

“I don't understand, but it makes me laugh.” Domestication in contemporary Polish dubbing

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ABSTRACT

Despite being (in)famous for its use of voice-over in fiction films, Poland also has a long-standing dubbing tradition. Contemporary Polish dubbing is largely domesticated: culture-bound items from the original are often replaced with elements of Polish culture, which is supposed to increase viewers' enjoyment of the film. In this study, we examined whether Polish viewers can identify references to Polish culture in the contemporary Polish dubbing of foreign animated films and whether they enjoy them. With this goal in mind, we conducted an online survey and tested 201 participants. Given that many references relate to items from the near or distant past, we predicted that viewers may not fully understand them. The results show that, paradoxically, although viewers do not fully recognise references to Polish culture in contemporary Polish dubbing, they welcome such allusions, declaring that they make films more accessible. The most difficult category of cultural references to identify in our study turned out to be allusions to the canon of Polish literature, whereas the best scores were achieved in the case of references to social campaigns and films. Younger participants had more difficulties in recognising cultural allusions dating from before the 1990s compared to older participants. The vast majority of participants declared they enjoy domestication in contemporary Polish dubbing.

KEYWORDS

Dubbing, domestication, invisibility, ageing of translation, animated films, audiovisual translation, cultural references.

1. Introduction

One does not have to be a film buff to know that Poland has long been considered a stronghold of voice-over (Chaume 2012; Garcarz 2007; Gottlieb 1998). While voice-over is indeed a major mode of audiovisual translation (AVT) on television, not many people – both in and outside the country – realise that Poland also has a long-standing dubbing tradition.

In this paper, we depart from a brief overview of dubbing in Poland. We then discuss the notion of domestication and its manifestation in contemporary Polish dubbing. Finally, we present results of a reception study on Polish viewers' understanding and enjoyment of cultural references in dubbed animated feature films.

1.1. Dubbing in Poland

Polish dubbing dates back to pre-WII times (Dolny 2012; Szarkowska 2008; Urban 2015). It was already in the early 1930s that the first attempts at

dubbing films into Polish took place (Dolny 2009; Ford 1935; Grochowska 2004; Miernik 2008; Szarkowska 2008, 2009). The most famous pre-WWII Polish dubbing is *Królewna Śnieżka i siedmiu krasnoludków* (the dubbed version of Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*) directed by Ryszard Ordyński – an ambitious pioneer undertaking, with the finest actors of the time, such as Maria Modzelewska, Aleksander Żabczyński, and Stefan Jaracz (see Androchowicz 2011).

Following the outbreak of WWII, Polish dubbing was discontinued for several years. However, as early as in 1949, a dubbing studio was opened in Łódź as part of Wytwórnia Filmów Fabularnych [Feature Films Studios] (Dolny 2008; Plewa 2015: 107). Since then, a host of foreign films – mostly from the USSR – with Polish dubbing made their way to cinemas. According to Dolny (2008), the first Polish post-WWII dubbing was done to the Soviet propaganda film *Harry Smith odkrywa Amerykę* (original Russian title: *Русский вопрос*, dir. M. Romm 1947); Polish dubbing teams were trained by specialists from the USSR.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Polish dubbing flourished – both in the cinema and on television – with the development of what became known as the “Polish Dubbing School.” The most famous representative of the School was Zofia Dybowska-Aleksandrowicz, an acclaimed dubbing director, who was awarded numerous prizes for her contributions to Polish culture (Androchowicz 2016). The films dubbed at that time included not only children’s productions like *The Flintstones* (created by W. Hanna, J. Barbera, 1960-1966; *Między nami jaskiniowcami*) and *Alice in Wonderland* (dir. C. Geronimi, W. Jackson, 1951; *Alicja w Krainie Czarów*, 1951), but also full-length feature films with human actors, such as *12 Angry Men* (dir. S. Lumet, 1957; *Dwunastu gniewnych ludzi*, 1973) and *Anatomy of a Murder* (dir. O. Preminger, 1959; *Anatomia morderstwa*, 1961), to name just a few¹.

On 12 December 1981, martial law was introduced in Poland; as a result, cinemas were closed for several months. With economic downturn in the 1980s, Polish dubbing productions dwindled and were mostly done for public television (Dolny 2013). In 1989, following the fall of communism in Poland and the emergence of the free market, private recording studios could be opened and films from outside the Communist Bloc could enter the country. The 1980s and 1990s also marked the rise of the VHS cassette and an abundance of foreign films available with Polish voice-over, which turned out to be a much more cost-effective solution to translate films compared to dubbing.

It was not until the 1990s when dubbing made a comeback on the Polish AVT scene. Canal+, which had just entered the Polish market at that time,

attempted to dub some television series into Polish, including *Friends* (created by D. Crane, M. Kauffman, 1994–2004; *Przyjaciele*; dubbing dir. M. Aleksandrowicz, E. Kania). The practice was not accepted by Polish viewers and the dubbed versions from that time were not commercially successful. This failure may be attributed to the quality of those dubbing productions, characterised by a poor choice of dubbing actors using unnatural theatrical intonation. According to Wierzbięta, Polish viewers' aversion to dubbing may stem from their experience with bad quality television dubbing in the early 1990s, which was done with limited financial resources. "You cannot produce excellent dubbing with meagre funds," argues Wierzbięta, stating that "good dubbing costs money"² (Wojtowicz 2002). Another reason for the failure of those dubbing productions could be financial (Anna Celińska, personal communication): in the mid-1990s, three different Polish language versions to the same film were produced by Canal+: dubbed, subtitled and voiced-over. This was deemed financially unviable and dubbing, as the most expensive of the three, was discontinued.

The turning point for the contemporary Polish dubbing came with the 'Polonised' translation of *Shrek* (dir. A. Adamson, V. Jenson; dubbing dir. J. Wizmur) in 2001, written by Bartosz Wierzbięta, a leading Polish dialogue writer (Grochowska 2004; Miernik 2008; Szarkowska 2008). Wierzbięta revolutionised Polish dubbing by introducing, for the first time on such a large scale, elements of Polish culture to dubbed foreign films. Earlier, in a 'pre-Wierzbięta era,' Polish dialogue writers would use more faithful versions, closer to the original in terms of both the language (including lip synchronisation and style) and culture (elements of the source culture were mostly retained in the translation). Now, films dubbed into Polish are domesticated on many different levels.

1.2. Domestication and the (in)visibility of the translator

Domestication entails "translating in a transparent, fluent, 'invisible' style in order to minimize the foreignness of the TT" (Munday 2016: 225). As argued by Venuti (1995), the translator is supposed to remain 'invisible' and to create fluent, idiomatic and natural-sounding text. While Venuti acknowledges that "translation [...] always involves a process of domestication, an exchange of source-language intelligibilities for target-language ones" (1995: 203), he sees domestication from the perspective of the cultural hegemony of Anglo-American culture. He believes that in contemporary Anglo-American culture, "a translated text [...] is judged acceptable [...] when it reads fluently [...], giving the appearance [...] that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the 'original'" (Venuti 1995: 1). Fluent, domesticating translation style prevalent in Anglo-American culture involves, in his view, "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values" (Venuti 1995:

20). It also provides English-speaking recipients with “the narcissistic experience of recognizing their own culture in a cultural other” (Venuti 1995: 15).

