

ATTITUDES OF YOUNG POLES  
AND NORWEGIANS TOWARDS  
AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION  
IN CINEMA AND BROADCAST MEDIA

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**ABSTRACT.** This paper is a contribution to the discussion on audiovisual translation (AVT) in cinema and broadcast media on the example of Poland and Norway seen from the perspective of viewers. It aims at establishing possible differences and similarities in the way dominant AVT modes are viewed by younger people in these two countries. In AVT studies Norway has always been classified as a subtitling country while Poland has traditionally been associated with cinema subtitling and television voice-over, of which the latter often baffles AVT scholars. Consequently, one may presume that the audiences in these two countries are likely to have fairly disparate expectations towards AVT modes used in their cinemas and broadcast media. For the purpose of this article a questionnaire has been prepared and the findings arising from the analysis of the submitted replies will be presented here.



**PRESSto.**

1. AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION IN EUROPE

Screen translating, now commonly referred to as audiovisual translation (AVT), can be found in Europe in the form of three dominant strategies: subtitling, dubbing and voice-over. Subtitling prevails in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, Greece (Gottlieb 1992:169), while dubbing is more common in the south of Europe and in the German-speaking countries, constituting the so called FIGS (France, Italy, Germany and Spain) group. Voice-over, on the other hand, is, although not exclusively, an Eastern European domain (Dries 1995; Gottlieb 1998; 2001; Tomaszewicz 2006). It is important to note here that Gottlieb's classification presented in Baker's *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies* (1998:244) fails to

differentiate between cinema and television translation, where in the case of the former, Poland should be classified as a subtitling country.

While discussing the audiovisual map of Europe, Gambier (1996:8) and Fawcett (1996:84) observe there is a marked tendency for large countries to opt for dubbing and for small countries to favour subtitling. Not all countries, however, fall into that pattern as the example of the Czech Republic indicates, where dubbing is commonly used, or the UK, which is normally labeled as a subtitling country (cf. Media Consulting Group 2007:68). Also, the above division ought to be considered as a somewhat oversimplified classification since the choice between dubbing or subtitling is usually more complex and even in such subtitling strongholds as the Scandinavian countries dubbing can be found in computer-animated feature films from Pixar or Disney while among French and German film buffs subtitling in cinemas is becoming a more and more popular alternative to dubbing (Pedersen 2011)<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION IN POLAND AND NORWAY COMPARED

With reference to the brief discussion above, Poland and Norway seem to be worlds apart as regards the type of the dominating AVT mode, at least as far as the broadcast media are concerned. From the diachronic perspective, Poland constitutes an interesting case as all three AVT modes have been adopted in the Polish media: dubbing and voice-over on television and subtitling and dubbing in cinemas. In the case of the latter, the situation is similar to that found in Norway – feature films are subtitled while computer-animated feature films are, often quite masterfully, dubbed. On television, in contrast, the situation is far more complex and, as of very recently, fairly inconclusive. While the main television stations, both state-owned and commercial, like *TVP*, *TVN*, or *Polsat* choose to stick to the tradition of voice-over, satellite channels aimed at the younger audience (*Teletoon*, *Disney*, or *MiniMini*, to name but a few) have opted for dubbing, both in the case of cartoons for pre-school children and actor tv-series<sup>2</sup>. To complicate matters more, one needs to mention such movie channels as *Canal Plus* and *HBO*,

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed discussion on AVT in Europe see e.g. Badstübner-Kizik (2012), Fawcett (1996), Gambier (1996), or Gottlieb (1992; 1998).

<sup>2</sup> In the 1970s and 1980 dubbing was common practice on Polish tv (which at that time had only two state-owned channels) thanks to the work of, among others, Zofia Dybowska-Aleksandrowicz. Older Polish viewers still probably remember such tv series as *Pippi Langstrumpf*, *The Forsyte Saga*, *The Pallisers*, *Rich Man, Poor Man*, *Elizabeth R* or *I, Claudius* with great Polish-language dubbing. Dybowska-Aleksandrowicz, together with *Studio Opracowań Filmowych*, laid foundations for what might have become the Polish school of dubbing (cf Szarkowska 2009: 15-16; <http://www.dwutygodnik.com/artukul/5658-dialogista-powinien-sluchac.html>), but never completed her work as she was mysteriously murdered in her own flat in central Warsaw in 1989.

where the viewers can switch off the voice-over in favour of subtitles<sup>3</sup>. Also, tv subscribers with access to digital television can switch off the voice-over on the above-mentioned three major Polish channels and watch films in the original version, without any translation into the target language.

