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**“DOMESTICATION AND FOREIGNIZATION IN JAPANESE-TO-ENGLISH
DUBBING: THE CASE OF STUDIO GHIBLI’S *THE TALE OF PRINCESS KAGUYA*”**

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Resumen

La traducción para doblaje es esencial a la hora de adaptar contenidos audiovisuales para audiencias globales, ya que pretende reducir la brecha cultural y lingüística entre distintos idiomas. Asimismo, la domesticación y la extranjerización son dos técnicas planteadas por primera vez por el alemán Friedrich Schleiermacher en el siglo XIX, cuya aplicación continúa hasta el presente. La naturalización se refiere a la práctica de modificar el texto original (TO) para adaptarlo a la cultura meta, mientras que la extranjerización pretende conservar elementos de la cultura de origen. Este trabajo analiza la aplicación de estas técnicas al doblaje del japonés al inglés de *El Cuento de la Princesa Kaguya*, de Studio Ghibli, centrándose en cómo los referentes culturales presentes en el TO se ven reflejados en el texto meta (TM).

Esta investigación consiste en un análisis descriptivo de referentes culturales japoneses y sus versiones dobladas al inglés para examinar el grado de naturalización y extranjerización, seguido de una revisión y evaluación cualitativas de las ganancias y pérdidas de traducción resultantes. Las conclusiones de este estudio demuestran que existe una tendencia hacia la domesticación en el doblaje inglés de *El cuento de la princesa Kaguya*, especialmente en lo que se refiere a términos relacionados con las relaciones sociales y la religión. Por último, esta investigación ofrece una perspectiva de los retos que plantea el doblaje del japonés al inglés y constituye un valioso recurso para traductores, profesionales del doblaje y académicos interesados en la traducción audiovisual y la adaptación cultural.

Palabras clave: naturalización, extranjerización, traducción audiovisual, doblaje, referentes culturales, estrategias de traducción.

Abstract

Dubbing translation is essential when adapting audiovisual content for global audiences, as it aims to bridge the cultural and linguistic gaps between different languages. Likewise, domestication and foreignization are two techniques first proposed by the German Friedrich Schleiermacher in the 19th century, and their application continues to the present day. Domestication refers to the practice of modifying the source text (ST) to suit the target culture, while foreignization aims to retain elements of the source culture. This paper looks into the application of these techniques to the Japanese-to-English dubbing of Studio Ghibli's *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*, with a focus on how the cultural referents found in the ST are rendered in the target text (TT).

This research consists of a descriptive analysis of selected Japanese culture-specific items and their English dubbed versions to examine the extent of domestication and foreignization, followed by a qualitative review and evaluation of the resulting translation gains and losses. The findings of this study demonstrate that there is a tendency towards domestication in the English dubbing of *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*, especially when it comes to terms related to social relationships and religion. Finally, this research offers insights into the challenges involved in Japanese-to-English dubbing, and serves as a valuable resource for translators, dubbing professionals, and scholars interested in audiovisual translation and cultural adaptation.

Key words: domestication, foreignization, audiovisual translation, dubbing, cultural referents, translation strategies.

Introduction

The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter, the folktale on which Studio Ghibli's *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* is based, has been the object of research of many different studies. For instance, in her Bachelor thesis, Moreira (2016) analyzed the English translation of the story done by Donald Keene, and identified the translation strategies he used to convey the original message. Moreira employed a descriptive and qualitative methodology, and focused only on the first two chapters of the tale. She found that one of the strategies most used by Keene was linguistic expansion, with over 70 examples, followed by amplification and compensation. These strategies helped Keene to stay loyal to the ST, but some Japanese connotations were ultimately lost in the TT. Moreira's work is relevant to the field of translation because, even though it does not touch on the translation of cultural referents specifically, it still highlights the importance of the cultural and linguistic contexts in translation, and how the translator's choices can impact how well the target audience connects with the text.

Regarding the concepts of domestication and foreignization, there is research about their strengths and limitations when it comes to translating culture-specific items, and how they may affect the pragmatic integrity of the texts and their themes. Rasmussen (2014) evaluated the use of both techniques in the official Japanese to English translation of the first six volumes of the manga *Love Com*, focusing on specific cultural values such as different levels of politeness and even regional dialects. Through a qualitative analysis, Rasmussen found that the text had been domesticated, with the regional dialects present in the Japanese version being completely absent in the English version of the manga. The same thing happened with the level of politeness, with the exception of honorifics, which were preserved in the TT. Rasmussen's Bachelor thesis provides insights into the challenges faced by translators when dealing with vastly different cultural values, and offers a methodology for analyzing translations.

This research will focus on domestication and foreignization in Japanese-to-English dubbing, since understanding how these approaches might impact the perception and reception of foreign audiovisual content contributes to the development of more effective and culturally sensitive dubbing practices. Additionally, this study could also be relevant to future translators entering the field, so they can anticipate what kind of challenges they will face and the different alternatives they can use to solve them, allowing them to make more informed decisions in terms of linguistic and cultural adaptation.

Concerning personal interests, I have always been interested in Japan and the Japanese culture. One of the decisive factors that convinced me to study at PUCE was the opportunity to learn the language at a college level, and I have done so for the last three years. As I progressed with my linguistics and translation studies, I became more and more interested in the linguistic aspects of Japanese and how audiovisual translators handled the difficulties of dealing with such a complex language. I combined my passion for animation, Japanese, linguistics, and translation into this single project, which will work as a preliminary investigation for a future comparative study between the translation strategies used in Japanese and Ecuadorian audiovisual material.

The general objective of this research paper is to evaluate the official Japanese-to-English dubbing of Studio Ghibli's *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* regarding domestication and foreignization. In order to do this, we have set the following specific objectives:

- To collect a corpus of Japanese culture-specific items present in the film.
- To analyze qualitatively what techniques were used to translate these items into English.
- To assess the translation losses and gains and how they affect the final product.

In terms of the structure of this work, the first chapter presents the theoretical framework underlying the concepts of translation, the different strategies used by translators to convey the meaning of the ST in the TT, and how these strategies fit within two larger techniques: domestication and foreignization. This section also examines the nature of cultural referents and their classification, and touches on some important aspects of Japanese language and writing systems.

Building upon the theoretical groundwork, chapter 2 details the methodology employed in this study, including the object of research and the data collection process. The corpus is then analyzed qualitatively, and the findings are presented.

The final section sums up the key insights derived from the analysis, and provides a conclusion that highlights the significance and influence of domestication and foreignization in Japanese-to-English dubbing translation. Finally, it offers some recommendations for future research about this subject.

Chapter I

1. Theoretical Framework

1.1 Translation

The term “translation” originated either from the Old French *translation*, or from the Latin *translatio*, which meant “transporting” (Munday, 2016). According to Bell (1991), translation is multifaceted, and the word englobes three different meanings: the process of translating, the product resulting from this process, and the abstract concept involving both of them. These three definitions are complex; however, we will focus on the first one concerning translation as a process or activity. Catford (1965) describes translation as “the replacement of textual material in one language by equivalent textual material in another language” (p. 20). More recently, House (2018) offered a similar definition: “Translation is a procedure where an original text, often called ‘the source text’ is replaced by another text in a different language, often called ‘the target text’” (p. 9). Hurtado Albir (2001) goes a step further and claims that translation is a skill that includes knowing how to go through the translation process and resolving different problems that arise in each case.

Furthermore, Nida and Taber (1969) introduce the concepts of semantic and pragmatic equivalence in their definition of translation by saying it consists in “reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style” (p. 12). These concepts are also mentioned by House (2018), who defines semantic equivalence as the preservation of the content of the original work, and pragmatic equivalence as the preservation of the style, level of formality and wording of said work in the translated text.

Both Hurtado Albir and House agree on a functional translation perspective, adding a sociocultural layer to their translation concepts. For instance, Hurtado Albir (2001) sees translation as a means to overcome a communicative barrier due to linguistic and cultural differences. Similarly, House (2018) brings up that “in translation, not only two languages but also two cultures come into contact, and translation can then be defined as a kind of intercultural communication” (p. 20).

Evidently, translation is a dynamic field that has evolved and can be studied from many different points of view. We have decided to center our study around the sociocultural aspect of translation, not only the linguistic one, as specific linguistic units have a meaning determined by the cultural context in which they are used (House, 2018). One of the areas where this translation principle is applied the most is audiovisual translation, which we will discuss next.