As noted by Bassnett (2014: 27), Venuti’s contribution is important as it “drew attention to the unequal power relationships prevalent between cultural and linguistic systems” and how they affect translation strategies. Tying Venuti’s view on cultural hegemony of Anglo-American culture with Even-Zohar’s (2012[1978]) notion of (poly)system, one can place Poland on the periphery of the film and audiovisual translation industries (see also Chmiel 2010). A large number of audiovisual productions on the Polish market are imported from the Anglo-American world. They occupy a central position in the Polish film and audiovisual translation system, as opposed to the place taken by translated works in Anglo-American culture.

Given the marginal position of Poland in the film and audiovisual translation industries, it would only be natural to assume that the translation approach adopted by Polish audiovisual translators would be foreignisation, whereby Polish viewers are brought closer to the original film creators and their cultural values. While this indeed might be true in the case of subtitling, where Anglo-American culture permeates the translated product and original English dialogues are presented together with the subtitles, it does not necessarily hold true in contemporary Polish dubbing, where a special kind of domestication is adopted. This type of domestication, initiated by the minor, peripheral culture (Polish) towards works coming from the dominant Anglo-American culture, appropriates the foreign in order to serve its own cultural agenda and economic interests. Instead of sending the viewer abroad (cf. Venuti 1995: 20), contemporary Polish dubbing draws on Polish national pride by minimising the foreignness of the English text, eliminating elements from Anglo-American culture and substituting them with elements from Polish culture. Contemporary Polish dubbing may therefore involve “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values” (here: the reduction of the original English text to Polish values) (Venuti 1995: 20); it also provides Polish viewers with “the narcissistic experience of recognizing their own culture in a cultural other” (Venuti 1995: 15). The cultural paradigm originally envisaged by Venuti is in this case completely reversed.

At the same time, the translator (here: the dubbing dialogue writer) does not remain invisible. On the contrary, the translator emerges as a more prominent figure, almost a celebrity (see the next section). This becomes evident when reading film reviews praising Polish versions of foreign films and interviews with dialogue writers in mainstream press (see Lilian 2013; Senkowski 2002).

1.3. Domestication in Polish dubbing

Polish dubbing as we know it today differs significantly from dubbing in countries with long-standing dubbing traditions like Spain or Italy, where a phenomenon known as *dubbese* has been observed (Antonini 2008; Pavese 2009; Romero Fresco 2006). Carrying pejorative connotations similar to those of 'journalese' or 'legalese', the term 'dubbese' is also a direct reference to 'translationese,' a word that entered the Oxford English Dictionary already in 1957. Translationese denotes "the style of language supposed to be characteristic of (bad) translations; unidiomatic language in a translation" (Oxford English Dictionary 2017)³. Similarly to translationese, which is characterised by unnatural, non-fluent, "wooden" discourse (see Venuti, 1995: 4), dubbese is a special variety of language developed in the dubbing process. Owing to lip-sync and isochrony constraints (Chaume 2012: 73–74), dubbese closely resembles the structure of the original language. It often uses literal translation and calques, both on the semantic and syntactic level, to such a great extent that it sometimes becomes artificial and unnatural (Antonini 2008: 136-137). Films dubbed in this way are closely rooted in the original culture and, although they try to 'pretend' that they are not translations, dubbese makes it self-evident that they constitute translated versions and not the originals.

In contrast, contemporary Polish dubbing is a complete opposite of dubbese. It is very much Polonised and it involves a significant number of alterations between the original and the target version. Bartosz Wierzbęta openly declared in an interview: "I know from experience that the more the Polish dialogue diverges from the original, the better it is. [...] This is not a rule, but the films which diverged most were most popular" (Wojtowicz 2002).

Since the early 2000s, the vast majority of animated children's films dubbed into Polish has been largely domesticated (Borowczyk 2011; Sikora 2013). Domestication manifests itself in different ways: Polish versions include elements of Polish culture, such as literature, films, current political situation, Communist times, songs, social campaigns, etc. Characters in Polish dubbing often have Polish names and frequently speak a very colloquial variety of the Polish language. Some characters are made to use a regional variety of Polish, particularly the dialect spoken in the Tatra mountains or in Silesia. For instance, in the Polish dubbed version of *Frozen* (dir. C. Buck, J. Lee, 2013; *Kraina lodu*, dubbing dir. W. Paszkowski, 2013), the shop owner speaks the Polish highlander dialect from the Podhale region ('Jak tyn juhos co mu się łorczyk urwał, tyz mam dwa końce, co se muse związać', which literally means: 'Like this young shepherd who got his drag lift broken, I also have two ends that I need to tie up') whereas in the English original version, he uses a

standard variety of language ('See, this is from our winter stock, where supply and demand have a big problem', see Markowska 2015: 28-29).

The culturally marked items in Polish dubbed versions are used both to replace the culture-bound elements of the source culture and to introduce some Polish flavour to scenes and utterances which were culturally neutral and unmarked in the original. As noted by Chmiel (2010: 130), this strategy is supposed to make the film funnier and more enjoyable: "[b]y activating a whole network of cultural associations, this substitution is very entertaining to the Polish adult audience." Wierzbicka declares himself in favour of such cultural adaptation, stating that "it is not about making the Polish text a perfect reflection of the original. What counts are synchronisation, attractiveness and understandability." He also claims that "dubbing is just one big fraud – it somehow tries to convince the audience that the film has been made in Poland"⁴ (Długosz 2004).

Domestication in Polish dubbing is vastly praised not only by viewers and film critics, but also by many AVT scholars (Chmiel 2010; Grochowska 2004; Janikowski 2005). Tomaszewicz (2006: 202) writes about "a new dimension of film dialogues, the Polish viewer-friendly". She claims that additions and replacements are perfectly understood by the recipients of Polish dubbed versions, because they "refer to our language and cultural background" (2006: 202). Janikowski (2005: 43) writes about the domestication of film dialogues by introducing "self-evident allusions" which are, according to him, obvious to every Pole. Borowczyk (2011: 58) claims that by adding such allusions, translators assure themselves that the sense incorporated will be easily and quickly understood by the Polish viewer, and, as a result, the production in question is bound to be a success.

A handful of scholars (see Urban 2013, 2015) are now beginning to question the increasing presence of Polish cultural elements in contemporary dubbing and their transparency to a wider audience. According to Tryuk (2008: 36), there is a danger that an excessive intervention in the original text may change the artistic value of the film and its character. Polish viewers may also feel confused when watching an American film in which the characters' utterances refer to some hermetic elements of Polish culture (Urbańska 2006).

Following a close analysis of Polish dubbed versions of animated feature films, Urban (2013) argues that dubbing in Poland is an example of 'excessive' domestication. She presents samples of such domestication, showing that the allusions to Polish reality in a foreign film may often be unclear to viewers. Thus, while domestication, by definition, involves making the translated version sound more familiar and easy to comprehend for the recipient, introducing numerous erudite allusions to Polish culture may create a reverse

effect. Instead of domesticating the film, they, paradoxically, might make it slightly more “foreign” since they refer to cultural elements which may be unknown to viewers even if they come from their own culture.

Excessive domestication may cause comprehension problems, particularly among young viewers, who are after all the original recipients of cartoons, given that most of them do not recognise the majority of the allusions, especially to politics, literature or TV series from several decades ago (Urban 2013: 478). While it is indeed doubtful if children are able to understand certain displays of domestication, adults’ understanding of these allusions have been taken for granted so far. Adult viewers are somehow supposed to be able to identify, recognise and understand most culture-bound references used in Polish dubbing, regardless of their origins. Such allusions, however, may be unclear to adult Polish viewers as well, since they require a certain level of erudition. The risk of not being able to recognise the references to Polish culture is even more probable when they allude to texts and events from the past. Urban (2013: 478) argues that many of such allusions are not understood by the younger audience – not because they refer to the reality of adults, but simply because they allude to the reality from the (distant) past. Likewise, we believe that even adult viewers may sometimes be unfamiliar with cultural references, going back several decades in time. Similarly, the use of allusions to current affairs and the political situation in dubbing may be risky, too, as people who will watch the dubbed films containing such references in the future may not be necessarily familiar with them. Urban (2013, 2015) notes that translators sometimes forget “that films are dubbed not (only) for the short-time screening in the cinemas, but for generations (of young viewers) to come” (Urban 2015: 74).