In Norway, in contrast, the AVT status quo on tv and cinemas may seem to be less complicated than in Poland since the Norwegian broadcast media have always turned to subtitling as their dominant mode of translation. Similarly to the Polish broadcasters, Norwegians turn to dubbing in the case of computer-animated feature films from major American studios and, just as in Poland, tv channels for children and younger teenagers often choose to dub their tv series.

Linguistically, however, Norway is also unique with its two written language forms, known as *bokmål* and *nynorsk*. These two forms co-exist in public space, both enjoying the equal status of the official language which is to be used in all spheres of life, including the mass media. As a natural consequence of the above status quo, the audiovisual translation activity in Norway is determined by the country's language situation, especially in view of the fact that the subtitling quota for the media presence of either variety (including subtitles) on the state-owned television channels is regulated by law<sup>4</sup>.

Also from the point of view of audiovisual translation theory, the Norwegian example is perceived as fairly unusual, if not even unique. The fact that subtitling can be executed in two written standards of the same language should make the Norwegian mass media an interesting object of linguistic analysis (Awedyk 2013; Tveit 2004). This, however, fails to be reflected in the amount of research conducted in the domain of AVT studies in Norway<sup>5</sup>. Interestingly, this stands in stark contrast to the situation in the neighbouring Denmark, where there is a strong representation of academic research devoted to the issues of AVT. In view of the above, the scarcity of AVT-related research projects and academic publications in Norway may seem rather surprising (see Blystad and Maasø 2004; Kristiansen 2008).

In the Scandinavian context the social, the cultural, as well as the linguistic impact of audiovisual translation for state-owned tv channels is often stressed (Njaal 1989:114). As argued by Njaal (ibidem), the body of text Scandinavian-language subtitles produced each year for television channels (and now for also the DVD and Blu-ray market) leaves a distinctive

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<sup>3</sup> In the 1990s the Polish Canal Plus attempted also to dub some of the tv series they broadcast (most notably *Friends*), but the response from the general public was rather negative, leading to the station abandoning this AVT mode.

<sup>4</sup> Nynorsk presence on the Norwegian national tv channel NRK ought to amount to 25% of the total (see <http://www.sprakradet.no/sprakhjelp/Skriveregler/NRK/>).

<sup>5</sup> See Krogstad (1998); Lomheim (1999; 2000).

impression on the propagation of the language forms found in subtitles among the speakers of the respective Scandinavian languages.

In the recent years, a new issue in studies on subtitling in Scandinavian countries has emerged and it is related to the fact that Scandinavian broadcasters allow regional dialects, even the broadest ones, to be used in locally produced shows. This has sparked off the debate in the respective Nordic countries on the potential need to include intralingual subtitles (see Kristiansen 2008:63ff).

### 3. AIM AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

In view of the issues concerning the AVT mode in Poland and Norway raised above, the author of this article decided to take a closer look at the attitudes of younger audiences<sup>6</sup> (since statistically, they tend to spend more time watching films on different types of modern media than older members of the society<sup>7</sup>) towards the dominant AVT mode in the media in their respective countries.

And to be more precise, the study particularly aims to determine any possible similarities and differences in these attitudes among young Poles and Norwegians towards the dominant forms of audiovisual translation used on television, cinema and on DVDs and Blu-ray discs. Also, the author aims to establish whether there are any signs of change among younger Poles regarding their positive attitude towards voice-over used on tv as the dominant AVT mode for feature films, which, though arguably economically viable, has been in decline elsewhere in the world in the recent years<sup>8</sup>.

Furthermore, the present study attempts to determine to what extent both informants groups are aware of the interdependence between the AVT mode used in the broadcast media in their home countries and any potential positive influence subtitling may have on their English language skills, as argued by Awedyk (2015), Graedler (2002), Ivarsson & Carroll (1998), Pedersen (2011) and Tveit (2004)<sup>9</sup>. The present study is part of a larger project leading to a publication of a monograph on subtitling.

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<sup>6</sup> 30 years old and younger.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.spidersweb.pl/2015/07/czas-przed-telewizorem.html> accessed 10 January 2016

<sup>8</sup> At present voice-over is applied on Western European tv stations in such genres as documentaries, interviews, current affairs programmes, or infomercials (Chmiel 2015:129).

<sup>9</sup> It has been argued that in the European countries where children start learning foreign languages early, especially English, “watching television makes a substantial contribution to their understanding of spoken English and to improving their pronunciation” (Ivarsson & Carroll 1998:35).