1.1.1 Audiovisual Translation

Audiovisual translation is a branch of translation that deals with audiovisual media, such as cinema, television, documentaries, etc. Part of the challenge involved in this type of translation is that audiovisual texts rely on different “channels” or “codes” to transmit information. Bartoll (2015) mentions two channels: the acoustic one, and the visual one; while Hurtado Albir (2001) highlights the convergence between the linguistic, the visual, and sometimes, the musical codes present in this kind of material. Likewise, Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2014) bring up that audiovisual media “involves some form of interaction with sound and images” (p. 12). Translators, however, are in charge of transferring only the linguistic element of this media from a source to a target language and/or culture.

Regarding the different types of audiovisual activity, Gambier (2004, as cited in Munday, 2016) identifies, among many others, the following categories:

1. Interlingual subtitling, making a distinction between open (always visible on the screen) and closed (can be turned on or off) subtitles.
2. Bilingual subtitling, meaning that they are shown in two languages at the same time.
3. Intralingual subtitling for the hard of hearing.
4. Dubbing.
5. Voice-over, used for documentaries and interviews.
6. Surtitling, used for on-stage opera and theater productions.
7. Audio description, for the visually impaired.

The two most important modalities of audiovisual translation are subtitling and dubbing.

In general, subtitling incorporates short written texts on the lower part of the screen while audiovisual content is being transmitted (Pérez, 2009). According to Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2014), these snippets of text aim to convey the original dialogue of the speakers, the discursive elements present in the image, and even the soundtrack information. Furthermore, subtitling is a complicated task because, to be effective, subtitles must be synchronized with the image and dialogue, be semantically faithful to the original language dialogue, and remain on screen long enough for the human eye to follow comfortably. This last requirement implies some extension constraints. Depending on the medium, subtitles tend to have a maximum length of 28 and 38 characters, including spaces, distributed in one or two lines (Hurtado Albir, 2001).

On the other hand, dubbing involves “the re-recording of the original voice track in the target language using dubbing actors’ voices” (Pérez, 2009, p. 17). Dubbing, similarly to

subtitling, has its own constraints. Rosa Agost (1999, as cited in Bartoll, 2015), points out that in this re-recording, it is necessary to maintain:

1. Synchronism of characterization: consistency between the voice of the dubbing actor and the gestures made by the actor appearing on screen.
2. Synchronism of content: consistency between the new version of the text and the plot of the film.
3. Visual synchronism: consistency between the visible articulatory movements of the actor and the re-recorded sounds.

One of the most important aspects of dubbing that needs to be taken into account is that the translator's work is only the starting draft. This draft will undergo many modifications throughout the rest of the process due to the different stages being carried out on a separate basis (Martínez, 2004).

During the translation process for audiovisual content, and any other fields of translation, several techniques are employed in order to reproduce accurately the essence of the source text in the target text. We will talk about some of them in the following section.

1.1.2 Translation Methods and Techniques

The difference between what constitutes a translation method and a translation technique is diffuse and varies depending on the author. We agree with the concept of translation method provided by Hurtado Albir (2001), who defines it as a specific translation process chosen based on the objective pursued by the translator. Thus, she distinguishes four basic translation methods: interpretive-communicative, literal, free, and philological. The interpretive-communicative method aims to preserve the same function and effect of the original text in the target text. The literal method refers to a word-for-word translation, where

the priority is reproducing the original text's form. The free method allows to alter the semiotic or communicative aspects of the original text in order to make it more suitable for a new audience or context. Finally, the philological method is characterized by the use of translator's notes filled with philological or historical comments whose target audience are students and educated readers.

Conversely, Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) only distinguish two general methods of translating: direct or literal translation, and oblique translation. A literal translation, as its name suggests, involves transposing both the lexical elements and the structure of the source text into the target text. On the other hand, an oblique translation concerns itself with filling the gaps present in the source language with corresponding elements of the target language. This would mean that the final product is not parallel to the original text, but "the overall impression is the same for the two messages" (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995, p. 31).

Regarding translation techniques, they are also referred to as "strategies" or "procedures" by some authors (Hurtado Albir, 2001). As an example of this, Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) use the term "procedure" to refer to certain mechanisms that translators may use to meet their translation goals, to solve problems encountered during the translation process, and to have control over the reliability of their work. According to them, procedures operate at three levels: lexis, syntactic structure, and message. In their book *Comparative Stylistics of French and English*, they present seven procedures corresponding to the two methods of translation previously mentioned; the first three procedures are best suited for direct translation, while the rest are said to go better with oblique translation.

1. Borrowing: to take a word from another language without translating it.
2. Calque: to translate literally each element of an expression borrowed from another language.

3. Literal Translation: to translate word for word in a grammatically and idiomatically appropriate way.
4. Transposition: to change the grammatical structure of the message without altering its meaning.
5. Modulation: to make a change in the point of view, thus, changing the form but not the meaning of the message.
6. Equivalence: to render the same situation by means of completely different stylistic and structural resources.
7. Adaptation: to create a new equivalent situation.

Alternatively, Cragie and Pattison (2018) use the term “strategy” and identified two levels of strategy: a macro strategy and a set of micro strategies. A macro strategy is directly related to the orientation stage of the translation process. It involves approaching the translation, outlining its intended purpose, identifying the subject matter and style of the source text and finding similarities with previous works the translator has done before. In contrast, a micro strategy is a localized decision concerning an individual unit and its translation. The ten micro strategies described in the *Thinking English Translation* book include:

1. Direct transfer of an SL item into the TL (this involves preserving the item in its original form).
2. Calque (literal translation of the SL word or phrase in the TL).
3. Direct equivalence of an SL item in the TL (one-to-one SL/TL match).
4. Cultural equivalent (different words in the SL and TL for the same concept).
5. Synonymy (synonym or near-synonym).
6. Sense translation (untranslatable or non-viable SL item rendered by a neutral TL form).

7. Expansion or paraphrase (explanation of the SL item in the TL).
8. Reduction (simplification and shortening of the SL item in the TL).
9. Grammatical/syntactic change (change of form or structure between the SL and TL).
10. Compensation (the loss of meaning that occurs in translation is compensated for elsewhere in the TT). (Cragie & Pattison, 2018, p. 66)

The translation methods and techniques we have discussed do not operate by themselves, but are framed within two larger approaches to translation: domestication and foreignization.

1.1.3 Domestication and Foreignization

In his 1813 essay, *On the Different Methods of Translating*, Friedrich Schleiermacher makes a distinction between two types of text a translator may encounter: commercial texts, and scholarly and artistic texts. In the case of the latter, which deals with a highly creative subject matter, he claims there are only two possible paths to follow: “Either the translator leaves the writer alone as much as possible and moves the reader toward the writer, or he leaves the reader alone as much as possible and moves the writer toward the reader” (Schleiermacher, 1813, p. 42). The first option is what we now call foreignization, while the second one refers to domestication. If translators decide to go down the route of foreignization, they must find ways to compensate for the reader’s lack of understanding of the original language. In contrast, domestication implies that authors should be translated as if they were initially part of the target culture and had written in the target language.

According to Munday (2016), Schleiermacher’s preferred strategy was that of foreignization, though this approach carries several consequences, such as:

1. The inability to reproduce the same impression as the ST due to a disparity on the level of education and understanding between the translator and the TT's readership.
2. The need for a special language of translation given the limitations of the TL in conveying certain foreign concepts.

Later on, Lawrence Venuti further developed these concepts in his book *The Translator's Invisibility*. He defines the method of domestication as “a process in which the foreign text is imprinted with values specific to the target language culture” (Venuti, 1995, p. 49). For him, domestication holds a negative connotation since it gives the translated text the illusion of transparency. In other words, domestication makes it seem as if the translation is equal to the original text, even though they can never be identical. On the other hand, he described foreignization as “a theory and practice of translation that resists dominant target-language culture values to signify the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text” (Venuti, 1995, p. 23). In Venuti's eyes, foreignization should be the preferred procedure by translators in today's world, where English-language nations dominate the political, social, and cultural contexts.

In contemporary translation theory, it is not a matter of which of these approaches is better than the other, it is a matter of appropriateness. Domestication may be more suitable for content that is meant to be easily understood by the target audience, while foreignization may be preferable if we aim to reproduce the original voice of the author and the cultural context of the narrative. A combination of both techniques can also be worthy of consideration. Ultimately, the choice depends on the specific needs and goals of the translation, in addition to the preferences of the translator, the client, and the target audience.