2. Study

The question of translating culture has always been one of the cornerstones of Translation Studies scholarship (see Bassnett 2002; Katan 2004; Leppihalme 1997; Pedersen 2011; Snell-Hornby 1988; among many others). The presence of foreign culture in a text may be manifested by references to geography, traditions, history, institutions, literary and artistic works, socio-political situation and ethnographic objects, to name just a few (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007; Katan 2009). Such culture-specific items, also known as ‘culturemes’ or ‘extra-linguistic cultural references’ (Pedersen 2011: 43), have often been considered hurdles in the translation process. When faced with such hurdles, translators often resort to “strategic behaviour”, i.e. “translating in which problem-solving is involved” (Lörscher 1991: 88). Strategic behaviour relies on using various translation strategies, as opposed to “non-strategic translating [...] characterised by a problem-free, automatic replacement of source-language text segments by target-language text

segments” (Lörscher 1991: 88). According to Pedersen (2011: 42), strategic behaviour is triggered by certain source text elements, sometimes referred to as ‘translation crisis points.’ In this study, we are particularly interested in the strategic behaviour of contemporary Polish dubbing dialogue writers who adopted the domestication approach when faced with such ‘crisis points.’ We also wanted to know whether this approach is welcome by Polish viewers.

For the purposes of this study, we used the typology of culture-specific elements from Urban (2015). Having conducted a detailed descriptive study of 16 major films dubbed from English into Polish between the years 2001 and 2012, Urban proposed a classification of cultural references in contemporary Polish dubbing, which we found particularly useful for the purposes of our study, as it referred to the same type of materials and posed similar questions with regard to Polish dubbing as we did⁵.

By conducting this study, we wanted to find whether adult Polish viewers are able to identify cultural allusions in dubbed animated children’s films. Given the fact that many displays of domestication in contemporary Polish dubbing refer to elements from the past, we predicted that they may be unclear to some viewers. We sought to find whether the knowledge of Polish culture, taken for granted by many dialogue writers, is actually shared by Polish viewers. We also wanted to see if viewers, regardless of being able to identify cultural allusions or not, approve of this type of domestication and enjoy it.

2.1. Method

With the above goals in mind, we designed a survey and distributed it online in May 2016, using social media and personal networks. The questionnaire was created on Google Forms.

The survey consisted of 21 questions: a set of 20 open-ended video-based questions and a closed-ended one. In order to answer the video-based questions, participants had to watch a short excerpt from a Polish dubbed version of a cartoon and then answer a question related to the cultural reference. Each excerpt contained one allusion to Polish culture presented in a context.

We wanted to see whether the participants were able to identify the cultural allusions used in Polish dubbing. We asked them to provide, for instance, the title of the work a given clip refers to or the name of the person alluded to.

The last multiple-choice question aimed to elicit the participants’ opinion on the use of this type of domestication in Polish dubbing: *Do references to Polish reality in dubbing make the film more accessible to the Polish viewer?*

Participants were asked to choose from a 5-point scale: (1) definitely no, (2) no, (3) difficult to say, (4) yes, (5) definitely yes.

2.2. Materials

The excerpts were taken from eight animated feature films: *Gdzie jest Nemo?* (*Finding Nemo*, 2003), *Madagaskar* (*Madagascar*, 2005), *Pingwiny z Madagaskaru* (*Penguins of Madagascar*, 2014), *Ratatuj* (*Ratatouille*, 2007), *Samoloty* (*Planes*, 2013), *Shrek 2* (*Shrek 2*, 2004), *Shrek Forever* (*Shrek Forever After*, 2010), and *Szeregowiec Dolot* (*Valiant*, 2005). The fragments represented a variety of English-speaking cartoons with contemporary Polish dubbing. The films were released and dubbed into Polish between 2003 and 2014. The study took place in the spring of 2016. This means that some of the references used in dubbing which were clear and topical at the time of the release, particularly the ones related to the political situation, may not be easy to understand when the study was conducted.

The cultural elements in the films were grouped into six categories, following the typology proposed by Urban (2015): (1) references to films and TV series, (2) references to literature, (3) references to songs, (4) references to social campaigns, (5) references to politics and history, and (6) references to celebrities. In Tables 1–5 below we present the film fragments containing cultural references (in bold) used in the study and – for the lack of space – briefly discuss some of them to give the readers an indication of the degree of domestication adopted in Polish dubbing.

Ex.	Original English title / Polish title (year)	Original English version	Polish dubbed version	Back-translation of the Polish dubbing	Source of the references
1	<i>Szeregowiec Dolot / Valiant</i> (2005)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I must do the secret knock! - Who is it? - De Gaulle. - You must do the secret password. Jacques, there is no time! - Baa, baa, black sheep, have you any... - Wine? - Oh, no, no... 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wystukam kod! - Kto tam? - De Gaulle. - Musisz najpierw podać hasło. - Jacques, ścigają nas! - Najlepsze kasztany są na placu... - Boju? - O, non, non... 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I'll do the secret knock! - Who is it? - De Gaulle. - Firstly, you must say the password. - Jacques, they're after us! - The best chestnuts are on square... - Of the battle? - O, non, non... 	<p>ENG: children song <i>Baa Baa Black Sheep</i> ("Baa baa black sheep / Have you any wool?")</p> <p>PL: <i>Stawka większa niż życie</i>, a Polish TV series (dir. A. Konic, J. Morgenstern, 1960s) The full quote is: "- W Paryżu najlepsze kasztany są na Placu Pigalle. - Joanna lubi je tylko jesienią." [In Paris the best chestnuts are on Pigalle Square, Joanna likes them only in the autumn.]</p>