#### 4. INFORMANTS

In total 83 people took part in the conducted survey: 44 Poles and 39 Norwegians. It was the author's intention to select informants in such a way that they would make up a fairly homogenous group in terms of their age, background and, if possible, English language skills. It needs to be emphasized here that none of the people polled for the present study are or have been language students. The reason for this decision is that their replies would most likely distort any potential conclusions drawn from the analysis of the collected responses among young people in Poland and Norway since language students or graduates would reveal a considerably higher level of language awareness and sensitivity.

Consequently, the people participating in the project are all young professionals under 30, with a university degree (Bachelor's or higher). Some of them are still pursuing their studies but the author has decided to include them in the project since their contribution to the conducted research seemed to be substantial. Both Polish and Norwegian subjects rank, rather subjectively, their competence in English as upper-intermediate or advanced, which roughly corresponds to B2+ level, or C1, according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). It has also been provisionally assumed that the average level of English language skills may be somewhat higher among the Norwegian informants than among their Polish counterparts (cf. Figure 1 below).

#### 5. METHOD AND DATA COLLECTION

For the purpose of the present study a questionnaire consisting of ten questions: four general and six specific has been prepared. The general questions are aimed at establishing some overall characteristics of the selected informant groups. The six specific questions are partly open-ended and the respondents are encouraged to offer their own opinions or comments on the issue raised there. Among the more specific questions, the questionnaire form differed as regards one question, where the informants were asked to decide whether the original language of the film had any influence on their perception of the AVT mode. In the Polish-language version, the respondents were asked whether they were more likely to turn to subtitled versions of a film or tv series in the case of Anglophone productions. The Norwegians, on the other hand, were asked whether the language of the original mattered as regards their focus on the screen and the subtitles. The reason for this minor difference in the questionnaire forms comes from the author's conviction that English as a lingua franca of the past decades has become fairly accessible to the international

audiences. Consequently, younger viewers are more likely to follow the unfolding events in the film without much help from any form AVT.

As to the respondents, they have been recruited through personal contacts of the author. In the Norwegian group eight medicine students pursuing their degree in Poznań in Poland take part in the survey while the remaining 31 people live and work/or study in Oslo, Bergen or Kristiansand. The Polish sample consists of residents of two major cities in the country – Warsaw and Poznań. Most of the questionnaire forms – 55 - were filled in during a face-to-face meeting with the author and the remainder was sent electronically.

## 6. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS - GENERAL QUESTIONS

The first set of questions used in the questionnaire concern the informants' background together with their self-evaluation of language competence plus the amount of time spent on watching feature films or tv series on the following media: television, Blu-ray, Netflix, cinema, or other.

### 6.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INFORMANTS GROUPS

As far as the social variables used in the questionnaire are concerned, both informants groups show a fairly high degree of uniformity. The Polish sample consists of 44 people: 26 men and 18 women, while among the Norwegians participating in the survey there are 24 men and 15 women. With reference to the age variable, the average age in the Polish group was 27 years whereas in the Norwegian group it amounted to approximately 26. In the Polish sample there are 32 university graduates and 12 students while in the Norwegian group there are 26 university graduates and 13 students.

### 6.2. LANGUAGE SKILLS

The first differences between the two groups can be observed in the self-evaluation of their own language competence (see Figure 1 below), where on the whole the Norwegians, probably quite justifiably so, assess their language skills in English considerably higher than their Polish counterparts.

Language skills	Intermediate (B1)	Upper-Intermediate (B2)	Advanced (C1 and higher)
Polish respondents	29%	44%	27%
Norwegian respondents	12%	41%	47%

Figure 1: Language competence among the respondents

The reasons for this state of affairs are probably manifold, but among the most significant factors contributing to this one may point to greater exposure of the Norwegian respondents to English in the mass media, long tradition of quite successfully executed English-language training at all levels of formal education in Norway and probably more frequent visits and/or longer stays in the English-speaking countries.

### 6.3. FAVOURITE MEDIA

The analysis of the replies given to the question concerning their favourite media, a certain discrepancy among the two national groups can be observed (see Figure 2 below)<sup>10</sup>.