However, foreignization and domestication are especially divisive approaches when it comes to the translation of terms that are particular of a specific culture. To understand why, we must first explain what cultural referents are and what challenges they represent.

1.2 Cultural Referents

The translation of cultural elements is one of the most discussed topics in the field. House (2018) points out that, in translation, “we need to pay attention to conventions that are shared or not shared in the source and target cultures, and to take account of how culture-determined conventions and knowledge sets characterize the two languages involved in translation” (p. 20). In other words, given that specific cultural connotations are present in a variety of terms, translators must be aware of both the source and the target cultures in order to convey the original meaning effectively.

These cultural elements are referred to by many different names depending on the author. For instance, Franco Aixelá (1996) uses the term “culture-specific items” to talk about aspects of the source culture that are recognizable to the community associated to it, but are either absent or have a different sociocultural connotation for the target culture. On the other hand, Vermeer (1983, as cited in Nord, 1997) introduces the concept of “culturemes” and defines them as social phenomena found to be relevant and unique to a specific culture after having compared them to a different culture. Both of these definitions have in common the idea of cultural asymmetry being the main reason why cultural terms represent a challenge to translators.

Furthermore, Newmark (1988a) refers to them as “cultural words”, and acknowledges their presence in the grammar, forms of address, and lexis of a language. Moreover, in his book *Approaches to Translation*, he mentions that “these are token-words which first add local color to any description of their countries of origin, and may have to be explained,

depending on the readership and the type of text” (Newmark, 1988b, p. 82). This idea of “local color” is also touched on by Mangiron (2006, as cited in Yue, 2020). In her case, she prefers the term “cultural referents” and, besides being associated with a particular culture, she believes their purpose is to add a combination of meaning, expressivity, and local color to a text.

One important aspect of cultural referents in general is that, although texts of all kinds may include them, audiovisual texts are the ones most prone to having them given the prominence of the visual channel (Bartoll, 2015).

1.2.1 Classification of Cultural Referents

There is a wide variety of classifications of cultural referents, grouped according to different points of view. Some of them deal with, what they consider to be, only the most fundamental cultural referents, while the scope of others is way more extensive. Newmark (1988), for example, presents the following categorization:

1. Ecology.
2. Material culture, including food, clothes, houses and towns, and transport.
3. Social culture, including work and leisure.
4. Organizations and customs, including the political, religious, and artistic fields.
5. Gestures and habits.

This categorization offers a solid start point to identifying various cultural referents. It is also easy to understand and can be applied to different languages and cultures, making it a versatile tool. However, it can come off as overly simplistic once you compare it with other classifications available, like the one designed by Mangiron (2006, as cited in Yue, 2020),

which is much more complete. In this classification, shown in Table 1, she distinguishes seven big categories, and almost fifty subcategories within them.

Table 1

Mangiron's cultural references classification

1. Natural environment	1.1 Geology 1.2 Biology 1.2.1 Plants 1.2.2 Animals
2. History	2.1 Buildings 2.2 Historical events 2.3 Historical institutions and figures 2.4 National symbols
3. Social culture	3.1 Work 3.1.1 Professions 3.1.2 Units of measurement 3.1.3 Currency 3.2 Social conditions 3.2.1 Anthroponyms 3.2.2 Family relationships 3.2.3 Social relationships 3.2.4 Customs 3.2.5 Cultural geography 3.2.6 Transportation
4. Cultural institutions	4.1 Fine arts 4.1.1 Painting, ceramics, and sculptures 4.1.2 Floral arts 4.1.3 Music and dancing 4.2 Art 4.2.1 Theater 4.2.2 Literature 4.3 Religion 4.4 Education
5. Material culture	5.1 Home

	5.2 Diet 5.2.1 Food 5.2.2 Drinks 5.3 Clothing 5.4 Entertainment 5.4.1 Games 5.4.2 Sports and martial arts 5.4.3 Hotels and restaurants 5.5 Material objects
6. Linguistic culture	6.1 Writing system 6.2 Dialects 6.3 Sayings and idioms 6.4 Word play 6.5 Insults 6.6 Onomatopoeias
7. Cultural interferences	7.1 References to other languages 7.2 References to cultural institutions 7.2.1 Painting, ceramics, and sculptures 7.2.2 Literature 7.3 Historical references

Note. The contents of this table were translated by the author of this paper. Adapted from “La recepción de la traducción de los referentes culturales: las traducciones al inglés y al castellano de la novela 三国演” (p. 40), by X. Yue, 2020.

Our object of research holds a significant cultural value to Japan, as it portrays distinctive elements from its history and religious traditions. This is why we decided to expand on these subjects in Appendix A, B, and C. In this section, we will focus on the Japanese language and its very particular writing system, to provide some context necessary to understand our analysis.

1.3 Japan

Japan is an island nation located in the far east of Asia, with a population of over 126 million people. Its culture has been influenced by the traditions of China, Korea and, more recently, the West. Japan stands out as a nation full of contrasts, blending a rich history and culture with advanced technology and modern architecture.

1.3.1 Language

Japanese is a pitch-accent language, meaning that the accentuation of syllables is marked by a contrasting pitch, rather than by loudness or length (Hadamitzky & Spahn, 2005). Furthermore, Japanese vowels (/a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/) resemble those of Spanish and Italian; while its consonants (/k/, /s/, /t/, /n/, /h/, /m/, /y/, /r/, /w/, /g/, /z/, /d/, /b/, /p/) are pronounced similarly to their English counterparts, except for the /r/ which is commonly produced as an apical tap (Hamano & Tsujioka, 2011).

In terms of morphosyntax, Japanese is an agglutinative language which basic word order is SOV; however, the general sentence pattern tends to be quite flexible thanks to the presence of particles, like *wa*, *ga*, *o*, and *ni*. Hamano and Tsujioka (2011) indicate that particles exist to mark the function of the word they follow. As long as the verb remains at the end of the sentence, particles make it possible to reorder the phrases at one's will. Additionally, Japanese is a pro-drop language. In fact, any part of the sentence (apart from the predicate) can be omitted if and when the context allows it (Henderson, 2010).

1.3.3.1 Writing System

The Japanese writing system is made up of three types of script: kanji, hiragana and katakana. According to Hadamitzky and Spahn (1989), kanji are pictographic-ideographic characters of Chinese origin, used to write nouns, verbs, and adjectives; while hiragana and

katakana are syllabaries used mainly to write inflectional endings and foreign-derived words, respectively. There are 46 basic hiragana characters with their corresponding katakana equivalent.

Figure 1

Hiragana and katakana chart

	<i>a</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>a</i>	あ ア <i>a</i>	か カ <i>ka</i>	さ サ <i>sa</i>	た タ <i>ta</i>	な ナ <i>na</i>	は ハ <i>ha</i>	ま マ <i>ma</i>	や ヤ <i>ya</i>	ら ラ <i>ra</i>	わ ワ <i>wa</i>	ん ン <i>n</i>
<i>i</i>	い イ <i>i</i>	き キ <i>ki</i>	し シ <i>shi</i>	ち チ <i>chi</i>	に ニ <i>ni</i>	ひ ヒ <i>hi</i>	み ミ <i>mi</i>	い イ <i>i</i>	り リ <i>ri</i>	い イ <i>i</i>	
<i>u</i>	う ウ <i>u</i>	く ク <i>ku</i>	す ス <i>su</i>	つ ツ <i>tsu</i>	ぬ ヌ <i>nu</i>	ふ フ <i>fu</i>	む ム <i>mu</i>	ゆ ユ <i>yu</i>	る ル <i>ru</i>	う ウ <i>u</i>	
<i>e</i>	え エ <i>e</i>	け ケ <i>ke</i>	せ セ <i>se</i>	て テ <i>te</i>	ね ネ <i>ne</i>	へ ヘ <i>he</i>	め メ <i>me</i>	え エ <i>e</i>	れ レ <i>re</i>	え エ <i>e</i>	
<i>o</i>	お オ <i>o</i>	こ コ <i>ko</i>	そ ソ <i>so</i>	と ト <i>to</i>	の ノ <i>no</i>	ほ ホ <i>ho</i>	も モ <i>mo</i>	よ ヨ <i>yo</i>	ろ ロ <i>ro</i>	を ヲ <i>o</i>	

Note. From *Basic Japanese: A Grammar and Workbook* (p. 9), by S. Hamano & T. Tsujioka, 2011, Routledge.

