

【日本語とジェンダー講演 採録】

Translation: Inter-lingual Construction of Gender
翻訳がつくる日本語

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[日本語要旨]

翻訳の日本語には、日本人がふだん話す日本語とはまったく異なる独特なことば遣いが見られる。一つは、非・日本人女性による「女ことば」。翻訳小説や映画の字幕で、ヒロインはいかなる場面でも「あら」「まあ」「～だわ」「～のよ」「～かしら」と話し続ける。たとえば『風と共に去りぬ』で勝気なスカーレット・オハラが「いやだわ、お父さん」、『ハリー・ポッター』の友達・ハーマイオニーも、今どきの女の子らしからぬ「まあ、あんまりうまくいかなかったわね」、そしてドストエフスキー作『カラマーゾフの兄弟』では、14歳の少女が「どうして～なさったのかしら」、そして極めつけは『エイリアン』の字幕。宇宙生物との決死の戦いに勝利するヒロインの“you, a son of bitch!”という雄叫びも、「やっつけたわ!」と女ことばで訳される。翻訳の女ことばは、日本語の女ことばと同様に、日本人、非・日本人にかかわらず、国籍や人種を超えた共通の女性性を構築する。

もう一つ、男性性を構築する、翻訳ならではの日本語がある。「やあ、どうしてる?」「ぼくもさ」「はら、へってないかい?」。このようなくだけた話し方は、アメリカの人気番組『ビバリーヒルズ青春白書』の男子高校生や『カラマーゾフの兄弟』の若者のセリフとしてだけでなく、英会話の教科書の例文や新聞インタビューにおけるハリウッド俳優やスポーツ選手、中年のボサノバ歌手の受け答えにまで及んでいる。興味深いことには、「やあ」「～さ」は非・日本人男性だけに使われ、日本人男性の発言には一切出てこない。また、日本版『ビバリーヒルズ青春白書』の中で使われるジェスチャーに注目すると、日本人コメディアンの演じる擬似・アメリカ人高校生は、会話の途中で時々、両ひじを脇につけ、手の平を上を持ち上げながらひよいと肩をすくめてみせる。このしぐさと「恋とダンスとロックに夢中な平均的ティーンエイジャーさ」のセリフで、西洋人を皮肉たっぷりにおちょくり、笑いを誘う。このように、翻訳では、カジュアルな非日本人男性を、日本人男性とは区別して描写する時がある。

以上のように、翻訳が非日本人のジェンダーを表現する方法は、女性性と男性性で異なる傾向がみられる。

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Professor Yoshida (MC):

Thank you so much for all participating in this evening's talk. I am Takashi Yoshida, Director of Soga Japan Center, Western Michigan University. We are pleased to have Professor Momoko Nakamura, a premium scholar of Japanese language and gender. Professor Nakamura has authored more than seven monographs in Japanese, such as *Sex and Japanese Language* 『性と日本語』, published in 2007, *Women's Language and the Japanese Language*, 『女ことばと日本語』 in 2012, and *Constructing the Japanese Language through Translation*, 『翻訳がつくる日本語』 in 2013. Her 2007 book *Constructing Women's Language* 『女ことばはつくられる』 won the Yamakawa Kikue Prize, which was established to honor Yamakawa Kikue, one of the forerunners of the women's movements in early 20th century Japan. Professor Nakamura was the first linguist who received this award.

Her English books and chapters include: *The Language and Sexuality Reader* published in 2006, "Femininity, Feminism, and Gender Discourse" in 2010, and *Gender Language and Ideology*, which just came out in 2014. In addition, she has written numerous articles in both scholarly and non-scholarly genres and just like Yamakawa, she has been actively educating not only the students but also the general public in order to construct new interpretations on gender ideology in Japan and beyond its borders.

This evening Professor Nakamura will talk on translation and gender to examine how translations of English into Japanese have influenced gender identity in Japan. Please welcome professor Momoko Nakamura.

Professor Nakamura:

Thank you very much for a wonderful introduction, Professor Yoshida. It's my pleasure to be able to talk about my interest with you. Today I'm going to talk about my book, a Japanese book published in 2013, *Honyaku ga tsukuru Nihongo* 『翻訳がつくる日本語』. This book sold well — one week after the first print came out, the publisher decided to make the second print. I think there were two reasons why this book sold well. First, a book review on this book appeared in the front page of the book review column for *Asahi Shimbun*, one of the nationwide newspapers in Japan. Second, it is because of my strong claim in this book that the translated speech of non-Japanese speakers plays an important role in constructing the Japanese language, even though many Japanese nationals believe that their language is made by *only* native speakers of Japanese.