Types of media	TV	Cinema	DVD/Blu-ray	VoD	other
Polish respondents	63%	30%	21%	18%	34%
Norwegian respondents	58%	32%	24%	36%	12%

Figure 2: Media preferences

As can be seen in Figure 2 above, the Norwegian sample has given a wider spectrum of replies, with Netflix playing an important role in their contact with Anglophone movie industry. Sadly, the Polish respondents show a marked tendency for option ‘other’, which euphemistically stands for illegal downloading of American most popular tv productions such as *Game of Thrones*, *House of Cards*, *Breaking Bad*, or *the Walking Dead*. The author may only assume that part of the reason for this may stem from the fact that at the time of the survey the VoD giant Netflix had not yet entered the Polish market<sup>11</sup>, but experts, however, are rather skeptical whether its launch will make any impact on the already existing preferences of Polish film buffs<sup>12</sup>.

### 6.4. GENRE PREFERENCES

When it comes to listing favourite film genres, the replies from both polled groups exhibit a high level of concordance as the great majority admits to watching tv series (with drama, fantasy and comedy as the most popular ones) and feature films, in which three genres dominate: action, comedy (including the so-called romcom) and thriller. When it comes to the country of

<sup>10</sup> The respondents could tick off an unlimited number of answers here.

<sup>11</sup> Netflix eventually entered the Polish market in January 2016.

<sup>12</sup> <http://natemat.pl/120359,netflix-w-polsce-juz-w-2015-roku-eksperci-mowia-bedzie-mial-ciezko-polacy-wola-lokalne-seriale-i-maja-racje>.

origin of films and tv series, the overwhelming majority of the respondents indicated USA, which means that the informants predominantly watch English-language productions.

genre	ETV (fantasy)	ETV (action/drama)	ETV (comedy)	ETV (thriller)	EF (action/drama)	EF (comedy)	EF (thriller)
Polish respondents	45%	40%	25%	35%	40%	50%	25%
Norwegian respondents	38%	42%	35%	30%	45%	42%	30%

Figure 3: Favourite genres

EVT – English-language tv series  
EF – English-language feature film

In both groups very few respondents pointed to some local productions, but since these do not pose any problem from the point of view of interlingual audiovisual translation, these films have not been included in the present study. The above findings provide further evidence to corroborate the author's hypothesis about the high degree of homogeneity of the two polled groups, also in the realm of their film preferences and taste.

## 7. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS – SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

### 7.1. AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION IN BROADCAST MEDIA

When asked about their favourite AVT mode in the broadcast media, the groups seem to differ substantially in their preferences. This question was formulated as a multiple choice question, allowing the respondents to tick off more than one type of the AVT mode. From the three types of AVT, the Norwegians, virtually unanimously, opted for subtitling, which, in view of the long tradition of this AVT mode in Scandinavia, comes as no surprise. Some respondents ticked also dubbing but on condition that the dubbed production would be a computer-animated feature film or an animated tv series aimed at younger audiences. Voice-over, as an AVT mode for films, was rejected by all the Norwegian respondents, who thought it was irritating (71%), awkward (18%) or simply wrong (11%).



AVT mode and media type	TV	Cinema	DVD/Blu-ray	VoD
subtitling	95%	92%	90%	94%
dubbing	5%	8%	10%	6%
Voice-over	0%	0%	0%	0%

Figure 4: AVT mode and the media type (Norwegian group)

The Polish informants, on the other hand, offered a more varied spectrum of replies. While voice-over still remains as their most favoured AVT mode (65%), one can record a marked increase of interest in subtitling in the broadcast media (30.5%). The same upward trend in the preference for subtitling in Poland has recently been observed by Szarkowska and Laskowska (2015). This is a considerable change in comparison to the study conducted in Poland in 1995 (Bogucki 2004:69), where only 8.1% of those questioned opted for subtitling. The causes for this significant change may originate from a variety of reasons, among which one should mention the relatively young age of the sample group (26 years on average), and the fact that the current study largely concerned Anglophone productions, which linguistically, are far more accessible to the audiences than any other non-English-language film or tv series. Interestingly, the Polish audiences are so used to subtitling in cinemas that dubbing as an alternative AVT mode for feature films aimed at adult audiences has been completely rejected by those taking part in the present study. What is more, the preference level for subtitling is much higher among the Polish respondents as regards DVD/Blu-ray and VoD, which might be ascribed to the fact that in the case of these two media types, one needs to perform a sequence of setting activities preceding the actual viewing, regardless of the AVT mode. For that reason, many people wishing to recapture the atmosphere of the cinema experience (where subtitling is employed) choose to watch the film with subtitles. In the case of television, on the other hand, the viewers' pre-screening activity is limited to tuning into the right channel, usually by pressing a single button on the remote control.

