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GOOD AND BAD COPS IN POLISH VOICE-OVER TRANSLATION

1. Trends in audiovisual translation

Within the last four decades, translation studies have grown into a vibrant academic field (O'Connell 2007: 120), exploring literary, specialised and machine translation, as well as conference and community interpreting. Rapid cultural expansion of the multimedia has mapped out new areas of research, drawing scholars' attention to the Web, film, television and gaming industries. As a consequence, audiovisual translation, popularly known as AVT, has become the most dynamic branch of translation studies, giving rise to "dramatic developments" within the discipline (Munday 2012: 269).

Among the main techniques of audiovisual transfer, it is subtitling and dubbing that have enjoyed particular academic interest, being arguably "the best-known and most widespread forms of audiovisual translation" (Baker and Hochel 1998: 74). Their international popularity stems from socio-geographic factors. For years, dubbing has been the dominant method of film and television translation in French-, German-, Spanish- and Italian-speaking countries, while the Scandinavian states, Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Israel, the Netherlands, along with numerous non-European communities, have preferred subtitling instead (Gottlieb 1998: 244; Bogucki 2004). Several of these countries, especially Italy, Spain, Denmark and Belgium, have subsequently pioneered the study of screen translation, with scholars conducting case studies and formulating guidelines for dubbers and subtitlers, respectively.

The third dominant audiovisual translation mode, voice-over, has so far failed to attract much scholarly attention. Associated world-wide with documentary films and news reports, it has been regrettably neglected by the academic community (Franco 2000: 3). In fact, the first and only monograph to date on voice-over translation of non-fiction genres was published only four years ago (Orero, Matamala and Franco 2010).

Voice-over translation of fiction, by contrast, has been practiced for years in the countries of the (former) Soviet Bloc, such as Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia, Bulgaria and Ukraine. Despite its popularity, however, practically no research has been done on it in the post-communist states (Grigaravièiùtè and Gottlieb 1999: 45-6), with Western scholars following suit. As for Poland, the few publications to date mentioning the technique include Bogucki (2004), Garcarz (2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008), Tomaszkiwicz (2008), Szarkowska (2009) and, most prominently, Woźniak (2008, 2012), who openly defends the good name of the Polish voice-over. Still, the scope of these articles and passages seems too narrow to give justice to the technique.

“The ugly duckling of AVT” (Orero 2006 qtd in Woźniak 2012: 210), voice-over is actually a rare bird, with each country establishing individual technical and aesthetic standards of its execution: with single or multiple, male or female voices involved, using expressive or impassionate intonation. In Poland, the technique debuted on the national television at the end of the 1950s (Kozieł 2003: 40), fashioned after the Russian *Gavrilov* model (Bogucki 2004) and it has remained popular ever since, appearing both in fiction and non-fiction programmes. Because of its long-standing tradition and cultural specificity, the method certainly deserves a close analysis not only from a synchronic, but also from a diachronic perspective, in order to investigate its historical evolution and current standards.

This study documents a part of a wider project, aimed at tracing the changing strategies and norms of Polish voice-over translation of fiction genres. In response to Jorge Diaz Cintas’ call for the analysis of power, culture and ideology in AVT (Munday 2012: 278; Diaz Cintas 2012: 275), I started collecting archival voice-over scripts prepared for Anglophone TV series in the communist times to compare them with more recent translations. Below, I present a case study of the pilot episode of *Miami Vice* (1984), first broadcast on Polish national television in 1989 and released on DVD twenty years after its premiere. Comparing the two versions, I analyse the changing approaches to slang in voice-over translation, observable over the two decades.

The issue of slang translation has already been addressed by Garcarz (2007), who described its major techniques. In order to enrich his findings,

I offer a close analysis of alternative translation solutions from a diachronic perspective. In the first part of my paper, I comment on the socio-cultural significance of the series and discuss the functions of slang in the original and translated dialogues. Subsequently, I describe the dominant techniques of slang translation used in the earliest and more recent versions by the Polish voice-over authors. I conclude my study with general remarks on the changing strategies of voice-over translation of fiction.

2. Research material

The choice of the feature-length pilot episode of *Miami Vice*, titled *Brother's Keeper*, as my research material was not incidental. Breaking the records of popularity in the United States, the series redefined crime drama, exerting enormous influence on millions of viewers. Imported to Poland, it helped popularise the genre among the Polish audience, creating a model for police procedural discourse to be followed by consecutive generations of Polish audiovisual translators. The pilot episode marked a historical moment: the Polish translator, Renata Plamowska, had to build the characters' voices from scratch, creating a stereotype of American cop and dealer slangs for unfamiliar Polish viewers.

Originally run between 1984–1989 by the American broadcaster NBC, the series featured Don Johnson as Detective James “Sonny” Crockett and Philip Michael Thomas as his partner, Detective Ricardo “Rico” Tubbs, two undercover agents chasing drug dealers and weapon smugglers in crime-ridden Miami. The screenwriters drew inspiration from the booming drug trade in Florida in the 1980s. Since the police had the legal right to use the confiscated property in drug enforcement, the producers jumped at the opportunity to present the protagonists as ultra-cool fashionists, wearing Day-Glow Armani suits, Ray Ban shades and slip-on sockless loafers, flaunting their yachts, Ferraris, and “superhip Vice lingo” (Donahue 1986: 106).

Addressed at the MTV generation, the show followed the new wave aesthetic: it was edited like a video clip and it employed popular music (Lyons 2010: 27). As one of the critics remarked, the series presented everything that Miami could be associated with: “water traffic, jai allai, condominiums, shooting alleys, dog racing, palm trees, many, many legs hanging out of many, many bikinis like so much pasta” (Leonard 1985: 40). Yet, all these rarities were “seen through filters of psychedelic lollipop, dissolved in montage ... angled at from stars and sewers – a surreal sandwiching of abstract art and broken mirrors and picture postcards and laboratory slides and revolving doors” (Leonard 1985: 40). Being one of the pioneering

programmes to be broadcast in the stereo, *Miami Vice* was hailed as “the first show to look really new and different since colour TV was invented” (Greyling 2009: 49). Despite this visual exuberance, however, the authors went out of their way to stress the realism of their production. In one of the interviews, Don Johnson thus justified the pure decadence of *Vice* scenery:

We wanted to maintain the integrity, the believability of the characters. Most hot, heavyweight undercover cops that deal down here in Miami and are working in major drug buys and money-laundering ... use the goods and products that they confiscate in their work. Thus the Ferrari, the boat, the watch, the clothes... They have to look and behave like the people they're after (Kerwin 1985: 6D).