2	<i>Samoloty / Planes</i> (2013)	Oh, man, Duster you were in the zone!	O, bracie, ale dzisiaj to żeś ale urwał!	Oh, mate, you were awesome today, you totally rock!	PL: a video from YouTube (2010) "Ale urwał! Ale to było dobre!" [That's torn it! Oh, mate, that was awesome!]
3	<i>Szeregowiec Dolot / Valiant</i> (2005)	By the next six weeks your tails belong to me.	Od dzisiaj jestem dla was matką, żoną i kochanką.	As from today, I'm your mother, wife and lover.	PL: <i>Matki, żony i kochanki</i> , a Polish TV series (dir. J. Machulski, R. Zatorski, 1990s)
4	<i>Shrek 2 / Shrek 2</i> (2004)	- Mother?! - Mary! A talking horse!	- Matulu?! - Czy jest suchy chleb dla konia?	- Mummy?! - Is there any dry bread for the horse?	PL: <i>Wojna domowa</i> , a Polish TV series (J. Gruza, 1960s); in each episode a stranger (played by Jarema Stępkowski) asks for some old bread for a horse
5	<i>Shrek 2 / Shrek 2</i> (2004)	- What? - Do you still know the Muffin Man ? - Well, sure. He's down on Drury Lane. Why? - Because we're gonna need flour...	- Co? - Masz może jeszcze kontakt ze Żwirkiem ? - Ostatnio kręcił z jednym młynarzem, a co? - Bo Muchomorek mi się skarżył...	- What? - Do you still keep in touch with Żwirek ? - He's been doing some business with some miller lately, why? - Cause Muchomorek has been complaining to me...	ENG: <i>The Muffin Man</i> , a traditional nursery rhyme "Do you know the muffin man (...)" PL: <i>Bajki z mchu i paproci</i> , a Czechoslovakian animated TV series for children (dir. Zdeněk Smetana, Hana Němečková; on Polish TV: since 1970): <i>Żwirek</i> and <i>Muchomorek</i> , characters from the TV series.
6	<i>Szeregowiec Dolot / Valiant</i> (2005)	- Who is your contact in the Resistance? - Oh, no! - Speak! - This canary will never say.	- Mów! Telefony, kontakty, nazwiska, adresy! - O nie! - Si! - Nie ze mną te numery, Bruner.	- Talk! Telephones, contacts, names, addresses! - Oh no! - Si! - Don't play with me, Bruner.	ENG: an allusion to the expression "to sing like a canary" PL: <i>Stawka większa niż życie</i> , a Polish TV series (dir. A. Konic, J. Morgenstern, 1960s) The original quote was: "Takie sztuczki nie ze mną, Brunner." [Don't use such tricks on me, Brunner.]

Table 1. References to films and TV series

Most cultural references in this section allude to Polish film classics (Examples 1, 3–6). For instance, Ex. 1 and 6 contain references to a Polish black and white TV series from the 1960s entitled *Stawka większa niż życie* (*Stakes Larger Than Life*, dir. A. Konic, J. Morgenstern) about Hans Kloss, a Soviet double agent acting in the Nazi Abwehr during World War II. The passage used in Ex. 1 originates from one of the episodes in which a liaison officer says the password to find out whether he is talking to a trusted person: *W Paryżu najlepsze kasztany są na placu Pigalle* [‘The best chestnuts in Paris are at Pigalle Square’]. Kloss responds with the predetermined answer *Joanna lubi*

je tylko jesienią [‘Joanna likes them only in the autumn’]. The liaison officer ends up with the final passage *Przesyła ci świeżą partię* [‘She is sending you a fresh batch’] to show that he understood and accepted the provided countersign. The dialogue writer substituted the original allusion to a nursery rhyme (*Baa baa black sheep*) with a reference to this classic TV series, thus creating completely different associations in Polish viewers (children’s poem vs. WWII context).

Ex. 6 contains an allusion to another cult passage from *Stawka większa niż życie*. Although originally in the TV series Kloss says: *Takie sztuczki nie ze mną, Brunner* [‘Don’t use such tricks on me, Bruner’], the passage became popular as *Nie ze mną te numery, Brunner* [‘Don’t play with me, Bruner’] and was used in this form in the dubbed version (Bralczyk 2007: 281). The phrase is uttered in the TV series by Hans Kloss to Hermann Brunner, a Nazi official, in order to warn him that he cannot mislead Kloss. In *Valliant*, a soldier also warns a Nazi official that he would not let himself be manipulated, which makes the context in the two versions similar and might, at least partially, explain the use of this reference in this context.

	Title (year of production)	English version	Polish version	Back-translation of the Polish dubbing	References
7	<i>Madagaskar / Madagascar</i> (2005)	- Good evening, officers! - No, no, you don’t talk now, OK? You’re not so good with the “putting the words together and coming out good” thing. You keep it “shh”!	- Witam organ ścigania! - Nie, nie, ty się w ogóle nie odzywaj, tak? Wirtuoz negocjacji to ty nie jesteś, a tu chodzi, żeby język był giętki , więc siedź ćsi!	- Hello, investigation authority! - No, no, you don’t talk at all, right? You’re not the best one in negotiating, and here, the language needs to be flexible , so keep it “shh”!	PL: Juliusz Słowacki’s <i>Beniowski</i> “Chodzi mi o to, aby język giętki / Powiedział wszystko, co pomyśli głowa (...)” [I mean: the words, now bold, now warm, now faint, / Should follow the quick spirit’s every thought] ⁶
8	<i>Ratatuj / Ratatouille</i> (2007)	Cleanerific. Cleanerino. Close to godliness , which means clean. You know, cleanliness is close to... Never mind, move on.	Czyste jak łza. Jak te łzy, co się polały... No, rym do rzęsiste, rozumiesz, na młodość chmurną i dur... Nieważne, przechodź.	Clean as a tear. Just as the tears that have been shed... Yeah, it rhymes with pouring, you know, for the youth that is sulky and stu... Never mind, move on.	ENG: the idiomatic expression “cleanliness is close to godliness”; alliteration PL: Adam Mickiewicz’s <i>Liryki lozańskie</i> (19 th c.) “Polały się łzy me czyste, rzęsiste / Na me dzieciństwo sielskie, anielskie, / Na moją młodość górną i durną (...)” [I wept my clean, huge tears / For my happy, angelic childhood / For my youth, ambitious and foolish]

Table 2. References to literature

The allusions to literature used in the dubbed versions of films in our study come from the canon of Polish literature. Ex. 7 is taken from a scene in *Madagascar* where two main characters, Alex and Marty, are caught by the police while escaping from the Central Park Zoo. Alex silences Marty, arguing that he is not eloquent enough to talk with the police. In the Polish dubbing, Alex uses a slightly modified quote from the poem *Beniowski* by Juliusz Słowacki, who was one of the most important Polish poets of the Romantic period along with Adam Mickiewicz and Cyprian Kamil Norwid. Given that Słowacki's works, *Beniowski* included, are part of the national curriculum in Poland, the dialogue writer may have assumed that the quote should be recognizable and sound familiar to Polish viewers.

Ex. 8 from the Polish version of *Ratatouille* also contains a fairly straightforward allusion to another famous Polish Romantic poet, Adam Mickiewicz, and his poem collection entitled *Liryki lozańskie* [Lausanne Lyrics]. The scene depicts the main character Remi, a rat, analysing the food brought to him by his rat friends. As the one gifted with an exceptional sense of smell, he examines whether the food is edible. As Remi is bored, he tries to be more creative. In the English version, he uses the expression "cleanliness is close to godliness" since he talks about the food being clean or not. He also comes up with alliterative neologisms to denote "clean": "cleanerific," "cleanerino," "close," "clean," and "cleanliness," which reinforces his urge for creativity. In the Polish version, the dominant theme is the allusion to Mickiewicz's work. Just as in the original poem, where the lyrical subject is pondering his life, Remi the rat is wistfully brooding over his situation, which makes the two contexts similar and may, at least partially, explain the use of the quote in dubbing.