AVT mode and media type <sup>13</sup>	TV	Cinema	DVD/Blu-ray	VoD
subtitling	30.5%	90%	52%	48%
dubbing	2%	8%	8%	6%
Voice-over	67.5%	2%	40%	46%

Figure 5: AVT mode and the media type (Polish group)

<sup>13</sup> As this question aims to establish the respondents' general preferences for the AVT mode, the genre of the production has not been taken into consideration here.

## 7.2. SOURCE LANGUAGE AND AVT MODE

The question that differed in the respective language versions of the questionnaire concerned the correlation between the language of the original and the AVT. The question in the Norwegian-language version aimed at determining the relation between the needs to follow the translation on the screen and the film's original language.

Language of the original	English and non-English films – no difference	Non-English-language films – more focus on the screen	Languages of the original (other than English)
Yes	9%	87%	1. Spanish
Don't know	4%	0%	2. French
			3. German
			4. Chinese

Figure 6: Language of the original and reliance on subtitles (the Norwegian group)

For the vast majority of the Norwegian respondents the original language did play a significant role in their reliance on the subtitles. In the Norwegian sample as many as 87% of those questioned admit that while watching a foreign-language film which is not English, they need to fall back on the translation to a much higher degree than in the case of an English-language production. Notwithstanding the above, only 25 % of those polled could actually recall the last time they watched a non-English-language film (with Spanish-language productions holding a strong first position).

In the Polish questionnaire, on the other hand, the informants were asked whether they were more inclined to turn to subtitles when watching a film on tv in English rather than in any other language. For the sake of comparison with the Norwegian group, the most frequently mentioned languages of the original (other than English) have also been included in the table below:

Language of the original	English-language films	Non-English-language films	Languages of the original (other than English)
Subtitles	34%	20%	1. German
Voice-over	52%	68%	2. French
Doesn't matter	14%	12%	3. Spanish
No AVT mode	21%	N/A	4. Japanese

Figure 7: Language of the original and the choice of the AVT mode (the Polish group)

The replies given are not as unanimous as those submitted by the Norwegian sample. Only 34% of those questioned admit to watching an English-language film with subtitles out of choice. In this group, a further 21% say they often watch English-language feature films and tv series on their computers without any form of audiovisual translation, which may sadly imply that the film copies may come from an illegal source. For the remaining 66% of the sample the original language of the film has no influence on their choice of the AVT mode. This, in consequence, clearly points to voice-over, since this AVT mode is the default setting in the Polish broadcast media, DVD and Blu-ray discs and on the Polish VoD services like *HBO Go* or *Ipla*.

#### 7.4. AVT MODE AND IMPROVEMENT OF LANGUAGE SKILLS

The subsequent two questions pertain to the correlation between the dominant AVT mode and language skills. In the first question, the respondents are asked to comment on whether this interdependence has a positive or negative influence on their skills in English. As anticipated, the vast majority of people from both respondent groups are able to see the relation between the type of AVT mode used in their national broadcast media and their language skills.

AVT mode and language skills	Yes	No	I don't know
Polish respondents	74%	17%	9%
Norwegian respondents	63%	8%	29%

Figure 8: AVT mode and language skills

The above figures seem to indicate that the Polish informants are more aware of this correlation. This may be explained by the fact that Poles clearly see the contrast between the linguistic advantages of subtitling since Polish viewers are exposed to two AVT modes, depending on whether they watch a film on tv or in the cinema. Naturally, the Norwegians do not need to ponder on this problem since subtitling prevails in both media types in Norway. However, the fact that more people in the Polish group perceive subtitling as beneficial with reference to their language skills may be seen as a positive trend.

The subsequent question aims to determine whether the informants are able to specify which English-language skills are positively affected by the use of subtitling as an AVT mode.

Subtitling and language skills	Vocabulary (speaking)	Pronunciation	Listening Comprehension	Intercultural Competence
Polish respondents	67%	23%	34%	20%
Norwegian respondents	45%	15%	29%	35%

Figure 9: Subtitling and improvement of particular English-language skills

From the data presented in Figure 9 above, it transpires that both the Polish and the Norwegian respondents see the greatest benefit to their English in the development of their vocabulary. Surprisingly, the improvement of pronunciation, which seems like an obvious choice, scores remarkably low in both informants groups. Another interesting finding can be seen in relation to Intercultural Competence (understood as exposure to the Anglo-Saxon culture) – here the Norwegian and Polish informants seem to differ mostly, with 35% and 20% of positive replies respectively. The low level of positive replies in the Polish sample may also come as a surprise as English-language films constitute an invaluable source of information on the target culture, which, as it appears from the collected data, not many people take an advantage of.