The same mimetic efforts are clearly recognizable in the shows' ripe dialogues. As the series features both “the usual assortment of slime-balls and sleaze-bags” (Leonard 1985: 39) and an unusual selection of heroes at Miami-Dade Police Department, the screenwriters took pains to individualise the characters verbally and thus to make them credible. They consequently recreated a variety of contemporary ethnic, professional and social dialects, helping the protagonists to express and change identities at will. Thus, while on the squad, the cops often employ police jargon. Working undercover, they switch over to the underworld lingo to fraternise with the criminals they are invigilating. The criminals in turn brazenly show off their slang in front of the audience. Interestingly, analogously to the visual portrayal of Miami, also the verbal portrayal of its underworld seems over-sharp and larger-than-life, especially viewed from a contemporary perspective. Still, in the 1980s the creators took pride in the genuineness of the dialogue, claiming that the show was much appreciated by real policemen working undercover. Johnson enthused: “They love us. We're real. We don't spare an audience. We use real dialogue, we use street slang, police slang. I think audiences are into that. Our show is not just *Book'em, Danno*” (Kerwin 1985: 6D).

In spite of its iconic status, the popularity of the series in the United States gradually started to wane towards the end of the decade. That was incidentally the time when it was imported to Poland, only to relive its former glory behind the fallen Iron Curtain. In 1989, in the eve of massive political and economic transformation, the first episodes of the series were broadcast by the Polish national television, enrapturing the audience with its fluorescent lustre and exotic commercialism. *Miami Vice* proved so successful with the Polish audience that after the appearance on National Polish Television (TVP1), it was re-broadcast by other television channels and released on DVD.

In this chapter I will present a contrastive analysis of the oldest and the more recent voice-over translation of the feature-length pilot episode, titled *Brother's Keeper*. The former, prepared in 1989 and retrieved from the Polish Television Archives,¹ was translated by Renata Plamowska, revised by Krystyna Raclawicka and read by Andrzej Raclawicki. The latter, prepared by Monika Szpetulska, was released in 2008 by Polskie Media Amercom in a DVD format.

3. Translating *Miami Vice*

Considering its socio-cultural context of reception, the premiere translation of *Miami Vice* must have presented a linguistic as well as a cultural challenge. Its authors had to mediate between the polyphony of multi-ethnic characters and the monody of the voice artist; the loud ostentation of drug-drenched Miami and the muted parochialism of the Polish People's Republic. Judging by the popularity of the series, their efforts were rewarded with success.

This cannot be said of all the language versions produced. In 1986, the American journalist David Schweisberg reported that due to translation problems the series utterly flopped in Japan. "Some of Japan's best dubbing talent found the show's cop lingo, drug argot and ethnic slang impossible to translate," he concluded, having interviewed the persons involved in the project. "We had real trouble when they used the word 'pop' to mean arrest someone," the dubbing supervisor Yaeko Nukada complained in the same article. "When I was doing *Kojak*, they never used such expressions" (Schweisberg 1986). Apart from linguistic problems, also the cultural ones must have proved detrimental: "Japanese are savvy about designer clothes, fast cars and music, but are less so in the Latin American, drug-and-automatic weapons scene," the journalist argued, commenting on the commercial failure of the production (Schweisberg 1986).

Contrary to the Japanese audience, the Polish viewers in 1989 were not savvy about any aspect of *Miami Vice*: neither designer clothes, nor fast cars, nor the Latin American drug-and-automatic-weapon scene. Indeed, they lacked both real-life and on-screen experience of these narrative and aesthetic elements of the story. As for the former, the insularity of the Soviet Bloc has spared an average Pole the joys of prosperity and the sorrows of

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organised crime. The problem of drug abuse had remained off the public agenda until the 1980s, with the communist government officially denying its existence and introducing the first anti-narcotic regulations as late as 1985 (Barbaś 2012). Yet even before its acknowledgement, illicit drug trafficking came down to pill-popping and the consumption of the Polish heroine (also known as *compote*) (Barbaś 2012), a domestic invention independent of foreign cartels. It was only in the 1990s, after the dissolution of the Eastern Bloc, that Poland found itself at the intersection of the opiate smuggling route from the East and the South, and the synthetic drug smuggling route from the West and evolved an international drug black market (Barbaś 2012). Thus, in the 1980s blood feuds between drug barons were not part of the Polish reality. And neither were they popular onscreen. Although *Miami Vice* was another in a series of Anglophone police procedurals aired by the Polish television (along with, for example, *The Fugitive* in the 1960s, *Columbo*, *Kojak* and *Banacek* in the 1970s, or *Dempsey and Makepeace* or *Jake and the Fatman* in the 1980s), it was certainly the first to focus on the drug scene and the first to attempt its portrayal in a vivid, slangy dialogue.

Hence, the earliest translators of the series had neither real-life, nor fictional models to imitate, while rendering the American drug enforcement and drug dealer lingos into Polish. They practically had to invent the domestic counterparts of American “dealer slang” and “police jargon” from scratch, setting standards for consecutive generations of translators and screenwriters. By contrast, preparing a new DVD version of the film twenty years later, their successors could easily follow the established translation norms for police procedurals, which have since gained enormous popularity. With the transformed socio-cultural situation in Poland, they could also refer to real-life models of police jargon and dealer slang.

4. Research question

To explore the influence of political and cultural transformations on voice-over translation, I compared the original dialogue lines with the transcripts of Renata Plamowska’s archival rendition and Monika Szpetulska’s most recent version of the pilot episode, available on DVD. I focused specifically on the translators’ approach to the socio-linguistic differentiation of film characters: police officers and drug dealers, who use jargon and slang to facilitate communication and to demonstrate in-group solidarity.

A close comparative analysis of both versions revealed dramatic differences in the translators’ treatment of the audiovisual material and their

expectations concerning the audience's cultural competence. The 1989 version still shows traces of the old method of voice-over script preparation, practiced in Poland until the 1980s (Garcarz 2007: 142), with the translator creating a literal rendition of the dialogue lines, the so-called *surówka* ('raw material'), to be reworked by an editor responsible for introducing stylistic improvements and adapting the text to the voice talent's performance (Hołobut 2012: 482). Dialogue lines prepared for *Brother's Keeper* follow the structure of the original utterances quite closely. The major departures from literalism concern the replacement of cultural references with recognised translations (see examples 6, 21, 33), as well as functional and descriptive equivalents (culture-free terms or explanations, respectively) and frequent paraphrasing of expressive elements, such as slang expressions. Thus, following the British scholar Peter Newmark's terminology, Plamowska's decisions can be described in terms of semantic translation strategy, which involves a maximally literal treatment of the original utterances, with the exception of expressive and cultural elements, which are often replaced with functional equivalents in the target context (Newmark 1988: 46–48). The method often aims at explaining rather than re-expressing the source. The selected strategy helps us reconstruct the translator's priorities and difficulties, as presented in Table 1.