	Title (year of production)	English version	Polish version	Back-translation of the Polish dubbing	References
9	<i>Gdzie jest Nemo? / Finding Nemo</i> (2003)	Bubbles! [<i>incomprehensible onomatopoeic sounds</i>] My bubbles!	Bąbelki! Bąbulki! Bulbulki! Bąbliki! Bąbelki! Ja wszystkie was bąbelki... Moje bąbelki!	Bubbles! Bubbles! Bubbles! Bubbles! Bubbles! [various diminutives] All of you, bubbles, I... My bubbles!	PL: Jan Kiepura <i>Brunetki, blondynki</i> , a Polish song (1935) "Brunetki, blondynki, ja wszystkie was dziewczynki / całować chcę" [Brunettes, blondes, I want to kiss you all, girls]

10	<i>Gdzie jest Nemo?</i> / <i>Finding Nemo</i> (2003)	- Peach, any movement? - He's had four cups of coffee. It's got to be soon.	- Malina, jak sytuacja? - Całkiem spokojnie, pije czwartą kawę. Zaraz pójdzie.	- Malina, how's the situation? - Quite peaceful, he's drinking his fourth coffee. He's got to go soon.	PL: a song <i>Za szybą</i> (1977) by Jerzy Filar, Jacek Cygan, Andrzej Pawlukiewicz, performed by Grażyna Łobaszewska "(...) Całkiem spokojnie wypiję trzecią kawę (...)" [I'll drink my third coffee completely peacefully]
11	<i>Madagaskar / Madagascar</i> (2005)	- Where exactly is "here"? San Diego. - San Diego? White, sandy beaches, cleverly simulated natural environment, wide-open enclosures. I'm telling you: this could be the San Diego Zoo.	- A to tu, to znaczy gdzie? - W Sopocie. - Ale to gdzie jest molo? - Morski szum, prawda, ptasi śpiew, a tam pewnie pośród drzew turystyczna infrastruktura! A tak poważnie: to jest zoo w San Diego.	- And here means where? - In Sopot. - But where's the pier? - The sea swoosh, right, birds singing, and there, among the trees there's got to be some touristic infrastructure! But seriously: this is the San Diego Zoo.	PL: a song performed by Czerwone Gitary <i>Historia jednej znajomości</i> (1965), by Krzysztof Klenczon, Jerzy Kossela "Morza szum, ptaków śpiew, złota plaża pośród drzew" [The sound of the sea, birds singing, a golden beach among the trees]

Table 3. References to songs

Polish dialogue writers sometimes make use of famous Polish songs in dubbing. For instance, in Ex. 9 a scene from *Finding Nemo* depicts a fish giving out inarticulate cries — the only thing we are able to distinguish is the phrase "Bubbles, (...) my bubbles!". In the Polish version, the fish's cries strongly resemble the song *Brunetki, blondynki* from 1935 performed by a famous Polish singer and actor Jan Kiepura. Technically, such a replacement was possible since the words *bąbelki* ['bubbles'], *blondynki* ['blondes'] and *brunetki* ['brunettes'] are similar in Polish and in English — they all begin with a bilabial sound [b] and thus conform with the requirement of lip synchronisation. Semantically, however, the dubbed version implicitly gains some sexual overtones because the Polish audience knows that the song continues: 'I want to kiss you all, girls.' As such, the dubbed version may be more appealing to the adult members of the audience compared to the original.

	Title (year of production)	English version	Polish version	Back-translation of the Polish dubbing	References
12	<i>Shrek 2 / Shrek 2</i> (2004)	Be good!	Pij mleko!	Drink milk!	ENG: <i>E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial</i> (dir. S. Spielberg, 1982) [goodbye scene] PL: a national public campaign <i>Pij mleko – będziesz wielki</i> [Drink milk, you'll grow (2003)]
13	<i>Shrek 2 / Shrek 2</i> (2004)	- So that's it? You won't come. - Trust me, it's a bad idea. We are not going, and that's final!	- Czyli nie chcesz, tak? Nie zgadzasz się. - Wierz mi, to jest beznadziejny pomysł. Nigdzie nie jedziemy, a zupa była za słona!	- So you don't want, right? You don't agree. - Trust me, it's a hopeless idea. We're not going anywhere, and the soup was too salty!	PL: a slogan from a public campaign against domestic violence <i>Powstrzymać przemoc domową</i> [Stop domestic violence] (1997) "Bo zupa była za słona" [Because the soup was too salty]

Table 4. References to social campaigns

Examples of references to social campaigns in Polish dubbing used in this study come from *Shrek 2*. Interestingly, the original English scene featuring Shrek and Fiona arguing about paying a visit to Fiona's parents in Ex. 13 contained no cultural allusion. In the Polish dubbed version, the dialogue uses a slogan from a Polish public campaign against domestic violence *Powstrzymać przemoc domową* ['To stop domestic violence'] launched in 1997. The campaign presented several irrational justifications for domestic violence accompanied with images of bruised women and children. One of them was the phrase *Bo zupa była za słona* ['Because the soup was too salty']. The common denominator for the original and dubbed version is the context of a family argument. Although originally in Polish there was an implication of domestic violence when using the phrase, it has since worn off and it may now also be used jokingly or ironically (Bralczyk 2007: 39).

	Title (year of production)	English version	Polish version	Back-translation of the Polish dubbing	References
14	<i>Ratatuj / Ratatouille</i> (2007)	- Remy! - Emile? - I can't believe it! You're alive!	- Remi! - Emil? - Mordo ty moja! Żyjesz jednak!	- Remi! - Emil? - Old chap! You're alive!	PL: a campaign video by PiS (2007), earlier: <i>Miodowe lata</i> (dir. M. Wojtyszko, M. Strzembosz, 1998–2003), a catchphrase by one of the TV series

					characters, Roman Kurski
15	<i>Pingwiny z Madagaskaru / Penguins of Madagascar</i> (2014) [question 16.]	Well, sorry, kid. You know, we lose a few eggs every year. It's just nature.	No sorry , mały. Czasem jaja się traci i już, taki mamy klimat .	Well, sorry , kid. You lose some eggs sometimes, that's it, that's our climate .	PL: Elżbieta Bieńkowska's words "Sorry, taki mamy klimat" [Sorry, that's our climate] when commenting on delays of trains caused by extreme weather conditions (2014) (then: Ministry of Infrastructure and Development)
16	<i>Shrek Forever / Shrek Forever After</i> (2010)	At the birthday party with some pigs and a puppet the villagers wanted me to sign their pitch forks and this boy kept saying <i>do the roar, do the roar</i> , then I punched the cake that the pigs ate and next thing I knew my donkey fell in your wafer hole. Right? Who's with me?	Na imprezie były trzy świnie i jeden pajacyk, a wieśniacy chcieli, żebym podpisał im widły. Wszyscy krzydzeli <i>no zarycz, no zarycz</i> , to walnąłem ten tort pożarty przez świnie i ani się obejrzałem, mój osioł liznał wam gofry. Tak? Pomożecie?	There were three pigs and one puppet at the party, and the peasants wanted me to sign their pitchforks. Everybody was crying <i>do the roar, do the roar</i> , so I punched the cake that the pigs ate and the next thing I knew my donkey licked your wafers. Right? Will you help me?	PL: Edward Gierek's famous words (25 January 1971, during a meeting with shipyard workers): First Secretary of Polish United Workers' Party in the Polish People's Republic

Table 5.: References to politics and history

The study contains three references to politics and history. Two of them allude to more recent famous quotes from the world of politics, while the third one uses a well-known passage from the Communist times. Ex. 16 shows Shrek's monologue directed at other ogres, where Shrek describes what has recently happened in his life. At the end, he asks the other ogres for help. In the original version, Shrek ends up with the question "Who's with me?," which implies that he needs some help from his listeners. In the Polish version, the dialogue writer introduced the phrase *Pomożecie?* ['Will you help?'], alluding to Edward Gierek's famous words when speaking to the crowds gathered in a Polish shipyard. Gierek was the First Secretary of Polish United Workers' Party in the Polish People's Republic between 1970–1980. He usually ended his speeches with a question in order to involve his listeners. As noted by Bralczyk (2007: 325), the phrase is now remembered as much more enthusiastically welcomed than in the reality, when it constituted part of the Communist propaganda. As shown by the National Polish Corpus (Przepiórkowski *et al.* 2012), the phrase is nowadays used in the media as an ironic reference to the Communist period. Again, as in the case of previous examples, the original

English version does not contain any cultural allusion, whereas the Polish dubbed version is clearly culturally marked and triggers political associations which were not envisaged by the original film makers.