There are so many topics I covered in this book, but today, I would like to focus on gender. There are two points I would like to talk today. One is about non-Japanese women's speech, which has been translated into stereotypical women's language. I'm going to show you many examples of this type of speech, translated speech of non-Japanese women into Japanese. I emphasize again, this type of speech is translated into stereotypical women's language. The other point I want to make today is that the "friendly speech" of western men, a specific style translated to use *only* for non-Japanese men. None of the native speakers of Japanese speaks this style. It's a style of speaking in Japanese translation, which can be used *only* by non-Japanese in the text.

The Translated Speech for Western Women

Let's look at women's language first, the speech translated for non-Japanese women. Many of you know that the many Japanese speakers have a belief that there are women's language and men's language in Japanese. Stereotypical women's language is characterized by several linguistic features, such as interjections, *ara* あら and *maa* まあ. These are considered to be typical feminine interjections. The first person pronoun *atashi* あたし is also considered to be the typical feminine first person pronoun in Japanese. In addition, there are many sentence final forms, such as *kashira* かしら, *wa* わ, *dawa* だわ, which are also considered to be feminine.

What I mean by stereotypical women's language is the language that not all Japanese women

speak. I've talked to some of you before this lecture, then, I realized that many of you have been to Japan. You know that not many Japanese women speak in this way. [some audience nods] This is something related to a language ideology.

Ideology of a style of speaking assigns gender to a person. Many integral studies have shown that Japanese women, especially young women, do not speak women's language. They show that sentence final forms *kashira* かしら and *dawa* だわ are dead language as they are rarely spoken by any Japanese women. Some older women do speak *kashira* かしら and *dawa* だわ in some occasions when they want to make special effect on their speech. That is only an exception. Many other empirical studies have shown that these features have pragmatic meanings, which are unrelated to gender. For instance, sentence final forms such as *wa* わ, *ne* ね and *yo* よ have their own pragmatic meanings — to make distance towards the hearers, to make an assertion, and to have certain epistemic stance towards what you were saying. Depending on the tone that you're making, they produce many other pragmatic meanings. However, in Japan, there are still many ideological features associated with femininity to perpetuate the stereotypical notion of women's language.

Scarlet O'Hare, *Gone with the Wind* 『風と共に去りぬ』

Now, let's look at how this stereotypical notion of women's language is used in the translation of speech of non-Japanese women. The first example is from *Gone with the Wind* 『風と共に去りぬ』. How many of you know this story? Many of you do. *Gone with the Wind* is an old story, but this is very popular in Japan even now. In 2011, *Gone with the Wind* was played at The Imperial Theater to celebrate its 100th anniversary. The story is that popular even though it's old.

Let's look at how the speech of Scarlet O'Hare has been translated into Japanese.

(1) No, dad [*dawa*]. I [*atashi*] am not talkative like Suellen.

Iya dawa, otoo-san, atashi, Sueren mitai ni oshaberi dewa nai kotoyo.

(2) Oh [*Maa*], great! Three thousand dollars?)

Maa, sugoi! 3zen doru?

(マーガレット・ミッチェル『新版世界文学全集 25 風と共に去りぬ』大久保康雄・竹内道之助訳、新潮社、1957年、p.40、42)

Please do remember that *dawa* だわ is the stereotypical feminine feature. Scarlet calls herself *atashi* あたし, a feminine first person pronoun. Her "oh" is translated into *maa* まあ, which is a stereotypical interjection for women. Here is another example.

(3) Mother got married to father when she was fifteen [*yo*]. I [*atashi*] am already sixteen [*dawa*].)

Okaa-san ga otoo-san to kekkon nasutta nowa 15 no toki yo. Atashi wa moo 16 dawa.

(同上、p.44)

In the above, her speech is translated into a kind of women's language. Many Japanese women, especially young women, actually didn't speak that way. This translation was done in 1957, long before I was born. . . no, I was already born at this year; this is the time when you're supposed to laugh. [Laughter 笑]

Hermione Granger, *Harry Potter* 『ハリーポッター』

Let's look at the recent work, *Harry Potter* 『ハリーポッター』. We see the young girl in the

Harry Potter series, Hermione Granger. It's surprising how she (the actress) has been grown up. She's been turning into a nice lady now. Let's see how her speech is translated into what kind of Japanese translation. This is from the scene when Hermione Granger met Harry Potter and her friend in the train for the first time.

