a proximity on both a mental and professional level.

In most of the interactions that feature shifts in address, these changes are motivated by an evolution in the relationship between the two characters, and these changes help the audience understand how their relationship is evolving. For

example, the relationship between Lady Diana and Prince Charles follows a rather natural pattern: at their first meetings, they address each other formally with *Lei*, but as their familiarity grows, they switch to the informal T-form. The same pattern can be observed between Diana and Dr. Khan, as well as between Diana, Mohamed Al Fayed, and his son Dodi. Nevertheless, a different case is shown in the relationship between Lady Diana and Queen Elizabeth. Their interactions are, from the very beginning, characterized by an asymmetrical exchange of address forms: the Queen addresses Diana using the informal T-form, while Diana, even after her marriage, continues to use the formal *Lei* when speaking to the Queen, despite using the informal vocative *Mama* (*Mamma* in the italian version). This vocative is the only lexical form of address Diana uses when talking to her. Only after Diana's divorce she address the Monarch with the T-form, but this shift does not indicate a strengthening of their relationship. On the contrary, it reflects emotional distance and a growing detachment, as symbolized by the use of the less formal T-form.

Understanding how forms of address function is crucial, not only because every language possesses its own unique repertoire of address forms, but also because these systems are constantly evolving within a single language over time. Recognizing the nuances of these modes of address is essential, as it allows us to handle social interactions in a way that respects both our own face and that of our interlocutor. In this ever-changing linguistic landscape, being mindful of how we use these forms is fundamental to maintaining respectful and meaningful communication.

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