	Title (year of production)	English version	Polish version	Back-translation of the Polish dubbing	References
17	<i>Shrek 2 / Shrek 2</i> (2004)	Hey, body, let me clue you in. There's only one fellow who can handle a job like that and, frankly, he don't like to be disturbed.	Kolego, patrz mnie na usta. Jest tylko jeden szpenio, co weźmie tę chryję na warsztat i, wierz mnie, radia to on słucha w pogodę.	Body, look at my lips. There's only one fellow who can work on such a brawl, and, believe me, he's listening to the radio when the weather is fine.	PL: dubbed by Wojciech Mann, who created, together with Krzysztof Materna, a Polish radio station called "Radio Kolor"
18	<i>Samoloty / Planes</i> (2013)	- Nowadays, they got soybean fuel, switchgrass fuel, algae fuel. Come on! - Healthy! - Tell me about it! - No, tank you. - What's next, pistachio propane? - What, are you nuts? - For my money, there's nothing like good old-fashioned corn fuel.	- Tera to pędzą benzynę ze soi, borygo z sorgo, naftę z tofu, no ludzie! - Taa, eko... - Koniec świata! - Dziękuję, nie leję. - Co jeszcze – ropa z grzyba? - Nie obrzydzaj mnie! - Mówta, co chceta , a nic tak nie wchodzi, jak stara dobra wacha z prosa.	- Nowadays, they're making soybean fuel, borygo from sorghum, kerosene from tofu, come on! - Yeah, eco... - It's the end of the world! - No, thank you, I don't fuel. - What else? Oil from mushrooms? - Don't disgust me! - Say what you want , but there's nothing better than good old-fashioned juice from millet.	PL: Jurek Owsiak's words: "Róbta, co chceta!"; his programme <i>Róbta, co chceta, czyli rockandrollowa jazda bez trzymanki</i> [Do what you want, or a rock'n'roll wild ride] (TVP, 1990)
19	<i>Samoloty / Planes</i> (2013)	- Our very own Colin Cowling is standing by live from JFK airport with the best seat in the house. How's the view, big guy? - Brent, the scene below me is absolutely electric. As you know, we have racers from all over the world, here.	- A na żywo jest już nasz redakcyjny kolega, redaktor Zimoch , wiszący w swojej łoży komentatorskiej nad lotniskiem. Oddajcie wóz, znaczy głos! - Dzięki, Brent! Nowy Jork z góry jak Mona Lisa zadziwia, samochody jak kobiety w eleganckich toaletach, a samoloty jak wypicowani mężczyźni w smokach.	- Our colleague from our editorial office, Zimoch, is standing by live, hanging in his commentary lodge above the airport. Let us hear your car, I mean, your voice! - Thanks, Brent! From above, New York surprises like Mona Lisa, the cars like women in elegant clothes, and the planes like dressed-up men in tuxedos.	PL: Tomasz Zimoch, a Polish sports commentator ENG: Brent Musburger, Colin Cowherd – American sports commentators

Table 6.: References to celebrities

The last three excerpts in the study contained references to Polish celebrities. For instance, in Ex. 18 from *Planes*, the two characters, Chug and Roper, are talking about new ecological trends in fuels. In both language versions, they speak in a colloquial way, using careless, sometimes incorrect pronunciation. The English version contains a pun: “No, tank you” instead of “No, thank you,” referring to the fact that the conversation is held by two vehicles. In the Polish version, the pun was not substituted by another pun; instead, an additional cultural meaning was introduced: a famous phrase attributed to Jurek Owskiak, a Polish journalist and head of one of the largest Polish NGOs, Wielka Orkiestra Świątecznej Pomocy, WOŚP [‘The Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity’]. Recognised by nearly all Polish people, Owskiak is known for his straightforward manner of speaking and the use of colloquial and youth language. The utterance *Mówta, co chceta* [‘Say what you want’] used in Polish dubbing alludes to the phrase uttered by Owskiak *Róbta, co chceta* [‘Do what you want’]. According to Bralczyk (2007: 349), the Polish phrase is an outdated dialectal form of dual imperative, and Owskiak probably used it to manifest the freedom to do what one wants and speak as one wishes. Even though Owskiak’s colloquial language seems to be a good match with Chug’s speaking style, the cultural set of associations triggered by the Polish dubbing differs substantially from that in the original.

To recap, the materials used in the study encompassed a variety of cultural allusions, which we believe constitutes a good sample of current domestication practices in Polish dubbing.

2.3. Participants

The entire survey was completed by 201 people (147 women and 54 men); incomplete answers were discarded. Participants were aged between 17 and 78 years old (see Table 7). The mean age was 28 years old ($SD = 1.2$) and the median age was 23. We also wanted to test young people in particular, as we predicted they may experience difficulties understanding some cultural allusions, particularly older ones or those relating to the Communist times.

For further analyses, the participants were divided into four age groups: 17–24 years, 25–40, 41–59, and 60+. Because of recruitment issues, the older age groups are not well represented in the study, which limits our scope to draw reliable conclusions related to these groups.

	Number	Percentage
17-24 years	116	58 %
25-40 years	58	29 %
41-59 years	21	10 %
60+ years	6	3 %
Total	201	100%

Table 7. Participants by age groups

2.4. Data analysis

Participants' answers were coded and allocated a score of 0, 1 or 2 points: "0" for an incorrect answer, "1" for a correct, but incomplete one, "2" for a correct and complete one. To give an example, Ex. 15 contained an allusion to a quote from Elżbieta Bieńkowska, a former Minister, commenting on a delay of trains in Poland caused by extreme weather conditions. In the survey, we asked the participants about the origin of this quote and allocated 2 points to the full complete answer ("Elżbieta Bieńkowska"), 1 point to an answer that was correct but incomplete (for instance, "a politician's utterance"), and 0 points to someone who said, for example, "I know these words, but I don't know who used them for the first time."

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Results by type of cultural reference

Table 8 shows mean comprehension scores by the category of cultural reference (on a scale from 0 to 2). The highest comprehension score was achieved in the Social campaigns and the Films and TV series categories, while the lowest in Literature.

Category	Mean (SD)*
Films and TV series	1.24 (.51)
Literature	.61 (.63)
Songs	.87 (.56)
Social campaigns	1.38 (.63)
Politics and history	.99 (.53)
Celebrities	.81 (.57)
Total	.98

*Mean score (standard deviation)

Table 8. Mean comprehension scores by category

We believe the differences we found may stem from the character of the references. The score obtained in the Literature category may be low because these references relate to “high culture” and can be considered what Wojtasiewicz called “erudite” allusions (2005[1957]: 71). They were quotes from 19th century Polish poetry, which constitute the core of Polish canon. Although the fragments used in dubbing may be known to many Poles, not everyone could correctly identify their authors. People taking part in our study frequently confused the three famous Polish Romantic poets: Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki and Cyprian Kamil Norwid. Some were able to correctly name the period the quotes come from (Romanticism), but they failed to recognise the author. While some people mistakenly identified the authors as Mikołaj Rej or Jan Kochanowski, famous Polish poets of the Renaissance period, others thought the quotes came from 20th century poets like Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński or Edward Stachura. One person wrongly attributed a literature quote to a famous Polish linguist, Jerzy Bralczyk. Such answers suggest that, on the one hand, the respondents were not always able to identify the allusions; on the other hand, these references rang a bell, the participants could somehow classify them in a broadly understood field of Polish literature and language.