- (1) Well [Maa], it's not very good, is it [wane]? ...
Maa, anmari umaku ikanakatta wane. ...
- (2) it's all worked for me [wa] ...
minna umaku itta wa. ...
- (3) Nobody in my family's magic at all [no],
Watashi no kazoku ni mahozoku wa daremo inaino.
- (4) it was ever such a surprise when I got my letter [wa]”
Dakara, tegami o moratta toki, odoroitawa

(J. K. ローリング 『ハリー・ポッターと賢者の石』 松岡佑子訳、静山社、1999年、p.15)

Again, these are a kind of women language you don't hear from Japanese women anymore, especially from young girls like Hermione Granger. If a young girl like Hermione Granger speaks like this, she will lose her friends [Laughter 笑]. She sounds so snobbish or seems to say “I'm different from you guys” or “I'm such a feminine nice girl.” This is not women's language you would hear in Japan from a young girl like Hermione Granger.

The Brothers Karamazov, 『カラマーゾフの兄弟』

The next example is from the Russian literature, *The Brothers Karamazov* 『カラマーゾフの兄弟』. How many of you know this work? [a little pause] Thank you. Only older people including myself know this work. [Laughter 笑] This work is very popular in Japan. There are many different versions of Japanese translation. Today I picked up the latest one, the 2006 translation by Kameyama Ikuo. This translation actually became the bestseller in 2006.

There is a 14 year old girl in the story. Let's look at how her speech is translated into Japanese.

- (1) Why doesn't he want to come and see us [kashira]?
Dooshite uchi ni kitagara nai no kashira.
- (2) Don't you let him [no]?
Anata ga ano hito no koto o hanasa nai no?
- (3) You see, we [atashi tachi] know that he goes everywhere [noyo]...
atashi tachi chanto shitteru noyo...
- (4) Why have you put that long cassock on him [kashira]?”
nan datte, anna susonaga no fuku o kisetari nasatta no kashira

(ドストエフスキー 『カラマーゾフの兄弟 I』 亀山郁夫訳、光文社、2006年、p. 155)

You can see kashira, in the sentences (1), (2) and (4). In the sentence (3), you see “we, atashi tachi,” the plural form of atashi. Even in the new 2006 translation, the 14 year old girl is speaking in very stereotypical women's language.

Ripley, *Alien* 『エイリアン』

The last example for women's language is the speech of Ripley, the role in a horror film *Alien*.

Has anyone of you seen this film? Did you like it? [Some audience nods]. I couldn't watch it at all by myself as I don't like a horror film! I had to ask my children to watch with me, and it took me 3 days to finish the whole film! [Laughter 笑]

Alien is a story about a fight against alien in the spaceship where six astronaut members are on board to travel in the space. The alien is killing the member one by one — it is so scary. Ripley is a strong independent fighting heroine as she finally kills the alien. She set up as an icon of fighting women in Hollywood. You have noticed that she is here at the cover of my book [showing her book to the audience]. I asked the illustrator to draw a figure that models Ripley for the cover of my book. I used an illustration because I was not permitted to put a picture of the film due to the copyright.



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After she escaped from the spaceship and got into the small shuttle, Ripley finally killed the alien. She said,

I got you [*wa*]. you son of a bitch [*noyo*]
(*Yattsuketa wa, bakemono! Tasukatta noyo*).

(『エイリアン』リドリー・スコット監督、1979年)

What a polite feminine “you son of the bitch”! What a contradiction it is, It doesn't make any sense to put *wa* and *noyo* at the end of “your son of the bitch.” It seems that the translator couldn't help but putting these sentence-final forms such as *wa* and *noyo*, even though they have restrictions that they can put only limited numbers of letters on the screen. These *wa* and *noyo* are not the only examples all the way through this film. Ripley speaks with many other feminine final particles. I don't know what to say, but perhaps something must have happened to the translator. In fact, this translator is not an exception. In my book, I examined two other Hollywood films that are featured by strong female protagonists, but, all their speech are also translated with these final feminine particles.

In conclusion of this segment, I argue that there is a strong tendency that non-Japanese women's speech is translated into women's language in Japanese. There are many implications you can draw from this result. One is that by using the stereotypical Japanese women's language for the speech of both non-Japanese women and Japanese women, Japanese translation has constructed femininity as if the feminine feature can be shared by all women beyond national and ethnic boundaries. This is one of the important implications we can draw from my analysis.