Additionally, Kamermans (2010) mentions that some of the kana have voiced variants, and these variants are also represented in the writing by a special diacritic mark called *dakuten*. Interestingly, the ha (は) column can also be marked with a *handakuten*, a diacritic mark consisting of a small circle. In this case, the characters are pronounced with a /p/ sound.

Figure 2

Hiragana and katakana with diacritics

	<i>ga</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>pa</i>
<i>a</i>	が ガ <i>ga</i>	ざ ザ <i>za</i>	だ ダ <i>da</i>	ば バ <i>ba</i>	ぱ パ <i>pa</i>
<i>i</i>	ぎ ギ <i>gi</i>	じ ジ <i>ji</i>	ぢ ヂ <i>ji</i>	び ビ <i>bi</i>	ぴ ピ <i>pi</i>
<i>u</i>	ぐ グ <i>gu</i>	ず ズ <i>zu</i>	づ ヅ <i>zu</i>	ぶ ブ <i>bu</i>	ぷ プ <i>pu</i>
<i>e</i>	げ ゲ <i>ge</i>	ぜ ゼ <i>ze</i>	で デ <i>de</i>	べ ベ <i>be</i>	ぺ ペ <i>pe</i>
<i>o</i>	ご ゴ <i>go</i>	ぞ ゾ <i>zo</i>	ど ド <i>do</i>	ぼ ボ <i>bo</i>	ぽ ポ <i>po</i>

Note. From *Basic Japanese: A Grammar and Workbook* (p. 10), by S. Hamano & T. Tsujioka, 2011, Routledge.

Kanji has its own particularities as well. The most prominent one is that they can be read in two different forms: the original Chinese pronunciation, known as *on*-reading, and the reading based on Japanese sound values, known as *kun*-reading (Hamano & Tsujioka, 2011). For example, the character 人 may be read as *hito* (*kun*-reading) or *jin* (*on*-reading) depending on the context.

Finally, the transliteration of each character into Roman letters that can be seen on the previous charts is part of an additional script type known as *romaji*. There are many ways to systematically carry out this process of transliteration, also called *romanization*, but the two most common ones are the *kunrei-shiki romaji* system and the Hepburn system.

Hadamitzky and Spahn (1989) explain that the *kunrei-shiki romaji* system was officially introduced by the Japanese government in 1937, and it is distinctive because “the initial consonant sound of all five syllables in each row is represented uniformly with the

same Roman letter, despite any phonetic variation associated with different final vowel sounds” (p. 14). The Hepburn system, on the other hand, was developed in 1885, and was featured in a Japanese-English dictionary made by James Curtis Hepburn, which helped with its diffusion. Contrary to the kunai-Shiki romaji system, the Hepburn system does not use the same letter to represent the consonant sounds in the same row, rather the consonant sounds are spelled as in English, and the vowel sounds as in Italian. This is the reason why it is preferred by Western scholars, and this is the system we will use in this study.

Chapter II

2. Methodology and Analysis

2.1 The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter

The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter, or *Taketoro Monogatari* in Japanese, is a work of fiction that belongs to the genre of *monogatari*. According to Miner et al. (1988), the term *monogatari* could be decomposed in two different ways and have two different meanings, one being “to relate things”, and the other being “a person who relates”; however, generally speaking, *monogatari* is nothing more but the classical Japanese word for “narrative”. There are two varieties of *monogatari*, *tsukuri monogatari* (“invented tales”) and *uta monogatari* (“poem-tales”), and *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* fits into the former. Despite including some realistic details, *tsukuri monogatari* were prominent for their elements of fantasy or the supernatural taken from folklore (Keene, 1993).

There is not much information about the date of composition of the tale, or its author. Based on some elements present in the storyline, Keene (1993) suggests that it was written during the Heian period, no later than 909. Furthermore, Miner et al. (1988) claim that the story was introduced to Japan originally in Chinese and that the author had to be a man familiar with Chinese learning and popular tales. This is consistent with Aston’s (1907) observation that most of the incidents that take place in the narrative are borrowed from the fairy lore of China.

The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter is generally regarded as the oldest surviving *monogatari*, and has had a tremendous impact in Japanese literature, but its main contribution is “its success in using the Japanese language as a medium of artistic expression” (Keene, 1993, p. 441). For this reason, it has been adapted a number of times in multiple media. One of the most popular adaptations is the film produced by Studio Ghibli, *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*,

which is “the oldest marker of Japan’s cultural heritage that Studio Ghibli has adapted” (Bryce & Davis, 2015, p. 140). We will touch on some details about the movie next.

2.1.2 The Tale of Princess Kaguya

The Tale of Princess Kaguya is a Japanese animated film directed by Isao Takahata and produced by Studio Ghibli. The film was released in Japan in 2013, and its English-dubbed version was subsequently released in the USA in 2014. The English translation for dubbing was done by Ian MacDougall, a Canadian audiovisual translator who specializes in Japanese-to-English translation for dubbing and has also worked as a dubbing director (Japan Association of Translators, 2012).

The film was nominated for several major awards, including the 2015 Academy Award for Best Animated Feature. Takahata was praised by critics for his ability to remain faithful to the original story, while also updating it and making it more accessible to the current generations. Napier (2020) points out that *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* “is a cinematic expression of resistance to death and to the loss of cultural identity” (p. 131).

2.1.3 Summary of the Movie

Studio Ghibli’s *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* tells the story of a mysterious girl who is discovered inside a bamboo shot by a bamboo cutter called Sanuki no Miyatsuko. He and his wife decide to raise her as their own daughter, and the village children give her the nickname of Takenoko, which means “little bamboo”. Convinced that she is a gift sent from the gods, Miyatsuko decides to take her to the city to make her a proper princess and hires a governess to teach her the ways of high society. Despite the luxurious life that comes her way, Takenoko is never satisfied and feels deeply unhappy. She longs for the freedom and simplicity of her former life in the village.

Once she comes of age, she is granted the name of Kaguya in an official naming ceremony, and her beauty and grace start attracting the attention of different noblemen. However, she challenges all of them to get her presents that are nonexistent or very hard to come by, in an attempt to discourage them from courting her. After all of the noblemen fail, and one of them dies, the word starts spreading and the emperor goes to see her and asks her to be one of his wives. He tries to force her to go with her and she manages to escape, but becomes depressed after this.

Eventually, Kaguya confesses to her parents that she comes from the Moon and she had accidentally begged her to let her go back. The next full moon, a celestial entourage led by the Buddha shows up to take her back. Accepting her fate, she decides to return to her heavenly home and puts on the robe of feather offered to her to delete her memory. The film ends with Kaguya disappearing into the sky. She looks back and cries, remembering the moments of her life on Earth.

2.2 Data Collection

The data analyzed in this study were collected from January to February of 2023. They consist of 20 lines from the original Japanese audio of Studio Ghibli's *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*, their respective timestamps, and the translation of each line done by Ian MacDougall for the English dubbing of the film. The process to gather the data was as follows:

First, the Japanese and English subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH subtitles) were downloaded from Subscene (www.subscene.com), a subtitles database online. Even though this paper is centered on the dubbing of the film, we found it was more practical and efficient to work with the SDH subtitles of both languages, since they are a direct transcription of the original Japanese audio and the English dubbing. Also, the subtitle files already include the timestamp of each line, which facilitated the process.

Next, the Japanese and the English subtitles were placed side by side on a Word document, so we were able to compare each line of the Japanese audio with its respective English dubbing translation. After carefully scanning the subtitles, we identified and highlighted the SL elements that were preserved intact in the TL. Similarly, we identified and highlighted the TL terms that did not seem to correspond with those of the SL, either because they were longer (which was taken as a hint of paraphrasing), or because they were shorter (which was taken as a hint of elision or reduction). We also made sure to check the translation of all character's names, and the translation done in some specific scenes of the movie that we considered to be more culture-specific. For example, the baptism of the Princess, the retelling made by one of the Princess's suitors about how he came across a legendary relic, or the arrival of Buddha's celestial procession at the end of the movie.