Priorities	to overcome the cultural differences in the characters' and viewers' experience
	to convey the characters' messages
	to clarify the characters' messages
	to signal the characters' socio-cultural identity (if possible)
Difficulties	lack of recognised equivalents for numerous extra-linguistic cultural references (American institutions, cultural products)
	lack of established norms in the translation of intra-lingual cultural references (language variation: police jargon, dealer slang)

Table 1. Priorities and difficulties discernable in the voice-over translation of *Brother's Keeper* in 1989

By contrast, the 2008 DVD edition demonstrates a more contemporary approach to voice-over translation with an independent practitioner both translating and adapting the text to the technical requirements of AVT, drawing special attention to extensive condensation. Such a treatment of the original verbal material can be described in terms of free translation, which expresses the message in a reworked form, as shown in Table 2 below:

Priorities	to condense the text
	to convey the characters' messages
	to tone down the anachronisms
Difficulties	the anachronism of extra-linguistic cultural references (American institutions, cultural products); in spite of the existence of recognised translations and cultural equivalents
	the anachronism of intra-lingual cultural references (language variation: police jargon, dealer slang), in spite of the established conventions of their translation into Polish

Table 2. Priorities and difficulties discernable in the voice-over translation of *Brother's Keeper* in 2008

Below, I present a comparative analysis of the original dialogues and their two consecutive Polish translations, discussing the verbal image of drug dealers and police officers they project. Since the American screenwriters took pains to depict crime-ridden Miami realistically by incorporating dealer slang and police jargon into the script, I describe the strategies and techniques of their rendition in the Polish versions.

First, I characterise the translators' approaches to general slang, focusing on terms of address and terms of abuse in consecutive translations. Subsequently, I concentrate on dealer slang and its treatment in the communist and post-communist realities. Finally, I investigate the translators' approaches to police jargon, commenting on the diachronic changes they demonstrate.

4.1. Forms of address in translation

As a pilot episode, *Brother's Keeper* aimed at a convincing portrayal of the crime scene in Miami. Hence, it featured petty criminals, drug dealers and undercover cops involved in highly informal exchanges, ripe in non-standard grammatical structures and lexical choices, which might be classified as general slang, unspecific to any particular social group or subculture. Both Polish translators recognised the importance of these sociolinguistic markers, yet they approached them in different ways.

As mentioned above, in their 1989 version, Plamowska and Raławicka created an almost literal translation of the dialogues, with the exception of slang and idiomatic expressions, which they adjusted to the needs of the Polish audience by means of available lexical resources: cultural equivalents, paraphrases and through-translations (calques), with rare instances of omission. This produced a slightly awkward effect, with traces of foreign communicative strategies and syntactic structures visible in translation. By

contrast, in her 2008 version, Szpetulska reworked the original dialogues extensively, adapting them to the technical requirements of contemporary voice-over. Hence, she occasionally replaced slang items with available cultural equivalents, but she omitted them whenever they compromised her main priorities: brevity and the natural flow of expression.

These differences come to the fore in the passages which include slangy placeholder forms of address, such as ‘man’, ‘bro’, ‘buddy’ or ‘pal’. These expressions recur whenever the characters need to show their true grit and in-group solidarity. As examples (1–3) demonstrate, both drug dealers and undercover agents use typical placeholder vocatives to create friendly bonds with their interlocutors:

- (1) Leon: You must be crazy, *man*.
 (TV P1): Ty chyba zwariowałeś, *chłopie*.
 (DVD): Zwariowałeś.
- (2) Crockett: Don't talk like that, *man*.
 (TV P1): Nie mów tak, *chłopie*.
 (DVD): Nie mów tak, bo urazisz jego uczucia.
- (3) Crockett: Free enterprise, *dude*. Take it or leave it.
 (TV P1) Wolna konkurencja, *chłopie*. Możesz się zgodzić, albo nie.
 (DVD) Wolna przedsiębiorczość. Bierz lub spadaj.

Quite symptomatically, the archival television translation retains most of these vocative expressions throughout the film, replacing them with the few cultural equivalents, predominantly ‘chłopie’ (‘man’) or ‘człowieku’ (‘man’). The recent DVD version, by contrast, tends to omit placeholder vocatives, following the principle of maximal compression. Example (4) is a good case in point. Detective Tubbs warns his future partner, Crockett, about the corruption in his department. The two exchange ostensible terms of endearment, ‘buddy’ and ‘pal’, which in the context become “decidedly aggressive” (Dunkling 1990: 191):

- (4) Tubbs: You know, *buddy*, you got a leak in your department the size of the East River. Crockett: Listen, *pal*, I'll worry about my department.
 (TV P1) Powiem ci, *bratku*, że macie w waszym wydziale przeciek wielki jak rzeka. Słuchaj, *koleś*. O mój wydział już ja sam się będę martwił.
 (DVD) Macie w wydziale przeciek wielkości rzeki. Ja się zajmę moim wydziałem.

Polish renditions follow the mentioned patterns. Plamowska calques the original structure of the utterances, replacing the English addressives with synonyms. ‘Buddy’ is rendered as ‘bratek’ (*old-fashioned*, dim. ‘brother’),

and 'pal' as 'koleś' ('pal'). The latter solution successfully imitates everyday Polish conversations; the former sounds old-fashioned and redundant, an arguable instance of over-translation. Again, both addressative forms disappear from the more concise DVD translation, quite to the advantage of the conversation. Since Polish speakers have grammatical means to signal direct address, they rarely overuse nominal terms, however slangy they might sound.

Plamowska is equally consistent in her retention of terms of abuse. Example (5) below shows the literalism of her strategy and the editor's efforts at adapting the raw version to the Polish conventions. As can be seen in the revised dialogue list, the epithet 'airheads' was initially rendered as 'puste łby' ('empty heads'), only to be reworked into a more popular expression 'durnie' ('fools') at the editing stage. As in the previous examples, the DVD translation dispenses with the term of abuse altogether.

- (5) Crockett: A little early, aren't you, *airheads*?
 (TVP1) Czy nie za wcześnie, [*puste łby*] *durnie*?
 (DVD) Trochę za wcześnie.

The last example (6) illustrating both translators' attitudes towards slang terms of address comes from the introductory scene of the film, in which two muggers accost detective Tubbs in South Bronx. They use exaggerated black slang, with the clichéd greeting 'Yo, brother', the condescending addressative form 'my man' (Dunkling 1990: 167) and an abusive 'sucker', not to mention several non-standard grammatical and lexical choices, such as 'dude' and 'cut' somebody 'good'. Both translators' solutions are symptomatic for their overall strategies:

- (6) Thug: *Yo, brother*. Hey! Got a couple twenties I can hold, *my man*? (...)
 Tubbs: Beat it, *punks*.
 Thug: *Dude* think he be Michael Jackson or somethin', *man*. I'm gonna cut you good, *sucker*.
 (TVP1) Masz dla mnie dwie dwudziestki, *dobry człowieku*? [Zjeżdżajcie] Spieprzajcie, *chłystki*. Ten *picuś* ma się chyba za Michaela Jacksona. Zaraz ci dosunę, *frajterze*.
 (DVD) *Hej, bracie*. Masz dla nas kasę? Spadajcie. Myśli, że jest Michaeliem Jacksonem. Załatwię cię, *frajterze*.