The Translated Version of “Friendly Men’s Language”

What about masculinity? There are many translations, like those in which the speech of non-Japanese men is translated into Japanese men’s language. I particularly pay attention to a specific style of speech; I call it “friendly or casual men’s language.”

The friendly men’s language style is characterized by a greeting, *yaa* やあ and a sentence final form *sa* さ. Men are not supposed to greet each other *konichiwa* こんにちは or anything other, but to greet by *yaa* やあ, which is a translation of an English “hi” or “hey.” Young men usually use personal pronouns, *boku*, *kimi*, and *ore*. They are the personal pronouns considered to be Japanese men’s language. A sentence final form that these young men tend to use with the Japanese men’s language is *sa* さ. *Sa* さ is very conspicuous and is sometimes interchangeable with *kai* かい and *dai* だい. A typical example of this style of speech is “*Yaa, boku wa John sa. Genki kai?*” “Hi, I’m John, How are you?” Let’s look at some examples of these sentences used in the Japanese drama.

Brandon and Dylan, *Beverly Hills 90210*

The first example is a conversation from *Beverly Hills 90210* (c.f. the original was shown in 1990-2000; the Japanese version in 1992-2013). How many of you know this TV drama? It is old, so, only old people. . . . well, no, there are many young people raise their hands, too. This is a story of twin brother and sister, Brandon and Brenda, who came to Beverly Hills High School from Minnesota. This is Dylan [the professor points the presentation screen], who became friends with them. It seems Brenda and Dylan are a boyfriend-girlfriend. This drama was very, very popular in Japan. There is a Japanese version of the original 1 to 6 episodes shown on Japanese TV.

Although many Japanese people liked this program, I was looking down on this kind of TV show. However, after watching it, I found it was very well-made. I got an impression that it’s much better than I expected. Today I want to focus on conversations of Brandon and Dylan and am showing you how their speech is translated into Japanese. This conversation is from the scene, in which they met for the first time.

Brandon: (Hi [*Yaa*]. My name’s Brandon Walsh.)
Yaa, boku wa Brandon Worushu da...

Brandon: (By way of Minnesota [*sa*])
Minnesota keiyu sa....

Brandon: (Are you hungry [*kai*]?)
Hara hette nai kai?....

Dylan: (Field trip [*sa*].)
Fiiirudo torippu sa.

(『ビバリーヒルズ高校白書』 シーズン1、Vol. 1、パラマウント・ジャパン)

Brandon’s “hi” is translated into *yaa* やあ. Both Brandon and Dylan are speaking and putting *sa* さ at the end of their speech. Brandon agrees with Dylan, saying *yaa* やあ. These forms are used by the two young high school boys in California.

Rakitin and Alyosha, *The Brothers Karamazov*

Now, let me go back to the 2006 translation of *The Brothers Karamazov*, 『カラマゾフの兄弟』 and see the language of the two young characters Rakitin and Alyosha. Rakitin is one of the younger theology students of Father Zosima at the church. As you know, there are three brothers in this work and Alyosha is the youngest and purest brother. Rakitin and Alyosha meet each other and they are talking about father Zosima’s behavior. Rakitin is waiting for Alyosha outside of the room. Alyosha asks Rakitin, “Are you waiting for me?” and Rakitin answers “Yes.” Here is their

conversation continuing as below.

- Rakitin: (Yes [sa],... Tell me one thing, Alyosha, what does that vision mean [dai]?)
Masani kimi sa.... Arette ittai, nan no otsuge dai?
 Alyosha: (What vision [sa]?)
Arette nani sa?....

(ドストエフスキー 『カラマゾフの兄弟 I』 亀山郁夫訳、光文社、2006年、p.203)

They both talk using *sa* さ. As I told you, there are so many translated versions *The Brothers Karamazov*. I checked one translation by Yonekawa Masao in 1917. I was surprised that exactly the same *sa* さ, *yaa* やあ, *dai* だい and *kai* かい are used in the 1917 translation of *The Brothers Karamazov*. The style of speaking, phrases with *yaa* やあ, *kai* かい and *dai* だい has been used to for young non-Japanese men for a long time, ever since 1917.