The high score in the Social campaigns category may be explained by the fact that campaigns, regardless of their kind (social or commercial), reach people from different social groups, no matter what their occupation or interests are, since they are often ubiquitous. The campaigns used in this study were extremely popular when they were launched, which may be the reason why the majority of the respondents was able to correctly identify them.

A high score was also found in the Films and TV series category. This may possibly reflect the popularity of audiovisual media and their more democratic and mainstream nature, as compared to the classic literature or politics and history.

Many participants provided answers we did not expect. Instead of stating the original source of a quote or an allusion, they mentioned other cultural works that re-used the original references later. This happened, for instance, with the reference to the song *Brunetki, blondynki*; several respondents attributed this allusion to another song, *Honda szybsza niż wygląda* (2014) by Letni, Chamski Podryw, that reuses the famous passage “brunetki, blondynki.” This is in line with a trend manifested by many modern films, whose plots are increasingly more complex and where intertextuality plays an increasingly important role (see Chmiel 2010).

3.2 Results by age

In all categories participants often mistakenly attributed authorship of a certain quote to a wrong person or could not identify the author at all. Some people provided such answers as “I don’t know where the quote comes from, but my parents use it a lot” or “My mum says so”, which may indicate a generational difference between dialogue writers and young film audience. Therefore, having established general scores across categories, we also wanted to see whether there were any differences in the scores depending on the participants’ age (see Table 9).

Age group	Films and TV series	Literature	Songs	Social campaigns	Politics and history	Celebrities	Total
17-24 years	1.11 (.54)	.58 (.64)	.72 (.53)	1.34 (.63)	.93 (.57)	.64 (.52)	0.88
25-40 years	1.42 (.45)	.68 (.62)	1.04 (.56)	1.54 (.60)	1.06 (.47)	1.02 (.53)	1.12
41-59 years	1.44 (.29)	.66 (.65)	1.31 (.45)	1.38 (.49)	1.11 (.50)	1.22 (.59)	1.18
60+ years	1.23 (.37)	.50 (.63)	.66 (.47)	.75 (.88)	1.22 (.27)	.55 (.45)	0.81
Total	1.24	.61	.87	1.38	.99	.81	

Table 9. Mean comprehension scores by age group and category

The highest scores were found in the two mid-age categories (25–40 and 41–59 years). We also found a significant — albeit rather weak — positive correlation between the participants’ age and their score in the four categories of cultural references: Films and TV series ($r = .23, p < .001$), Songs ($r = .28, p < .001$), Celebrities ($r = .26, p < .001$), and Politics and history ($r = .16, p = .027$).

We also thought that it is not only the age of the participants that may be important, but also the times the cultural items referred to. We therefore split the references into two groups: those referring to the times before the 1990s (Communist times and earlier) and those from the 1990s onwards. As a result, we had eleven questions in the “Pre-1990s” group (five questions from the Films and TV series category, three from Songs, one from Politics and history, and two from Literature) and nine questions in the “Since the 1990s” category (two from Films and TV series, two from Social campaigns, two from Politics and history, and three from Celebrities). As shown in Table 10, we did not find any differences in the mean comprehension score in these two groups.

Origin of cultural reference	Mean (SD)
Pre-1990s	1.03 (.47)
Since 1990s	1.03 (.38)

Table 10. Mean comprehension score by the origin of cultural reference

What we did find, however, was that many people could not correctly attribute some references from a more distant past to their authors. For instance, in the question about the reference to Edward Gierek, dating back to Communist times, many participants wrongly attributed his famous words “Will you help?” to other politicians from the past like Bolesław Bierut, Wojciech Jaruzelski or Władysław Gomułka. In the film category, referring to the 1960s series *Wojna domowa*, incorrect answers included other films and series, not necessarily from the same period, but still not the newest ones, such as *Czterej pancerni i pies*, *Alternatywy 4*, *Rejs*, *Miś*, *Czterdziestolatek*. The number of incorrect answers in the case of more recent references was also quite high. For example, the reference about the weather by the then Minister of Infrastructure and Development — Elżbieta Bieńkowska, was wrongly attributed to other female politicians: the Mayor of Warsaw, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, or the Minister of Sport and Tourism, Joanna Mucha.

Although there was no difference in mean comprehension scores between the references from before the 1990s and those since the 1990s onwards, we examined potential differences between participants depending on their age, see Table 11.

	Age	Pre-1990s	Since 1990s
Age	1	.371**	.022
Pre-1990s	.371**	1	.617**
Since 1990s	.022	.617**	1

** $p < .01$

Table 11. Correlations between participants' age and the origin of reference

Comprehension of pre-1990s references was significantly correlated with participant's age, $r = .37$, $p < .001$; older people obtained higher comprehension scores in the pre-1990 category. There was no correlation between the age and the comprehension of cultural references dating from the 1990s onwards, $r = .02$, $p = .75$. Overall, we found that participants from the older age groups were better able to recognise the works from the past. This finding is not surprising, as older participants could probably better relate to older references because they may simply remember them when they first

appeared. Older people have also been longer immersed in Polish culture by experiencing it first-hand.

However, the results related to the oldest age group are somewhat problematic to interpret given the small sample size. Interestingly, people aged 60 and more did not obtain high scores in our study, particularly in the post-1990s category. This may show that a large number of cultural references used in Polish dubbing may not be accessible to them. Yet these results need to be taken cautiously as this age group was not very well represented in our survey.

Back in the late 1950s, Wojtasiewicz (2005[1957]: 70) claimed that by replacing foreign allusions contained in a source text with their domesticated equivalents, translators make sure (or increase the probability) that they can “control” the recipients’ associations. He stated that if an allusion to a generally well-known element of the target culture is used, it is sure to evoke a certain already established association — as a result, translators can somehow predict what the audience’s reaction to a reference will be (Wojtasiewicz 2005[1957]: 70). Our study shows, however, that it is not always the case: sometimes allusions may be completely or partly misunderstood by the recipients. Such a possibility might be even greater in the case of a significant time distance between the moment an allusion is originally used, the moment the cultural element it refers to is created and, finally, the moment the allusion is being recognised by the recipient.

3.3 Viewers’ opinion on domestication

When asked about their opinion on whether the elements of Polish culture in dubbing make a film more accessible, the vast majority of people answered: “yes” (36%) and “definitely yes” (47%), see Table 12. This shows an overwhelming support for this type of cultural references to be used by dialogue writers in Poland.

		Number	Percentage
1.	Definitely no	3	1.5
2.	No	6	3.0
3.	Difficult to say	22	10.9
4.	Yes	74	36.8
5.	Definitely yes	96	47.8
Total		201	100

Table 12. Do references to Polish culture make a film more accessible to the Polish viewer?

The participants' views were not related to age, $r = .03$, $p = .579$, but there was a tendency of men to have a slightly lower preference for domestication (mean $M = 4.04$) compared to women ($M = 4.35$).

Despite the fact that many participants could not correctly identify the cultural allusions, the majority of them approve of the strategy of domestication in Polish dubbing. Overall, over 80% of the respondents think that the references to Polish culture make a film more accessible to the Polish viewer (answers 'yes' and 'definitely yes'), whereas only about 4% do not agree. This suggests that the (in)ability to recognise a cultural allusion does not negatively affect viewers' approval for its presence. Familiarity with the cultural allusion, without being able to pinpoint its exact source, may be sufficient for many people to feel at home with the dubbed film and to enjoy this "narcissistic experience."