The 1989 version is literal and unselective, hence it retains many slang expressions, to a dubious effect. In the first utterance, the condescending addressative form 'my man' turns into an equally condescending, but slightly old-fashioned, 'dobry człowieku' ('good man'). However, the mugger's clearly approximate demand 'a couple twenties' is diligently converted

into 'dwie dwudziestki' ('two twenties'), which immediately turns the thug's nonchalance into unnatural pedantry. The recent solution, retaining the iconic greeting 'yo, brother' and demanding 'cash' ('kasa') sounds much more credible.

Coming back to other decisions, the older version clearly aims at verbal toughness, not only retaining the epithets, but even escalating the level of bluntness. As for the former, 'punks' is rendered as 'chłystki' (a dated synonym meaning 'pipsqueaks'); 'sucker' as 'frajer' ('sucker') and an ambiguous term of reference 'dude' is conveyed with a more specific 'picus' ('smooty'). As for the latter, two interesting interventions on the part of the editor are visible in the script. The slangy command 'beat it', rendered first by means of an informal verb 'zjeżdżajcie' ('get lost'), has been subsequently replaced with a mild vulgarism 'spieprzajcie' ('sod off'), confirming the authors' efforts at the realistic portrayal of street slang. The original threat 'I'm gonna cut you good', was first translated into a rather unfortunate 'zaraz cię posunę, frajerze', an expression with a sexual innuendo, only to be reformulated by the editor into a more accurate 'zaraz ci dosunę, frajerze' ('I'm going to biff you, sucker'). The last example demonstrates how challenging and experimental the recreation of street slang must have been for the television translators. The DVD version, by contrast, omits most terms of abuse and neutralises the original, reflecting selected slang expressions by means of popular colloquialisms: 'spadaj' ('take yourself off') and 'załatwę cię' ('I'll do you in').

Summing up, the archival translation of the episode signals the non-standard uses of language by lexical means. This tendency is especially visible in the choice of mild vulgarisms (e.g. 'spieprzajcie', 'cholera') and excessive use of slangy terms of address, characteristic of American rather than Polish conventions. The recent translation, by contrast, follows the neutralization and reduction strategies, occasionally reflecting the original slang with cultural equivalents and colloquial synonyms.

Interestingly, the first translators used the same stylistic strategies as an emergency aid whenever the original seemed excessively slangy or metaphorical and hence difficult to understand. In example (7), Crockett's utterance apparently perplexed the authors of the archival version:

- (7) Crockett: You might have commendations *up the ying-yang* in the Bronx or New York... or wherever the hell it is you're from, but this is Miami, pal, where you can't even tell the players without a program.
- (TVP1) Może sobie zbierasz pochwały od jakiegoś [kutasa] palanta w Bronx czy w Nowym Jorku, ale tutaj jest Miami, koleś. Tu nie odróżnisz graczy nie mając programu.
- (DVD) Możesz mieć rozeznanie w Bronksie czy Nowym Jorku, ale tu jest Miami. A sam nie rozpoznasz graczy. Tu jesteś amatorem.

They badly misinterpreted slangy expression ‘up the ying-yang’, which denotes ‘a great, at times excessive, number’ (Rundell 2009–2014), as an abusive reference to a ‘yin-yang’ (which, according to the online sources, may denote an ‘anus’ or, metaphorically, a ‘jerk’) (Rader 1996–2014). Interestingly, the translator decided uncritically to reflect the concept with a cultural equivalent – a vulgarism ‘kutas’ (‘dick’), which was later on replaced by the editor with a milder colloquialism ‘palant’ (‘jerk’). Thus, in the 1989 version of the series, Crockett accuses his partner of ‘having commendations from some jerk in Bronx or in New York’. In the recent translation, by contrast, omission technique allows to avoid similar pitfalls. Crockett’s entire utterance is neutralised and explicated: ‘You can be in the know in Bronx or New York, but this is Miami’. This example highlights the difference between the literalism of the old and the liberalism of the recent version; the former searching for equivalents at the cost of errors and awkwardness; the latter searching for brevity and clarity at the cost of oversimplification.

Example (8) shows a different problem. The original employs a culture-specific reference to Hoover vacuum cleaners, which helped screenwriters devise a creative metaphor for people sniffing cocaine in a club toilet:

- (8) Gina: A regular *Hoover convention in the loo* tonight. Six legs to a stall.
I guess that’s why they call it the powder room, dear.
(TVP1) *Ale ćpają w tym [sraczu] kiblu. Sześć nóg w każdej kabinie. Pewnie dlatego nazywa się to „Prochownia”, kochanie,*
(DVD) *W łazience jest jak na konwencie. Sześć nóg na kabinę. Dlatego mówią o pudrowaniu nosa.*

The television translator decided to replace the metaphor with a non-figurative, yet highly slangy exclamation ‘Ale ćpają w tym sraczu’ (‘Aren’t they snorting in this crapper!’). By lowering the register, she presumably wished to compensate for having flattened out the original. The utterance has been subsequently censored by the editor to include a milder term ‘kibel’ (‘loo’), but it still sounds surprisingly brusque in the mouth of the female character. The DVD version, by contrast, omits the cultural allusion to Hoover altogether, quite unexpectedly retaining the reference to a ‘convention’. The word describes in Polish an assembly of politicians or gaming and fantasy fans, and it is only the latter meaning that can evoke some associations with drug abuse.

The play on words, contained in the other character’s reply, has also presented problems in translation. The 1989 version misinterprets the jocular allusion to the toilet and provides the viewers with an armoury-related equivalent of ‘powder room’, ‘prochownia’. The 2008 version, by contrast,

retains the play on words, mentioning the act of ‘powdering one’s nose’ as an allusion to both sniffing cocaine and using the ladies’ room.

4.2. Dealer slang in translation

Efforts at recreating the verbal vibrancy of the original did not prevent the first translation from exposing the inefficiencies of Polish lexicon, too innocent to portray the drug trafficking industry and the operations of American drug enforcement. Confronted with dealer slang, Plamowska resorted to existing Polish slang expressions, but she extended this repertoire with through-translations (calques) and specialist terms related to law and commerce. Consequently, in the 1989 Polish version the characters often use bureaucratese instead of slang. Quite to their detriment, as the former is redundant and formulaic, while the latter is usually elliptical and innovative, allowing speakers to economise, fraternise and overcome social taboos.