Then, we made a list with all of these terms and looked them up on Jisho (www.jisho.org) a Japanese-English dictionary online, which also provides brief notes on the history of some words, their use, and some external links with more information about them. Once we confirmed which terms were specific of Japanese culture, we selected 20 lines with the most representative examples regarding Japanese history, literature, religion, mythology, and botany; and copied them in another Word document, along with their English translation, and corresponding timestamps.

2.3 Research Design and Methodology

This study is a descriptive analysis of the Japanese-to-English dubbing translation of Studio Ghibli's *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*, focusing on the domestication and foreignization of Japanese cultural referents. We used the dubbing translation made by Ian MacDougall, as this is the official one that can be seen on the Netflix streaming platform.

In order to carry out the analysis, we first selected the lines from the movie that contain the most notable cultural referents. The transcription of these lines was taken from the official SDH subtitles, so we were able to analyze some lexical items based on their kanji as well; and, additionally, we provided a romaji transliteration using the Hepburn system of romanization. Next, we translated each of the selected lines literally to contrast them with MacDougall's official version. Then, we identified whether the official dubbing translation used domestication or foreignization techniques, and which strategies were used for this purpose, taking Cragie and Pattison's (2018) decalogue of translation micro-strategies as a reference. After that, we classified the cultural referents present in the original line in Japanese according to the categories provided by Mangiron (2006, as cited in Yue, 2020). We also added notes to give some additional context that may be useful to understand the cultural baggage at play in the translation. Finally, following a qualitative review of these items, we evaluated the translation losses and gains and determined how domestication and foreignization affected the final product.

Given the complexity of the analysis at hand, we found it better to organize the information using a chart structured in the following way:

- 1. Timestamp:** The hour, minute, second and millisecond at which the line is said. The English dubbed version was taken as a reference. The timestamp in the original Japanese version may vary slightly.
- 2. Source Text:** The transcription of the original line in Japanese and its corresponding transliteration into roman letters in italics.
- 3. Translation:** A literal translation and MacDougall's dubbing translation.
- 4. Identified Technique:** Information about domestication or foreignization, and the strategies used to carry out the translation.

5. **Cultural Referent (C.R.) Category:** The type of culture-specific item found in the source text.
6. **Additional Notes:** More extensive commentary on the source material, the Japanese language and culture, and how these aspects are reflected or hidden in the translation.

This study is not intended to be exhaustive, and only the most representative instances of domestication and foreignization were chosen to be discussed here, given the repetitiveness of some examples.

2.2 Corpus Analysis

#	Timestamp	Source Text	Translation	Identified Technique	C.R. Category	Additional Notes
1	00:01:24,900; 00:01:29,215	名をばさぬきの造とな む言ひける (<i>na oba sanuki no miyatsuko to namu ihikeru</i>)	Literal: His name was <i>Sanuki no Miyatsuko</i> . Dubbing: His name was Sanuki no Miyatsuko.	1. <i>Sanuki no Miyatsuko</i> → Foreignization: Direct transfer of the Japanese name into the TL.	1. Anthroponyms	1. This anthroponym is composed of three parts: <i>Sanuki</i> is the name of a former province located in what is known today as the Kagawa Prefecture (jisho.org), <i>no</i> is a structure particle that expresses possession; and <i>Miyatsuko</i> is a title given to a servant of the Heian Court, equivalent to the Baron, but it has come to be used merely as a name (Dickins, 1888). In a general sense, the name refers to a Baron of Sanuki.
2	00:05:42,100; 00:05:43,677	もののけだったらどう する (<i>mononoke dattara dō suru</i>)	Literal: If she's a <i>mononoke</i> , what would we do? Dubbing: What if she's a woodland spirit or something?	1. <i>Mononoke</i> → Domestication: Use of a near-synonym, <i>woodland spirit</i> , to convey the nature of the creature.	1. Literature	1. The term <i>mononoke</i> can be decomposed into three parts: <i>mono</i> (物) “thing” + the possessive particle <i>no</i> + <i>ke</i> (怪) “apparition”. According to Foster (2015), the term was

						used in Japanese classical literature to refer to different kinds of spirits, e.g., spirits of living people (ikiryō), or a vengeful spirit (onryō).
3	00:15:52,118; 00:15:55,163	そいつヘンなんだよ捨 丸兄ちゃん <i>(soitsu henna n da yo sutemaru niichan)</i>	Literal: That kid's weird, <i>Sutemaru-niichan</i> . Dubbing: That kid's weird, Sutemaru.	1. <i>Sutemaru</i> → <u>Foreignization:</u> Direct transfer of the Japanese name into the TL. 2. <i>-niichan</i> → <u>Domestication:</u> Use of reduction, which results in the elision of the honorific in the TL.	1. Anthroponyms 2. Social relationships	1. The name <i>Sutemaru</i> is made up of two kanji: <i>su</i> or <i>sute</i> (捨) meaning “discard”, but also “sacrifice”, and <i>maru</i> (丸) which means “round” and “perfection”. <i>Maru</i> is also used as a suffix in infant names (jisho.org) 2. <i>-niichan</i> is an endearing honorific to refer to one's older brother, but young children also use it to refer to any older boy they are close to.
4	00:21:06,766; 00:21:08,309	いってらっしゃい いってらっしゃーい おみやげ お願いね <i>(itterasshai)</i>	Literal: <i>Itterasshai</i> <i>Itterasshāi</i> Please (bring) a present, yes?	1. <i>Itterasshai</i> → <u>Domestication:</u> The Japanese farewell is translated as <i>goodbye</i> , the cultural equivalent in the TL.	1. Sayings and idioms	1. Literally translated, <i>itterasshai</i> means “please go and then come back”: <i>itte</i> comes from the verb <i>iku</i> “to go”, and <i>rasshai</i> derives

		<i>itterasshāi omiyage onegai ne)</i>	Dubbing: Goodbye! Bye! Bring us a present!			from <i>irassharu</i> , a polite command form of “to come”.
5	00:34:04,543; 00:34:13,343	かかさま？ ととさま… なの？ (<i>kaka sama? toto sama... nano?</i>)	Literal: <i>Kaka-sama? Toto-sama...</i> is that you? Dubbing: Is that you Momma? And Papa?	1. <i>Kaka, Toto</i> → Domestication: The Japanese vocatives are translated as <i>momma</i> and <i>papa</i> , the cultural equivalents in the TL. 2. <i>-sama</i> → Domestication: Use of reduction, which results in the elision of the honorific in the TL.	1. Family relationships 2. Social relationships	1. <i>Kaka</i> and <i>toto</i> are archaic humble ways that children used to use to refer to their mom and dad, respectively (jisho.org). 2. <i>-sama</i> , however, is still a formal and respectful honorific used to mark the social distance between elders (parents) and youngsters (children).
6	00:39:24,196; 00:39:27,157	いかがですか？ 琴のおけいこのほうは (<i>ikaga desu ka na? koto no okeiko no hō wa</i>)	Literal: How’s everything? As for the <i>koto</i> lessons... Dubbing: How about the <i>koto</i> lessons, are they coming along as well?	1. <i>Koto</i> → Foreignization: Direct transfer of the Japanese musical instrument into the TL.	1. Music and dancing	1. <i>Koto</i> is a Japanese string instrument, considered to be the national instrument of Japan. Interestingly, the kanji used in the SDH subtitles (琴) is used to refer, in general, to all string instruments.
7	00:42:05,550; 00:42:12,097	年が明けたらすぐに髪上げと名付けの儀式	Literal: Immediately after the new year begins, the <i>kamiage</i> and <i>nazuke</i> ceremonies (will take place).	1. <i>Kamiage, nazuke</i> → Domestication: Use of paraphrasing in the TL in order to explain the rituals.	1. Customs	1. The <i>kamiage</i> ritual was a part of <i>genpuku</i> , the coming-of-age ceremony that upper-class girls used to have