I also show the fictional dialogues in English conversation textbooks. As many of you who have been to Japan know, numerous English conversational textbooks are published in Japan every year. It's usually consistent that English dialogues are put on the left page, while Japanese translations on the right page. I have picked up one of the conversation textbooks on Business English. The dialogue below is between Hiro and Jake. Hiro came across Jake in a coffee lounge. The dialogue is situated on business, but it sounds very casual as they are in the coffee lounge. Hiro, 34 year-old Japanese operation manager, and Jake, 37 year-old American marketing manager may not be "young" enough for you. But they are described as the youngest members in this textbook. It is okay because it is in a business world.

- Jake: Hey [Yaa], what's up, Hiro?
Yaa, Hiro, doo shiteru?
 Hiro: Hi [Yaa], Jake. Nothing much, but I need to have a lot of coffee to get started this morning!
Yaa, Jeiku, tokuni kawari naiyo. Demo, kesa wa shidoo kaishi ni kooiii ga takusan iru naa.
 Jake: Ditto [sa]. TGIF.
Boku mo sa. Aa, yatto, kinyoobi da.

(ジョン・K・ギレスピー&嶋川洋一 『入門ビジネス英語 ベストプラクティス I』 NHK 出版、2009年、p.46-47)

This is a casual conversation between two young male workers in the coffee lounge. As you can see, they greet each other with *yaa* やあ and then Jake puts *sa* さ at the end of the talk, "*Boku mo sa.*" Young people use this style of speech in many other English conversation textbooks as well.

Actors, Athletes, Singers

I also checked some translated speech of real people, such as actors, athletes, and singers, in newspaper interviews. Their speech also tends to be translated into Japanese remarks with *sa* さ. The first example is Johnny Depp in the Japanese advertisement of his new film *The Libertine*. Johnny Depp says:

- Atonimo sakinimo shoogai de ichido shika meguriawanai sakuhin sa.*
 [This is] the sort of work [you] come across only once in a lifetime [sa].
 (映画『リパティーン』(2006) 日本公開時の宣伝キャプション)

This Japanese remark is a constructed one in an advertisement, not necessarily what he actually said. It's considered that he was supposed to speak a sentence with *sa* さ.

A professional soccer player Ronaldinho is speaking,

Baruserona no kankyoo, saikoo sa.

(The environment in Barcelona is the best [*sa*].)

(『朝日新聞』2006年4月25日)

This is a headline of the newspaper. This is not what he was actually speaking, but in the headline, athletes are supposed to speak with *sa* さ.

A musician Sergio Mendes, a 65 year-old Bossanova singer whose song *The Girl from Ipanema* (1964) is very popular. In his interview, he says,

Enka myuujikku sa.

([Bossa nova] is like Japanese popular ballads [*sa*].)

(『朝日新聞』2006年10月6日)

Even though he's old musician, he is also speaking with *sa* さ.

***Sa* さ Constructs the Casual Identities for Non-Japanese Men**

Let me summarize what *sa* さ is. According to Nangasaki (1998), *sa* さ represents the cool laid-back style of the speaker in casual conversation. In putting *sa* さ at the end of the speech of actors, athletes and singers, these newspaper translations construct the casual people, or assign the common casual identities to these people. This is a kind of strategy that the Japanese newspaper translation does towards the speech of non-Japanese male actors, athletes and singers. I don't know how common this strategy is, though. Interestingly, Japanese men do not use *sa* さ in the newspaper interviews. According to Reynolds (2001), she found no of being interviewed by newspaper reporters. instance of *sa* さ in the sentence final position in 4,289 utterances of Japanese college students. Also, Yamanashi (2003) reports that the utterances of non-Japanese men athletes are translated with *sa* さ in newspaper interviews, but Japanese athletes do not speak with *sa* さ even in the same situations

The Japanese Parody of *Beverly Hills 90210*

Why do not Japanese men use *sa* さ? We may be able to find the reason in a Japanese parody of *Beverly Hills 90210*. Dylan plays a role of a Japanese tutor, and Catherine — she doesn't appear in the original drama — is his girlfriend. As you can see [in the presentation screen], they are all Japanese comedians. Some of them wear blonde or brown wigs and put on a plastic fake high nose. They pretend to be American high school students [Laughter 笑]. This is so funny. The title of this parody is *Dylan & Catherine: Bibarii hiruzu seiten hakusho*, 『ディラン&キャサリン:ビバリーヒルズ晴天白書』 which literally means “Dylan & Catherine: Beverly Hills Weather Reports.”