Example (9) demonstrates the deficiency of these strategies. Crockett recounts his undercover investigation to his superior, emphasising that his delinquent friends take him for ‘a legit runner’:

- (9) Crockett: He works for the Colombian. I was *the middleman*. I told him I had a *big buyer* in from L.A. Eddie. They’d already gotten the word that I was a *legit runner* with a fast boat down at the marina.
- (TVP1) Pracował dla tego Kolumbijczyka. Powiedziałem mu, że mam *dobrego kupca* z Los Angeles. Eddiego. *Mieli już cynk, że jestem prawdziwym przemytnikiem z szybką łodzią do dyspozycji.*
- (DVD) Pracował dla Kolumbijczyka. Ja byłem *pośrednikiem*. Mówiłem, że mam *kupca* z Los Angeles, Eddiego. Wiedzieli, że *jestem z branży i mam szybką łódź.*

Commenting on the dealers’ misapprehensions, Crockett adopts their perspective. However, in the television translation, he reports their thoughts using formal, bureaucratic terminology. Thus, a ‘legit runner with a fast boat’ transforms into ‘a true smuggler with a fast boat at his disposal.’ The undercover agent is forced to ascribe to the group he infiltrates negatively loaded self-reference terms. In DVD translation, in contrast, a more realistic solution is offered. Crockett uses the euphemistic expression ‘They knew that I’m in business’ (‘jestem w branży’), which imitates his in-group perspective.

The terminology related to drug enforcement proved equally problematic in example (10), where Crockett’s wife accuses him and his ‘Vice cop buddies in plainclothes’ of being similar to ‘the dealers’ they are after:

- (10) Caroline: In a lot of ways, you and your *Vice cop buddies in plainclothes* are just the flip side of the same coin... I mean... from these *dealers* you're always masquerading around with.
- (TVP1) To dziwne, ale pod wieloma względami ty i *twoi koledzy* niewiele się różnicie od tych *handlarzy narkotyków*, między którymi się obracacie i których udajecie.
- (DVD) Ty i *twoi koledzy* to jak druga strona medalu *dilerów*, z którymi gracie w te swoje gierki.

Caroline is evidently familiar with her husband's work; hence she refers to his friends and enemies using his own idiom. She mentions 'Vice cop buddies in plainclothes' and 'dealers', respectively. Both versions generalise the former as a neutral 'koledzy' ('colleagues'). Yet while the television translation makes the latter more explicit, using an official law-enforcement term 'handlarz narkotyków' ('drug dealers'), the DVD version employs a cultural equivalent, i.e. a slangy borrowing 'diler', recreating the colloquial effect of the original.

Indeed, as far as the concept of a 'drug dealer' is concerned, the first translator used interchangeably two equivalents: 'handlarz narkotyków' ('drug dealer') and 'przemysłownik' ('smuggler'), both conventionalised in the official law enforcement terminology and thus by no means slangy. Whenever more specific sub-categories were needed, she borrowed extant terminology related to commerce. For example, 'pusher' (11) is consistently rendered as 'detalista' ('retailer'), 'front man' (13) as 'oficjalny przedstawiciel' ('official representative'); and 'buyer' alternately as 'nabywca' (12) or 'kupiec'.

Examples below show the conventionalisation of new words related to drug trafficking:

- (11) Tubbs: You ever hear of a local *dealer* named Calderone? Well, about four weeks ago, one of our detectives set himself up in a meet with Calderone and a New York *pusher* named Tooney.
- (TVP1) Słyszeliście o miejscowym *handlarzu*? Nazywa się Calderone? Mniej więcej cztery tygodnie temu nasz detektyw nagrał sobie spotkanie z nim i pewnym nowojorskim *detalistrą*, niejakiem Tooneyem.
- (DVD) Słyszałeś o *narko-bossie* Calderonie? Miesiąc temu jeden z kolegów umówił się z nim i *handlarzem* Tooneyem.
- (12) Leon: Then again, there's always *buyers*.
- (TVP1) *Nabywcy* zawsze się znajdują.
- (DVD) *A kupcy* zawsze się znajdują.
- (13) Tubbs: He's a *major-league*, Crockett. He killed a cop. That dude I showed up with tonight is one of his *front men*.
- (TVP1) To *ktos ważny*, Crockett. Zabił gliniarza. Ten facet, z którym pokazałem się dzisiaj, to jeden z *ich oficjalnych przedstawicieli*.

(DVD) To *gruba ryba*. Zabił gliniarza. Facet, z którym mnie widziałeś, to *jego człowiek*.

In her DVD version Szpetulska renders a 'local dealer' with a slangy neologism 'narko-boss'. 'Pushers' are rendered elliptically as 'handlarze', and 'buyers' as 'kupcy'. What merits attention is her respect for informal idiom, which signals in-group solidarity and facilitates communication among drug dealers or police officers, respectively. This function is clearly neglected in the 1989 translation, focused on explication rather than pragmatic equivalence. Thus, two cops talking about a drug lord being 'a major-league' (13), sound more realistic in Polish using the colloquialism 'gruba ryba' ('a big fish') than a periphrastic expression 'ktoś ważny' ('somebody important'). Analogously, they are more likely to use an elliptical expression 'jego człowiek' ('his man') than to describe the dealer's operative as his 'official representative' ('oficjalny przedstawiciel').

The above examples demonstrate a diachronic difference in the portrayal of the dealers' subculture in the two consecutive translations. In the early version, both officers and criminals often use bureaucratese, while twenty years later they already have equivalent slang expressions at their disposal. Similar tendencies can be observed whenever illegal substances and profits are mentioned in the dialogues. The earlier translation resorts to explicitation and paraphrase, thus explaining rather than expressing the characters' utterances. The recent one looks for functional or cultural equivalents whenever possible.

Examples below illustrate a curious tendency of the 1989 version, namely the use of adjectives in post-position to create a quasi-technical typology of illegal substances, which the cops and pushers mention, e.g. 'towar kolumbijski' and 'proszek peruwiański'. This produces an awkward stylistic effect, with the cops and criminals exchanging semi-scientific terms:

- (14) Crockett: It'd be well worth it if he leads us to *this Colombian*.
 (TV P1) Może to się opłaci, jeżeli doprowadzi nas do *towaru kolumbijskiego*.
 (DVD) Aby doprowadził nas do *Kolumbijczyka*.
- (15) Crockett: Eddie here *flashes the cash*, and we take my boat and pick up the *Colombian's stash*.
 (TV P1) Eddie *wywala gotówkę*, potem wsiadamy do mojej łodzi i odbieramy *towar kolumbijski*.
 (DVD) Eddie *ma forszę*, a *towar Kolumbijczyka* odbieramy moją łódką.
- (16) Crockett: Ninety-two percent, lab-tested, *pure Peruvian flake*, Eddie. None of that *baby-laxed rat poo* they push on the coast. Root canal quality.
 (TV P1) Dziewięćdziesiąt dwa procent, zbadany laboratoryjnie, *czysty proszek peruwiański*, a nie te *brudy*, które wypychają ci na wybrzeżu.