		(<i>toshi ga aketara sugu ni kamiage to nazuke no gishiki</i>)	Dubbing: So right after the new year we'll have a celebration! With putting up with hair, and the naming ritual.			in the Nara and Heian periods (Choi, 2006). Girls had their hair put up and fastened in a knot on the crown or side of the head (Dickins, 1888). The <i>nazuke</i> ritual was also part of <i>genpuku</i> , and it involved the exchanging of a child's name for an adult's name (Faure, 1998).
8	00:42:16,701; 00:42:22,500	そうだ名付け親は齋部 秋田様をお願いしよう (<i>sō da nazukeoya wa inbe no akita sama ni onegai shiyō</i>)	Literal: That's right! Let's ask <i>Inbe no Akita-sama</i> to be the godfather. Dubbing: Wait! I'll ask Inbe no Akita. He'll serve as the name father.	1. <i>Inbe no Akita</i> → <u>Foreignization:</u> Direct transfer of the Japanese name into the TL. 2. <i>-sama</i> → <u>Domestication:</u> Use of reduction, which results in the elision of the honorific in the TL.	1. Anthroponyms 2. Social relationships	1. <i>Inbe no Akita</i> could be translated literally as <i>Akita of Inbe</i> . <i>Inbe</i> is the name of an ancient family of Shinto priests, builders of Shinto shrines (Dickins, 1888).
9	00:44:20,900; 00:44:23,900	お歯黒も いや！口を開 けるとヘンよ！ (<i>ohaguro mo iya! kuchi wo akeru to hen yo!</i>)	Literal: I also hate <i>ohaguro</i> ! It would be weird whenever I open my mouth!	1. <i>Ohaguro</i> → <u>Domestication:</u> The name of the ceremony is calqued in the TL as <i>black teeth</i> .	1. Customs	1. <i>Ohaguro</i> was part of <i>genpuku</i> during the Heian period as well (Ashikari, 2003). The term is composed of the honorific prefix <i>o-</i> + <i>ha</i>

			Dubbing: Why would I want black teeth? I wouldn't open my mouth then!			(齒) “teeth” + <i>kuro</i> (黒) “black”.
10	00:47:32,851; 00:47:36,729	なよ竹の… かぐや姫 (<i>nayo take no... kaguya hime</i>)	Literal: Princess <i>Kaguya</i> of the Flexible Bamboo... Dubbing: The Shining Princess of the Supple Bamboo...	1. <i>Kaguya</i> → Domestication: The Japanese name is translated as <i>shining</i> , its direct equivalent in the TL.	1. Anthroponyms	1. <i>Kaguya</i> comes from the verb <i>kagayaku</i> which means “to shine” (Moreira, 2016).
11	00:48:48,400; 00:48:55,600	髪上げと モギの儀式が しきたりどおりに行わ れる (<i>kamiage to mogi no gishiki ga shikitaridōri ni okonawareru</i>)	Literal: The <i>kamiage</i> and <i>mogi</i> ceremonies were performed according to custom. Dubbing: As is the custom, the naming ceremony was followed by putting up the hair and dawning the trailing skirt.	1. <i>Kamiage, mogi</i> → Domestication: Use of paraphrasing in the TL in order to explain the ceremonies.	1. Customs	1. <i>Mogi</i> could be translated literally as “pleated skirt”, and it was another ritual part of <i>genpuku</i> , where girls changed into this skirt as a representation of adult clothing (Choi, 2006).
12	00:51:45,800; 00:51:47,500	ひよっとしてオバケみ たいだったりして (<i>hyottoshite obake mitai dattari shite</i>)	Literal: Maybe she looks like some kind of <i>obake</i> . Dubbing: Maybe she looks like some kind of goblin!	1. <i>Obake</i> → Domestication: The name of the Japanese creature is replaced by <i>goblin</i> , the cultural equivalent in the TL.	1. Religion	1. <i>Obake</i> , or ghosts, are evil <i>kami</i> present in Shinto literature. Driven by anger and frustration, they like to cause harm to humans and can be banished through rituals (Littleton, 2002).

13	01:02:27,870; 01:02:29,621	<p>いや 右大臣様あの姫は 造の実の娘ではござい ません</p> <p>(<i>iya udaijin sama ano hime wa miyatsuko no jitsu no musume dewa gozaimasen</i>)</p>	<p>Literal: No, <i>Udaijin-sama</i>. That princess is not <i>Miyatsuko</i>'s real daughter.</p> <p>Dubbing: Not so, Lord Minister. This beautiful girl is not <i>Miyatsuko</i>'s true daughter.</p>	<p>1. <i>Udaijin</i> → <u>Domestication:</u> Use of reduction, resulting in the title being shortened and translated simply as <i>minister</i> in the TL.</p> <p>2. <i>-sama</i> → <u>Domestication:</u> The honorific is replaced by <i>Lord</i>, the cultural equivalent in the TL.</p> <p>3. <i>Miyatsuko</i> → <u>Foreignization:</u> Direct transfer of the Japanese name into the TL.</p>	<p>1. Historical institutions and figures</p> <p>2. Social relationships</p> <p>3. Anthroponyms</p>	<p>1. <i>Udaijin</i>, usually translated as “Minister of the Right”, was the tile given to one of the three ministers that led the Council of State during the Nara and Heian periods (see Figure B1).</p>
14	01:02:41,967; 01:02:46,263	<p>あながち無い話とも言 い切れませぬ 大納言様</p> <p>(<i>anagachi nai hanashi tomo ii kiremasenu dainagon sama</i>)</p>	<p>Literal: I can't say it's necessarily an implausible rumor, <i>Dainagon-sama</i>.</p> <p>Dubbing: After seeing her with my own eyes... that is entirely possible, my Lord.</p>	<p>1. <i>Dainagon</i> → <u>Domestication:</u> Use of reduction, which results in the elision of the title in the TL.</p> <p>2. <i>-sama</i> → <u>Domestication:</u> The honorific is replaced by <i>Lord</i>, the cultural equivalent in the TL.</p>	<p>1. Historical institutions and figures</p> <p>2. Social relationships</p>	<p>1. <i>Dainagon</i>, or “Major Counselor”, was the title of one of the four senior counselors that were part of the Council of State during the Nara and Heian periods (see Figure B1).</p>

15	01:06:50,400; 01:07:01,435	<p>それはかのほうらいの 山にあるという銀の根 黄金のくき白き玉の実 をつける宝の枝を得る がごとき幸せ</p> <p>(<i>sore wa kano hōrai no yama ni aru to iu gin no ne kogane no kuki shiroki tama no mi o tsukeru takara no eda o uru ga gotoki shiawase</i>)</p>	<p>Literal: I would be as happy as if I got a treasured branch from the well-known <i>Mountain of Hōrai</i>, which has a silver root, a golden stem, and bears white jade fruits.</p> <p>Dubbing: It would be as if I plucked a branch of the tree of jewels that grows on the Mountain of Horai, whose trunk is of gold and its fruits are the whitest of pearls.</p>	<p>1. <i>Mountain of Hōrai</i> → <u>Foreignization</u>: Direct transfer of the Japanese mythological place into the TL.</p>	1. Literature	<p>1. The <i>Mountain of Hōrai</i>, known as <i>Mount Penglai</i> in Chinese, is a part of Chinese and Japanese mythologies. It is one of three island-mountains said to be in the eastern sea, and the place were immortals go to dwell (McCullough, 1990).</p>
16	01:07:38,928; 01:07:45,645	<p>けがれなき姫は唐土に あると伝え聞くまさに そのような得がたき宝 です</p> <p>(<i>kegare naki hime wa tōdo ni aru to tsutae kiku masa ni sono yōna egataki takara desu</i>)</p>	<p>Literal: Princess without <i>kegare</i>, you are exactly like the elusive treasure that I've heard rumors say is in <i>Tōdo</i>.</p> <p>Dubbing: Untouched and innocent. As elusive as this treasure about which they speak of finding in China.</p>	<p>1. <i>Kegare</i> → <u>Domestication</u>: The religious term is paraphrased as <i>untouched and innocent</i> in the TL.</p> <p>2. <i>Tōdo</i> → <u>Domestication</u>: The historical Japanese term is replaced by <i>China</i>, the cultural equivalent in the TL.</p>	<p>1. Religion 2. Historical references</p>	<p>1. <i>Kegare</i> is a term used in Shinto to refer to a mental or spiritual state of pollution caused by things such as an approximation to death, childbirth, and menstruation (Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, 1997).</p> <p>2. <i>Tōdo</i> (唐土), also read as <i>morokoshi</i>, is an archaic Japanese term</p>