## 8. CONCLUSIONS

From the replies gathered in the conducted study certain preliminary conclusions regarding the attitudes to AVT among younger Poles and Norwegians can be drawn. On the one hand, the analysis allows one to assume that both respondents groups show a marked preference for subtitling in the case of cinema, which seems to be in accordance with the official policy in both countries concerning the dominant AVT mode for this medium. As regards films downloaded from VoD services, the Norwegians almost unanimously choose subtitling while the replies from the Polish group are more varied, with only a 2% higher preference for subtitling. The reason for this may be explained by the fact the Polish VoD services like *Netflix*, *HBO Go*, *Ipla* offer films both with subtitles and voice-over and consequently, the Polish viewer needs to make a choice between what s/he is used to from the Polish tv stations and the ‘novelty’ represented by a subtitled version.

The two groups are not that unequivocal when it comes to the broadcast media. While the Norwegian respondents, virtually unequivocally, opt for subtitling as the best AVT mode for television, their Polish counterparts seem to be far more skeptical. There reasons against subtitling voiced by the Polish respondents generally correspond with those presented by the Polish audiences in two earlier studies conducted in Poland for *Canal Plus*, by SMG KRC and

for TVP by TNS OBOP<sup>14</sup>. Both in the current study and the ones cited above, Poles pointed to the fact that they tend to do other things while watching television and if subtitling was to replace voice-over, they would need to focus on the tv screen so as not to lose the thread of the unfolding events. Notwithstanding the above, the findings from the present study reveal that younger Poles are slowly beginning to warm up to subtitling as an alternative to the dominant voice-over. This positive attitude among the Polish respondents towards subtitling which emerges from the current study can be ascribed to the social background of those polled: they are young and educated people, most likely fluent in English, with prospects of a comfortable and financially secure life. In the two opinion polls mentioned above, a more representative sample of the Polish audiences took part, so their findings are bound to reflect the attitudes of the Polish viewers more accurately. However, the fact that in the present study as many as 34% of those questioned choose subtitling when watching films on tv may seem to indicate that the preferences of the younger viewers may one day affect the attitudes of a wider spectrum of the Polish society. What is more, the replies collected in the present study bear resemblance to the findings of the most recent study conducted on a much larger sample of 815 Poles by Szarkowska and Laskowska (2015), where over 40% of those questioned opted for subtitling as their favourite AVT mode in the broadcast media<sup>15</sup>

Another interesting observation can be made as regards possible language benefits arising from watching subtitled films on any type of media. Quite surprisingly, a considerably higher number of Poles admitted to having learnt new vocabulary from the subtitled films they watched. The high number of positive replies to this question confirm the findings of an earlier study conducted by a Polish daily *Dziennik*, in which 70% of those questioned said they had learnt new English words and phrases while watching an English-language film with subtitles (Szarkowska and Laskowska 2015:182). The only explanation to the rather low percentage of positive replies to this question in the Norwegian group may be that Norwegian audiences are so accustomed to English exposure in the media that they simply fail to see the connection between their own foreign language skills and the omnipresence of English in cinemas, VoD services and the broadcast media.

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<sup>14</sup> The study commissioned by Canal Plus clearly showed that Poles are generally unconvinced as regards subtitling on tv since 50.2% of those surveyed chose voice-over, 43.3% opted for dubbing and only 8.1% indicated subtitling (cf Bogucki 2004:69); Garcarz (2007: 131) mentions yet another study on AVT preferences, this time commissioned by the Polish public television TVP and conducted by TNS OBOP. Again, the study showed that the majority of respondents preferred voice-over (45%) and dubbing (45%) rather than subtitling (4%).

<sup>15</sup> It needs to be stressed here, however, that 56% of the respondents in the above research project were deaf or hard of hearing, which most likely contributed to the high number of people choosing subtitling as their favourite AVT mode.

Summing up, the attitudes held by the two informants groups concerning the AVT mode, in spite of a conspicuously different AVT tradition in Poland and Norway, are slowly beginning to converge. If, on the whole, the preferences among the younger Polish audiences concerning the choice of an AVT mode may be showing some signs of change, further research needs to be conducted so as to determine whether the Polish broadcasters will one day have to revise their official policy on the dominant AVT mode to adapt to the changing needs of the Polish viewer.

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