- (DVD) Dziewięćdziesięcio-dwu procentowy *peruwiański towar*. Nie *doprawiany szczurzymi bobkami* jak na wybrzeżu. Najwyższa jakość.

The television version renders ‘this Colombian’ (14) and ‘the Colombian’s stash’ (15) as ‘*towar kolumbijski*’ (‘the Colombian stuff’). ‘Pure Peruvian flake’ (16) becomes ‘*czysty proszek peruwiański*’ (‘pure Peruvian powder’). In these examples the place of origin functions as a *differentia specifica*, suggesting a pre-established geographical classification of illegal substances to which all dealers meticulously adhere in their professional conversations. By contrast, the recent translation retains the reference to ‘the Colombian’ (14), ‘the Colombian’s stash’ (15) and ‘Peruvian stuff’ (16), with pre-modifier adjectives performing a characterising function and hence, suggesting the speaker’s impromptu categorisation of reality.

The examples may also illustrate other problems related to dealer slang. In (16) a pusher named Corky uses a metaphorical image of ‘baby-laxed rat poo’ being distributed by his less diligent colleagues. The first translator explicates the figure of speech, arriving at its generalised paraphrase ‘brudy’ (‘dirt’). Her successor, by contrast, retains the slangy vibrancy of the original, claiming the ‘flake’ is not ‘laced with rat poo’ (‘*Nie doprawiany szczurzymi bobkami*’).

Expressions relating to money constitute another problematic area in translation. The television version reflects this semantic field with relatively few slang equivalents. ‘Cash’ and ‘bread’ are predominantly rendered as ‘gotówka’ and ‘forsa’, while the slangy term ‘grand’ is consistently rendered with its standard synonym ‘tysiąc’ (‘a thousand’). The DVD version boasts a wider range of slang equivalents (17–18), which contribute to a credible portrayal of the characters’ interactions. Other lexical choices, such as the decision to use diminutives to designate Crockett’s boat (‘łódka’, 17), enhance the effect of realism:

- (17) Eddie: I got a *new shipment* comin’ in tonight. Our original deal is still open if you’re interested. That’s 10 grand for you and your speedboat.
 (TVP1) Mam nową *przesyłkę*. Nadejdzie dziś w nocy. Nasza następna umowa nadal jest aktualna. Jeżeli to cię interesuje. *Dziesięć tysięcy* dla ciebie i twojej szybkiej łodzi.
 (DVD) Dziś będzie *dostawa*. Nasza umowa obowiązuje. *Dziesięć kawalków* dla ciebie za *łódkę*.
- (18) Crockett: It’s now 32 *grand a key*, not 40. Half the *bread* now, the rest contingent upon a purity test back at my place.
 (TVP1) Trzydzieści dwa *tysiące*, a nie czterdzieści *za kilogram*. Połowa forsy teraz, reszta po próbie czystości.
 (DVD) 32 *koła* zamiast 40. Połowa teraz, połowa po sprawdzeniu towaru.

At times, attempts at semantic translation were compromised in the television version by the lack of proper linguistic resources, leading to the misinterpretation of drug dealers' vibrant idiom. Example (19) is a case in point. In the original scene the pusher Corky brags about his new car. He explains that he considered buying a more ostentatious one, but decided not to for fear of attracting too much attention:

- (19) Corky: Check it out, Eddie. *Twelve grand cash*. I was gonna spring 18 for the presidential, but *it just screams dealer*. You know what I mean?
 (TVP1) *Sprawdź to, Eddie*. Dwanaście tysięcy gotówką. Miałem zapłacić 18 tysięcy za *nowy samochód, tylko że nie podobał mi się sprzedawca*.
 (DVD) *Dwanaście kawalków*. Miałem dać osiemnaście, ale *pachniało to dealerką, jeśli kumasz*.

The television version starts with an awkward through-translation of the idiomatic expression 'check it out', namely 'sprawdź to'. What follows, however, completely misrepresents Corky's utterance. The character voices his antipathy for the car seller ('Nie podobał mi się sprzedawca'), rather than his concern for the showiness of the more expensive model. The DVD version reflects his attitude much better with slangy lexical choices: 'pachniało dealerką' ('it smelled of drug pushing'), and 'kumasz' ('if you get it').

4.3. Police jargon and slang in translation

Both translators' previously described strategies also influence the portrayal of police officers. The 1989 version opts for explicitation and periphrasis, which distorts the slangy camaraderie of the original. The 2008 version offers a credible portrayal of American police idiom, drawing on the conventions established over the years by other translators of police procedurals. Let us consider a few illustrative examples:

- (20) Crockett: *New York* figures he's back down here.
 (TVP1) *Policja nowojorska* przypuszcza, że tu wrócił.
 (DVD) *Nowy Jork* twierdzi, że wrócił tutaj.
- (21) Crockett: I mean, who knows who this guy is working for. *D.E.A.? I.R.S.? State? County?*
 (TVP1): Kto wie, dla kogo ten facet pracuje. *Agencja do zwalczania handlu narkotykami, urząd podatkowy. Policja Stanowa, Policja Hrabstwa*.
 (DVD) Kto wie, dla kogo ten gość pracuje. *Służby specjalne, stanowe, federalne?*

In example (20) Crockett talks to his superior, making a metonymic reference to New York. As previously, his mental shortcut is elaborated on in the television translation, which mentions 'New York police' ('policja

nowojorska') and reflected metonymically in the DVD version. In (21), apart from widely known acronyms, he also uses two elliptical references to state and county police, intelligible for his interlocutor, a fellow officer. Similarly to the previous example, Plamowska clarifies these cultural references, using their recognised translations. This obviously produces an artificial effect, with two members of the same professional group exchanging full institutional names of the organisations they cooperate with. The 2008 version solves this problem effectively, generalising proper names to include 'special, state and federal agencies'.

The eponymous 'Vice', a slangy nickname of the Miami Dade Police Department, also poses difficulty to the Polish translators. In (22) Crockett mentions sixteen *Vice cops* working in his *unit*:

- (22) Crockett: I've been takin' an informal survey of *my unit* this week, marriage-wise. Seems out of 16 *Vice cops*, we're barely *battin' 250*.
- (TVP1) W tym tygodniu zrobiłem nieoficjalną ankietę w *moim oddziale* na temat małżeństwa. Wszyscy, a jest nas szesnastu *tropiących narkotyki*, mamy *kłopoty w życiu prywatnym*.
- (DVD) Pytałem *chłopaków z wydziału* na temat małżeństw. Na szesnastu, *rzadko który punktuje*.