						formerly used to refer to China (jisho.org).
17	01:22:48,631; 01:22:52,677	なにわの港より船に乗り ほうらい山を目指して 船を走らせてまいりました (<i>naniwa no kō yori fune ni nori hōrai yama o mezashite fune o hashirasete mairimashita</i>)	Literal: I boarded a ship from the harbor of <i>Naniwa</i> , and sailed to the <i>Mountain of Hōrai</i> . Dubbing: From the harbor at Naniwa I set course for the Mountain of Horai.	1. <i>Naniwa</i> → <u>Foreignization:</u> Direct transfer of the historical Japanese term into the TL. 2. <i>Mountain of Hōrai</i> → <u>Foreignization:</u> Direct transfer of the Japanese mythological place into the TL.	1. Historical references 2. Literature	1. <i>Naniwa</i> is the former name for Osaka, a city in the Kansai region of Japan (McCullough, 1990).
18	01:23:18,160; 01:23:23,040	おや? 銀のわんで天女が水をくんでるぞ (<i>oya? gin no wan de tennyō ga mizu o kunderu zo</i>)	Literal: Oh? A <i>tennyō</i> is fetching water with a silver bowl. Dubbing: Look! A maiden scoops water with a silver bowl!	1. <i>Tennyō</i> → <u>Domestication:</u> Using sense translation, the Japanese religious entity is rendered by the neutral TL form <i>maiden</i> .	1. Religion	1. <i>Tennyō</i> are spiritual beings found in Japanese Buddhism. They are celestial maidens said to live on the moon or in heaven. The term is also used to refer to goddesses in general (Schumacher, n.d.).
19	01:52:42,256; 01:52:47,136	月の羽衣をまとうところの地の記憶はすべて失くしてしまいます	Literal: When you put on the <i>hagoromo</i> of the Moon, all memories from this Earth will disappear completely.	1. <i>Hagoromo</i> → <u>Domestication:</u> Using sense translation, the Japanese religious term is rendered by	1. Religion	1. The term <i>hagoromo</i> refers to a feather robe or cloak used by heavenly beings in Japanese Buddhism. They can visit earth wearing a <i>hagoromo</i> ,

		(<i>tsuki no hagoromo o matō to kono chi no kioku wa subete naku shite shimaimasu</i>)	Dubbing: When you put on the robe of the Moon, all memories of the Earth just disappear.	the neutral TL form <i>robe</i> .		and need it to return as well. (Mukashibanashi Library, 2009).
20	01:54:46,964; 01:54:48,757	ミヨウガの花がこんな に (<i>myōga no hana ga konna ni</i>)	Literal: (There are) flowers of <i>myōga</i> here. Dubbing: Ginger flowers!	1. <i>Myōga</i> → <u>Domestication:</u> The Japanese botanical term is translated as <i>ginger</i> , its direct equivalent in the TL.	1. Plants	1. <i>Myōga</i> is a traditional Japanese ginger crop (jisho.org).

In outline, the cultural referents we found in these 20 lines belong primarily to the anthroponyms, social relationships and religion categories; with 5 items being anthroponyms, 5 being indicators of social relationships, and 4 being religious terms. The anthroponyms include the original Japanese names of the characters, which usually provide some insight into their family history, personality or social status. The indicators of social relationships consist of two honorifics: *-niichan* and *-sama*, the most frequent being the latter. The religious terms come from Shinto and Buddhism. The least prominent categories in our corpus include sayings and idioms, family relationships, music and dancing, and plants. Each one of them counts with only one example.

Furthermore, the most common technique used in the translation of the cultural referents analyzed is domestication, with only 8 out of the 28 cultural referent translations being examples of foreignization. In order to domesticate these terms, MacDougall used the following translation strategies: cultural equivalent, reduction, expansion or paraphrase, direct equivalence of an SL item in the TL, sense translation, synonymy, and calque.

As it was to be expected from a translation between two languages from two very different cultures, the main strategy used was that of cultural equivalent. MacDougall resorted to this strategy for the items concerning family and social relationships, religion, and historical references. Reduction (usually resulting in complete elision) was just as commonly used when it came to honorifics and titles related to historical institutions. Expansion or paraphrasing was almost exclusively used to explain the traditional coming-of-age rituals of the time.

The least used translation strategies were synonymy and calque, with only one instance of each in our corpus. Synonymy was used to convey the nature of *mononoke*, a type of creature typical in Japanese folklore and literature. Calque was used to translate literally the name of one of the coming-of-age rituals.

On the other hand, foreignization was applied predominantly to anthroponyms, and surprisingly, some historical references and terms related to Japanese mythology, though these instances were scarce. The translation strategy used in these cases, of course, involved the direct transfer of the SL items into the TL.

Now, when it comes to the translation gains and losses found in the Japanese to English dubbing of this film, we would like to mention that the film, in a way, fulfills its objective and successfully conveys both the plot and the nature of its characters to an English-speaking audience. It accomplishes this thanks to the fluidity of its dialogue, which was very well adapted by MacDougall to be understood by an audience that was probably unfamiliar with the idiosyncrasies and social customs characteristic of Japan. The visual aspect of the film also provides support for what its heard coming out of the character's mouth. For example, the average viewer may not have known about *koto*, the Japanese string instrument, but they certainly understood what it was because of the context and because they could see it represented in the animation. Another good choice worth highlighting is the preservation of the characters' names in the dubbing. Names, in any language, but especially in Japanese, have a connotative meaning behind them that provides information about the personality, history, and/or social status of the character they are associated with. Modifying or replacing them can go against this function, and would represent a significant detachment and erasure of the culture of origin.

Nevertheless, one of the biggest mistakes made by MacDougall when translating this film, in our opinion, is the neglect of the religious theme and folklore that underlies the entire plot. After all, the very origins of the protagonist, Princess Kaguya, are defined in Buddhist terms, as she herself is a *tennyo* who lived on the Moon and had to wear a *hagoromo* to be able to go back home. Many of the rituals seen in the film are a combination of Shinto and Buddhist traditions, accurately reflection how religion was perceived in Japan at the time, and how it is

still perceived to this day. Domesticating the names of the rituals, creatures and religious entities present in the dialogues prevented the audience from learning about this key aspect of Japanese society, and might have led them to believe that the film was entirely fantastic, instead of based on some existent historical and religious concepts. Furthermore, the preservation of honorifics would have been an appropriate choice as well, especially if we take into account that their use in the movie is not very diverse, with *-sama* being the most prominent one. Eventually, the audience would have understood its use in context and developed some insight into social hierarchies in Japan.

Overall, the Japanese to English dubbing of Studio Ghibli's *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* has both strengths and weaknesses in terms of domestication and foreignization. While the translation is smooth and it manages to retain many of the cultural and linguistic elements of the original language, we feel that MacDougall did not trust the audience enough, and failed to take into account how the visual aspect of the film would serve as an aid for the viewers to understand the elements that were foreign to them. By domesticating many of the cultural referents related to religion, literature, social relationships and folklore, the dubbing translation detracts from the complexity of the movie and, in a way, makes it less interesting for its intended audience.

Conclusion

Translating is a complex and important labor that aims to accurately convey meaning across different languages and cultures. Audiovisual translation focuses specifically on translating audiovisual content, which requires considering both the verbal and visual elements. Within this field, the translation of cultural referents plays a crucial role, and the translator has to make decisions between domesticating and foreignizing techniques. Our object of research, Studio Ghibli's *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*, holds significant cultural relevance in Japanese society due to its deep connections to traditional folklore and religious themes. It is based on the ancient Japanese folktale, *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, which reflects the rich heritage of Japanese society. The film also provides insights into the social dynamics and values prevalent in Japan.

In this paper, we have examined the use of domestication and foreignization in the Japanese to English dubbing translation of this movie. Our findings revealed that the translator in charge of the dubbing, Ian McDougall, preferred the technique of domestication, which he applied mainly to cultural referents related to social relationships and religion. This resulted in a smooth and natural translation that was able to create a sense of familiarity for the target audience. On the other hand, foreignization was barely used, and it was applied mostly to anthroponyms. This, however, allowed for a more authentic viewing experience. The target audience would expect the characters to have Japanese names, since this is a Japanese film, thus it would have been counterproductive to change them. These results show that there is a complex interplay between these two approaches, as both of them can have significant effects on the authenticity and integrity of the TT.

Recommendations

Given that our study has focused primarily on the linguistic and cultural dimensions of dubbing translation, it would be interesting for future research to expand the scope of analysis and explore the factors that influence audiovisual translators to choose domestication over foreignization, or vice versa. On that same line, we recommend to take into account how the use of domestication and foreignization in the translation field is influenced by other elements besides the linguistic ones, such as production constraints, time limitations, commercial considerations, and distribution requirements.