All in all, the majority of the scenes in this study alluded to the core of Polish culture. The allusions were supposed to be identifiable to every Pole who should, theoretically, know them either through experience or cultural education (at school or from other sources, such as his or her parents' testimonies). However, the results of our study demonstrate that some references were not easy to identify, regardless of them being classic, canon, or mainstream. This finding questions the claims that, as stated earlier, these allusions are perfectly understood by Polish viewers (Tomaszkiewicz 2006: 202), are "self-evident" or obvious to every Pole (Janikowski 2005: 43), that they can be easily understood (Borowczyk 2011: 58).

4. Conclusions

By conducting this study, we wanted to find whether Polish viewers understand the cultural allusions to Polish culture used in contemporary Polish dubbing and whether they think these allusions make the films more accessible. Our study showed that, paradoxically, although many viewers frequently cannot correctly identify references to Polish culture in Polish dubbing, they welcome such allusions, declaring they make films more accessible.

In more general terms, the participants of this study expressed a warm approval for domestication: the translation approach used in contemporary Polish dubbing which does not faithfully mirror the original, but favours the inclusion of elements from the receiving culture. This type of domestication, adopted by a minor culture towards texts coming from the dominant culture, favours translation which is fluent, familiar and natural-sounding, making viewers feel at home. Polish viewers seem to enjoy "the narcissistic experience of recognizing their own culture in a cultural other" (Venuti 1995: 15),

although admittedly in the case of the dubbed productions from this study, the original culture is not always reduced, as the action is set in an imaginary world, making the Venutian “ethnocentric violence” less prominent.

While in the Anglo-Saxon world, as found by Venuti (1995: 1), the translator is supposed to remain invisible, the Polish approach to contemporary dubbing elevates the translator (the dubbing writer) to a more prominent and visible position. Given that domestication seems to have a significant impact on the commercial success of dubbed films in Poland, it is judged acceptable, or even desirable, by the audience, the critics and the producers. As such, in all probability, it is here to stay.

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Filmography (audiovisual materials referred to in the text)

- *12 Angry Men* (1957). Dir. Sidney Lumet.
- *Alice in Wonderland* (1951). Dir. Clyde Geronimi, Wilfred Jackson.
- *Alicja w krainie czarów* (1951). Dubbing dir. Zofia Dybowska-Aleksandrowicz, Polish dialogues: Studio Opracowań Dialogowych w Warszawie.
- *Alternatywy 4* (1983/1986). Dir. Stanisław Bareja.
- *Anatomia morderstwa* (1961). Dubbing dir. Zofia Dybowska-Aleksandrowicz.
- *Anatomy of a Murder* (1959). Dir. Otto Preminger.
- *Bajki z mchu i paproci* (1968–1970). Dir. Zdeněk Smetana, Hana Němečková.
- *Czterdziestolatek* (1975–1978). Dir. Jerzy Gruza.
- *Czterej pancerni i pies* (1966–1970). Dir. Konrad Nałęcki, Andrzej Czekalski.
- *Dwunastu gniewnych ludzi* (1973). Dubbing dir. Zofia Dybowska-Aleksandrowicz.
- *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982). Dir. Steven Spielberg.
- *The Flintstones* (1960–1966). Dir. William Hanna, Joseph Barbera.
- *Friends* (1994-2004). Dir. Pamela Fryman.
- *Frozen* (2013). Dir. Chris Buck, Jennifer Lee.
- *Harry Smith odkrywa Amerykę* (1947). Dubbing dir. Maria Kaniewska.
- *Kraina lodu* (2013). Dubbing dir. Wojciech Paszkowski, Polish dialogues: Jan Wecsile.
- *Królowna Śnieżka i siedmiu krasnoludków* (1938). Dubbing dir. Ryszard Ordyński, Polish dialogues: Marian Hemar.
- *Matki, żony i kochanki* (1996–1998). Dir. Juliusz Machulski, Ryszard Zatorski.
- *Między nami jaskiniowcami* (1970s/1980s). Dubbing dir. Zofia Dybowska-Aleksandrowicz, Polish dialogues: Andrzej Arno-Jaworski et al.
- *Miś* (1980). Dir. Stanisław Bareja.
- *Miodowe lata* (1998–2003). Dir. Maciej Wojtyszko, Maciej Strzembosz.
- *Przyjaciele* (1994-2004). Dubbing dir. Miriam Aleksandrowicz, Ewa Kania, Polish dialogues: Joanna Klimkiewicz, Dariusz Dunowski.
- *Русский вопрос* (1947). Dir. Michaił Romm.
- *Rejs* (1970). Dir. Marek Piwowski.

- *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937). Dir. David Hand et al.
- *Stawka większa niż życie* (1968–1969). Dir. Andrzej Konic, Janusz Morgenstern.
- *Wojna domowa* (1965–1966). Dir. Jerzy Gruza.

Filmography (case study)

- *Finding Nemo* (2003). Dir. Andrew Stanton, Lee Unkrich.
- *Gdzie jest Nemo?* (2003). Dubbing dir. Joanna Wizmur, Polish dialogues: Elżbieta Łopatniukowa, Katarzyna Bratkowska.
- *Madagascar* (2005). Dir. Tom McGrath, Eric Darnell.
- *Madagaskar* (2005). Dubbing dir. Joanna Wizmur, Polish dialogues: Bartosz Wierzbęta.
- *Penguins of Madagascar* (2014). Dir. Simon J. Smith, Eric Darnell.
- *Pingwiny z Madagaskaru* (2014). Dubbing dir. Jarosław Boberek, Polish dialogues: Michał Wojnarowski.
- *Planes* (2013). Dir. Klay Hall.
- *Ratatouille* (2007). Dir. Brad Bird.
- *Ratatuj* (2007). Dubbing dir. Waldemar Modestowicz, Polish dialogues: Jakub Wecsił.
- *Samoloty* (2013). Dubbing dir. Wojciech Paszkowski, Polish dialogues: Jakub Wecsił.
- *Shrek 2* (2004). Dir. Andrew Adamson, Kelly Asbury, Conrad Vernon.
- *Shrek 2* (2004). Dubbing dir. Joanna Wizmur, Polish dialogues: Bartosz Wierzbęta.
- *Shrek Forever* (2010). Dubbing dir. Anna Apostolakis-Gluzińska, Polish dialogues: Bartosz Wierzbęta.
- *Shrek Forever After* (2010). Dir. Mike Mitchell.
- *Szeregowiec Dolot* (2005). Dubbing dir. Paweł Leśniak, Polish dialogues: Jakub Wecsił.
- *Valiant* (2005). Dir. Gary Chapman, Rob Letterman.

Biographies

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Notes

¹ For a detailed list of films dubbed into Polish see the forum www.polski-dubbing.pl/forum.

² All translations by A. Szarkowska and U. Leszczyńska unless stated otherwise.

³ At the moment of writing this article (spring 2017), the word 'dubbese' has not yet made its way to Oxford English Dictionary.

⁴ Translated by A. Urban.

⁵ However, her paper remained purely descriptive and she did not look into people's views or understanding of such cultural elements.

⁶ Translated by Peter Cochran and Mirosława Modrzewska (2009). "Beniowski". Peter Cochran, Bill Johnston, Mirosława Modrzewska and Catherine O'Neil (eds) *Poland's Angry Romantic. Two Poems and a Play by Juliusz Słowacki* (2009). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, p. 288.