While the recent translation condenses the original, using an elliptical expression 'chłopaki z wydziału' ('boys from the unit'), the old one resorts to a clumsy periphrastic construction: 'wszyscy, a jest nas szesnastu tropiących narkotyki' ('all of us, and there are sixteen of us investigating narcotics') in an effort to clarify Crockett's reference. A similar intention must have moved the translator to explicate the idiom 'we're barely batting 250' by means of a formal paraphrase: 'mamy kłopoty w życiu prywatnym' ('we have problems in our personal life'). The DVD version uses an effective cultural equivalent, also based on a sports metaphor, 'rzadko który punktuje' ('hardly any of us scores')

Another reference to 'Vice' (23) encourages the translators to come up with other solutions:

- (23) Tubbs: Yeah, well, excuse the hell outta me. You know, not that *Vice isn't the most glamorous gig in the world*, Crockett, but what happened, huh?
- (TVP1) Przepraszam. Wiesz, to nie znaczy, żeby *walka z narkotykami* nie była najwspanialszym zajęciem na świecie, ale co się stało?
- (DVD) Przepraszam uniżenie. Wiadomo, że *praca gliniarza* jest świetna, ale co się stało?

Plamowska refers to the officers' mission, replacing 'Vice' with 'walka z narkotykami' ('narcotics enforcement'). The DVD version uses a colloquial

paraphrase: ‘praca gliniarza’ (‘a cop’s work’), portraying the two policemen’s interactions more realistically.

Another source of difficulty for the first translator of the episode must have been police jargon. Plamowska used the existing equivalents, known from the operations of the Polish *milicja* (for example ‘wóz patrolowy’ for a ‘police car’), but she also resorted to paraphrases and functional equivalents, for loss of better words. In the examples below, she chose nouns with adjectival post-modifiers to reflect the American police jargon terms. Thus, ‘surveillance photo’ turns into ‘fotografia policyjna’ (‘a police photography’), while ‘C-4 plastics’ is rendered as ‘bomba plastikowa’ (‘a plastic bomb’). Because of their periphrastic nature, these phrases can hardly pose as professional jargon. The recent translator, by contrast, counts on the viewers’ familiarity with specialist terms and mentions ‘zdjęcie z monitoringu’ and ‘plastic C4’, respectively:

- (24) Tubbs: *Surveillance photo...* taken before the shootout.
 (TVP1) To *fotografia policyjna*. Zrobiona przed tamtą strzelaniną.
 (DVD) *Zdjęcie z monitoringu*. Przed strzelaniną.
- (25) Zito: Yeah, Lieutenant, it’s, uh, *C-4 plastics*. Bomb Squad says it’s *C-4 plastics rigged up to the trunk lock*.
 (TVP1) To *bomba plastikowa*. Podłączona do zamka bagażnika.
 (DVD) Poruczniku? To *plastik C4*. Tak twierdzą technicy. *Był w bagażniku*.

Obviously, the use of periphrastic expressions in the 1989 version elevated the tone of the characters’ utterances, depriving them of the original naturalness and familiar perspective. Nowhere is that more visible than in the scene where detective Tubbs visits his future partner, Crockett, in the marina:

- (26) Tubbs: Rodriguez told me I’d find you here... under the name of Burnett. *Is that your cover or somethin’?*
 Crockett: That’s the general idea, Tubbs. As far as *the locals* are concerned, I’m just another *hard-partyin’ ocean guy* with questionable means.
 Tubbs: *With a hundred thousand dollar cigarette boat* and a sideline of *recreational stimulants*.
 (TVP1) Rodriguez powiedział mi, że zastanę cię tutaj pod nazwiskiem Burnett. *Pod tym nazwiskiem działasz?* Taka jest koncepcja. Dla miejscowych jestem tylko jeszcze jednym *rozrywkowym przewodnikiem po oceanie*, facetem o wątpliwych źródłach utrzymania. Z łódzią za sto tysięcy dolarów i *ubocznymi dochodami z rekreacyjnych środków podniecających*.
 (DVD) Rodriguez mówił, że pracujesz tu jako Burnett. *To przykrywka?* Tak jakby. *Lokalsi* uważają, że jestem *imprezującym skipperem o podejrzanych dochodach*. *Z łódką za 100 tysięcy i stymulantami na boku*.

The television version paraphrases almost every idiomatic expression Tubbs and Crockett use, as if the translator wished to provide the viewers with their dictionary definitions. Thus Tubbs's remark on Crockett's 'cover' is explicated with a complex periphrastic structure: 'Pod tym nazwiskiem działasz?' ('Is that the name under which you act?'). Crockett's comment on his image of a 'hard partyin' ocean guy' is misinterpreted to include a reference to a 'fun-loving ocean guide'. Tubbs replies in an elevated tone, mentioning the 'side profits' that 'recreational stimulating drugs' generate. The DVD version stands in sharp contrast to its predecessor. It uses slangy equivalents of the original references to a 'cover' ('przykrywka') and 'recreational stimulants' ('stymulanty'). It also uses shockingly non-standard adaptations, characteristic of Polish general slang: 'lokalsi' for 'local people' and 'skipper' for a 'sailor'. Altogether, the colloquialism of the original dialogue is meticulously preserved in this rendition.

Interestingly, despite its sporadic efforts at bluntness (see section 4.1), the archival version of the episode has a tendency to elevate the style of the original even on occasions where no gaps in the Polish slang repertoire require patching up with standard equivalents. This may either testify to the translator's natural proclivity towards ennoblement or to the norms and conventions dominant in television translation at the end of the 1980s. The recent version, by contrast, does not display similar shifts, allowing the characters to use either neutral or informal language. Let us consider a few examples, which illustrate this observation. In (27) a drug dealer named De Soto alludes to Crockett's 'reputation as a boating enthusiast'. The television version ennobles his utterance, commending Crockett's 'renown as a keen sailor'. The DVD version, by contrast, retains conversational style, with the diminutive 'łódka' ('a small boat') and a direct form of address reflecting the character's easy-going personality.