It would also be worthwhile to look into the reception of heavily domesticated or foreignized material from the target audience's perspective, as well as the impact these techniques have had on the audiovisual translation industry as a whole.

Finally, since this paper has been based specifically on dubbing translation, it would be valuable for future research to explore the roles of domestication and foreignization in different formats and translation modes, like subtitling or audio description, in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of both techniques and their pervasiveness across various contexts.

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Appendix A

Religion in Japan

Religion in Japan has always been extremely social, being utilized to provide a feeling of social cohesiveness, community, and identity. Most Japanese people adhere to two primary faiths, Shinto and Buddhism, which are vastly different but have coexisted in Japanese society for centuries.

The term *Shinto* derives from the Chinese words *shin*, meaning “god”, and *tao*, meaning “way” (Harper, n.d.). Littleton (2002) explains that Shinto centers on “the worship of supernatural beings known as *kami* who oversee all aspects of nature and human life” (p. 23), and considers this to be the reason why Japanese people show a deep respect towards the environment. He also talks about the different entities that make up part of Shinto’s mythology besides *kami*, including evil spirits known as *obake*, who thirst eternally for vengeance after dying under dishonorable conditions. This religion prioritizes worldly matters and benefits, focusing on fertility, the promotion of physical well-being, and spiritual purity; although, interestingly, it has no official sacred scriptures nor settled dogmas (Hirai, 2023).

Buddhism, on the other hand, was introduced to Japan in the sixth century AD by the Koreans, primarily embraced by the Japanese ruling class (Rotem, 1996). There are different types of Buddhism in Japan, such as Zen Buddhism, Tendai Buddhism, Shingon Buddhism, and Nichiren Buddhism. Zen Buddhism is the most well-known one in the West, gaining recognition because of “its contribution to the development of Japanese art and culture, including its close relationship with the tea ceremony, calligraphy, and various martial arts” (Reader, 1991, p. 80). In contrast to Shinto, Buddhism revolves around enlightenment,

salvation and the possibility of an afterlife, which is why Japanese people make use of its rituals during funerals (Littleton, 2002).

These two religions have strongly influenced each other throughout the years, to the point that, according to Hirai (2003), they share many of the same deities nowadays. They were also a key part for the configuration of the Imperial court in Ancient Japan, which we will discuss below.

Appendix B

Political Structure During the Nara and Heian Periods

The Nara and Heian periods are part of classical Japanese history. The Nara period started in CE 710 and ended in 794, being immediately followed by the Heian period, which ran until 1185 (Worden, 1994). Their names come from the place where the capital of Japan was established at that time. In 710, Empress Genmei moved the capital to Heijō-kyō (present-day Nara); while in 794, the capital was moved once again to Heian-kyō (present-day Kyoto) by Emperor Kammu (Brown, 1993). The Nara period is especially important in Japanese history since it was towards its final years that Japanese society shifted from an old clan order into a new state system where the emperor was conceded absolute authority, and two great councils were placed under him.

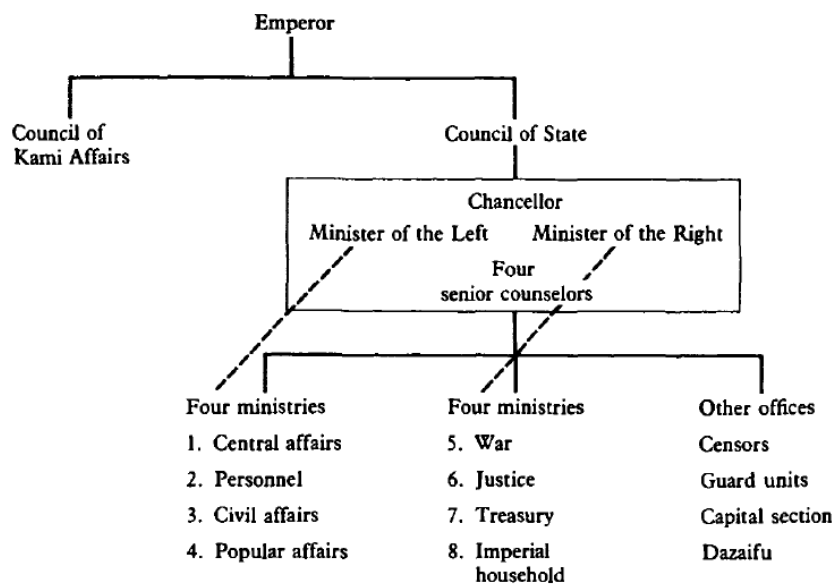
One of the reasons that led to this change was that, during the Century of Reform (CE 587 to 710), Japan imported many elements from Chinese culture, including their literary tastes, law, and religious beliefs, like Taoism and Buddhism (Worden, 1994). In the introduction of *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Brown (1993) explains that, as time passed, the imperial family found it appropriate to promote the idea that the emperor was both the high priest of Shinto, and the chief patron of Buddhism. On top of this, in 645, Japan was being threatened by China and the Korean kingdom of Silla, so the reformers pushed for the emperor to take control over secular affairs as well. And that is how the emperor came to be appointed as the ultimate authority in this new administrative structure.

According to Kojiro (1993), the *Asuka no Kiyomihara* administrative code was compiled and promulgated in 689, by orders of Emperor Temmu. It consolidated some of the alterations done to the government. Further details were provided in the Taihō penal and administrative code of 701, like the establishment of the Council of State (*daijōkan*), in

charge of secular affairs, and the Council of Kami Affairs (*jingikan*), concerned with the standardization of Shinto practices. The Council of State was led primarily by three ministers: a chancellor (*daijō daijin*), a minister of the left (*sadaijin*), and a minister of the right (*udaijin*). They were placed above four senior counselors (*nagon*). The complete government structure of the time can be seen in Figure B1.

Figure B1

Structure of Imperial Court in the Nara period



Note. From The Nara state, in *The Cambridge History of Japan* (p. 233), by N. Kojiro, 1993, Cambridge University Press.

Theoretically speaking, the emperor held totalitarian control; however, in practice, his power was restrained by the consultative authority of the Council of State (Worden, 1994).

This form of government continued throughout the Heian period, though the influence that the Council of State had over the emperor was significantly reduced after the downfall of

Fujiwara no Nakamaro, chancellor of the Imperial government, in 764, and the reorganization of the government in 766 (McCullough, 1999).

Appendix C

Japanese Social Hierarchy and Honorifics

In order to understand how social hierarchies are embodied in language through the use of honorifics, we must first analyze how these social hierarchies work in Japan.

Various factors determine one's position within Japanese society; some of them include age, status, and the degree of intimacy. Ide and Yoshida (2017) focus on the in-group (*uchi*) and out-group (*soto*) social relationships. *Uchi* is defined as “a sense of close relationship, as with people who belong, in some sense, to the same group” (p. 446), while *soto* refers to “a more distant relationship” (p. 446). It is worth emphasizing that these relations are established beyond what would be considered obvious groups, like family or workplace. Japanese people draw the line between *uchi* and *soto* in all social settings, depending on the formality of the situation, and how socially and psychologically close they are to each other. Hamano and Tsujioka (2011) mention that, besides the distinction we just talked about, another principle applied to social relationships in Japan has to do with senior-junior roles. They point out “people are divided between those who are ‘higher’ than the speaker and those who are equal or ‘lower’ than the speaker” (p. 95). From this angle, a person's social position in respect to another is determined by the difference in age, years of experience, and professional rank.

These complex social conventions are all depicted thoroughly through the choice of linguistic expressions made by speakers. For instance, Japanese honorifics are used to index the speaker's acknowledgement of his social position in relation to the addressee, and they involve either the change of the shape of nominal elements or the change of predicative elements (Ide & Yoshida, 2017). One way the nominal elements may be changed is by means of adding special suffixes to personal referents, in order to denote the closeness between the

speaker and the addressee (*-san, -kun*), the addressee's social rank (*-sama*), if they are younger than the speaker (*-chan*), or what job they have (*-sensei*) (Hamano & Tsujioka, 2011).

Personal pronouns can also be altered; for example, going from the plain forms of the first-person personal pronoun *watashi* or *boku*, to the honorific form *watakushi* (Ide & Yoshida, 2017).