- (27) De Soto: Your reputation as a boating enthusiast precedes you, my friend.
 (TVP1) *Śława zapalonego żeglarza wszędzie pana wyprzedza.*
 (DVD) *Wszyscy wiedzą, że jesteś entuzjastą łódek.*

Crockett's friendly banter with his partner Eddie (28) is another case in point. Inquiring whether he 'did the hot-bloodied Latin machismo number', the protagonist retains a slangy, provocative tone. This disappears in the early translation, which employs a relatively formal structure 'you behaved as befits a hot-bloodied Latino', followed by a jarring colloquialism 'wyniosłeś się z hukiem' ('and got out of there with a bang'). The DVD version is more consistent in its stylistic choices. It retains the colloquial tone of the original, drawing on the transculturality of the concept of 'machismo', already familiar to the Polish audience:

- (28) Crockett: So, anyway, you lost your temper, right? *You did the hot-blooded Latin machismo number*, and you stomped out of the house, right?
 (TV P1) Tak czy owak, wściekleś się, prawda? *Zachowałeś się jak przystało na gorącokrwistego Latynosa* i wyniosłeś się z hukiem?
 (DVD) Znow się wściekleś? *Zachowałeś się jak macho* i wyszedłeś z domu?

Other examples of ennoblement involve replacing phrasal verbs with simile and making elaborate lexical choices. In (29) Tubbs reports that he ‘glided after [the criminal] like a shadow’; twenty years later he simply ‘follows’ the culprit. In (30) a policeman Switek describes Crockett as ‘shocked by Eddie’s death’, after two decades his colleague is ‘hit by this story with Eddie’. In (31) the drug dealer Leon fears his business partner will ‘be his undoing’, while in the subsequent translation Leon is simply going to ‘get killed because of him’:

- (29) Tubbs: So, I *tailed him down* here from the courthouse.
 (TV P1) *Sunąłem za nim jak cień* od sali sądowej.
 (DVD) *Śledziłem go*.
- (30) Switek: He’s *pretty shaken up* about Eddie, Lieutenant.
 (TV P1) Jest *wstrząśnięty śmiercią* Eddiego.
 (DVD) *Trafła go ta sprawa* z Eddiem.
- (31) Leon: This man’s gonna get me killed talkin’ this stuff!
 (TV P1) *Ten człowiek doprowadzi mnie do zguby*.
 (DVD) *Przez niego mnie zabiją*.

Paradoxically, the occasional ennoblement of the television version might result from the translator’s grammatical literalism. She strives to incorporate the foreign imagery into the script and rationalise it, instead of looking for more effective functional equivalents. This is visible in example (32), where the description of a shot cop *taking* his opponent *with him* is expanded to retain the metaphor of the passage to the afterworld. In effect, the Polish audience hears a story of a policeman, who ‘having been shot to death, managed to take Tooney with him to the next world’. The DVD version provides a more down-to-earth rendition of this slangy utterance:

- (32) Tubbs: The bust went sour. *Our man was shot to death. But he took Tooney with him*, and Calderone got away.
 (TV P1) Sprawa się nie udała. *Nasz człowiek choć zastrzelony, zdołał zabrać ze sobą na tamten świat* Tooneya. Calderone uciekł.
 (DVD) Coś poszło nie tak. *Nasz człowiek zginął. Zastrzelił Tooneya, a Calderone zwał*.

Efforts at semantic translation, visible in the television version of the episode, do not only result in an occasional awkwardness or surprising elevation of tone. At times, they caricature the onscreen interactions, giving them a pedantic and over-specific air. This tendency has already been observed in example (1), but it is also clearly visible in the passages below. In (33), Lieutenant Rodriguez uses the approximation ‘half-dozen’ to indicate the scale of the drug dealer’s offences. The television version provides an exact equivalent of the expression, combining it with a dictionary explanation of the term ‘drug murders’ (‘murders related to drug traffic in our city’). This produces an artificial effect, reminiscent of the ones analysed in examples (21–25). The DVD version uses approximations instead, producing a more natural effect:

- (33) Rodriguez: Suspect in a *half-dozen drug* murders down here. *Moves a lot of weight.*
 (TVP1) Podejrzany o *pół tuzina* morderstw w związku z handlem narkotykami w naszym mieście. Gruba ryba.
 (DVD) Podejrzany o *parę* morderstw. *Przerzuca masę towaru.*

Example (34) is another case point, demonstrating how a translator’s meticulousness may undermine the realism of filmic speech. In the original, Eddie asks his partner for a coin, as he wishes to make a phone call. In the television version, he uses the recognised translation of the American ‘dime’, i.e. ‘dziesięciocentówka’, which sounds awkward and pedantic in the context. In the DVD version, he requests some spare ‘change’, in line with the pragmatics of a typical Polish conversation.

- (34) Eddie: You got a *dime*? I wanna give her a call.
 (TVP1) Masz *dziesięciocentówkę*? Chcę do niej zadzwonić.
 (DVD) Masz *drobne*? Zadzwoń do niej.

All in all, the explicatory literalism of the archival version contrasts sharply with the adaptive brevity of the recent translation, testifying to the growth of the target audience’s intercultural competence and to the formal evolution of the Polish voice-over technique over the last twenty years.

5. Conclusions

Viewed diachronically, the consecutive voice-over renditions of the pilot episode of *Miami Vice* reveal interesting changes in the audiovisual translation practice, bearing witness to the cultural transformations in the post-communist Poland. The 1989 version demonstrated a source-oriented

approach to the original dialogues. Intent to overcome the cultural barriers, the translator strived to reflect the original intricacies as faithfully as possible, making sure that the audience appreciate the foreign reality presented onscreen. The resultant dialogues may strike contemporary critics as inconsistent, designed to explain rather than express the characters' intentions. They combined literalism with explication; colloquialism with bureaucratism. Addressing the Poles right after the fall of the Iron Curtain, Miami cops and criminals mixed styles and registers; they often exchanged explicit, over-specific remarks, mistrusting the viewers' ability to infer information from the context. This strategy was clearly adjusted to the socio-cultural circumstances of the recipients. Unfamiliar with the genre, they must have needed assistance in their encounter with the foreign theme and the new aesthetics.

The DVD version released twenty years later demonstrates a target-oriented approach to the original script. It embodies a free translation strategy, typical of contemporary audiovisual translation practice. Aimed at maximal condensation and reliant on the viewers' sensitivity to the communicative context presented onscreen, the recent translation is much more concise and consistent than its predecessor. Addressing Poles at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the characters speak in their own idiom, evocative of their social and professional identities. The dialogues abound in jargon and slang terms, inspired by real-life language patterns and fictional models established by generations of screen translators. They also imitate the pragmatics of everyday conversation with its economy and context-dependence.

Although the above analysis focused on the varieties of language ascribed to American cops and dealers in the Polish releases of the television series, the collected material invites additional pragma-linguistic and stylistic research. As the preliminary overview shows, the norms of audiovisual translation in Poland have undergone a significant change over the last twenty years, demonstrating increased target orientation and stylistic independence of the original communicative patterns, which certainly deserve further investigation.

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