This fake Dylan's style of speech does not always consist of linguistic features that I have mentioned, but the style is considered to be multi-modal and multidimensional. It consists of clusters of linguistic and other semiotic practices (Copland 2007). This is what I call “the translated version of men's language,” which consists of not only linguistic features such as *yaa* やあ and *sa* さ, but also particular gestures. The comedians, who wear big brown or blonde wigs and high plastic noses, incessantly shrug their shoulders. Shrugging is not included in Japanese body movement. Whenever the Japanese comedians try to pretend to be Westerners, the first thing they do is shrugging. If they do, the Japanese audiences immediately know that they are going to pretend as Westerners. Now I will show you a video clip of the parody. Please listen and pay attention to their gesture, too.

[The video clip is shown]

(My name is Dylan McKay. [I'm] an average teenager crazy about love, dance, and rock [sa].)

Ore no namae wa Dylan Makkei. Koi to dansu to rokku ni muchuu na goku heikinteki na tiineijyaa sa.

(『ディラン&キャサリン ビバリーヒルズ晴天白書』よしもとアール・アンド・シー、2008年)

This is the Japanese Dylan. Did you hear how he was introducing himself? He puts *sa* さ at the end of sentence. They greet each other with *yaa* やあ. It is supposed to be on high school campus in California. Please listen.

[The video clip is shown]

Dylan: Yaa, *Kebin* (Hi, Kevin)

Kevin: Yaa, *Diran* (Hi, Dylan)

He goes on to introduce his friend, Kevin. Please listen.

[The video clip is shown]

([He is] a nice guy who has an incredible dream to get a job at NASA and launch a shuttle in the future [sa].)

Shoorai wa NASA ni shuushoku shite shatoru o uchiagetai nante tondemonai yume o motta naisu gai sa.

(同上)

Did you hear “a nice guy *sa* さ”? Did you notice that Kevin was also using *sa* さ, too? Did you also notice they kept shrugging like this? [the professor shrugs her shoulders] [Laughter 笑]

Stereotypical American Young Men Speaking with *Yaa* やあ and *Sa* さ

Japanese men avoid using these *yaa* やあ and *sa* さ because this is the part of Japanese stereotype about Westerners. They show us how awkward the Japanese can be if they try to behave as if they are stereotypical Westerners. . That’s so funny. In general, Western young men are considered casual, laid-back and friendly, but not serious and polite. For instance, Dylan introduces himself that he is an average teenager who is crazy about love, dance, and rock. This is really a stereotype. Do the average teenager only crazy about love, dance and rock? [Laughter 笑] This is a Japanese prejudice toward American young men.

In conclusion about masculinity, I have shown you that the Japanese translation has invented a specific speech style of non-Japanese young men since the 1910s, if not oldest. By using the invented style, translators distinguish the young Japanese masculinity from the young non-Japanese masculinity along with the ethnic national boundaries. You have seen that the specific Japanese translation has been used as non-Japanese speech styles. In the translation, Japanese men tend to avoid using the non-Japanese styles.

In conclusion of my whole talk, I would like to point out the distinction between femininity and masculinity. Researchers have claimed that femininity has been associated with nature, tradition, and land, while masculinity is often associated with progress and modernity. The results of my analysis are significantly related to this old categorization between femininity and masculinity. Thank you very much.

[Audience applauds]

Questions and Answers (Selected)

Audience 1: When you talked to the translators about the problem of translating gendered speech, what did they say about it? Was it just a problem of characterization for them or something other?

Professor Nakamura: That is a very interesting question. Thank you very much. All of them said that they tried to translate the speech into a natural Japanese language. They all know that their translated Japanese doesn't sound so natural. However, if they translate the [non-Japanese] speech into natural Japanese, then it will sound strange for the Japanese audiences and readers. They are used to read gendered styles of speech in fictions, non-fictions, TV dramas and films. If the translators don't use them, then their clients will complain that this doesn't sound right.

I would like to add that there is an interesting research in Japan by Dr. Satoshi Kinsui. He talks about "virtual Japanese." Virtual Japanese are the styles of Japanese that *no* Japanese speaks but all Japanese knows. Let me talk about an example, a wise man in a fictional story like Professor Dumbledore in *Harry Potter*. There is a specific style of speech in Japanese which used to fool that wise man who is supposed to give wisdom to the hero. He is supposed to call himself, "*washi*," a first-person pronoun. "[*Washi*] *wa* . . . [ja]". "*Washi wa* Dumbledore *ja*". This is a kind of speech used by many fictional wise men in films and novels in Japanese nowadays. Even though there are many doctors and professors in Japan, none of them speaks like, "[*Washi*] *wa* . . . [ja]" [Laughter 笑].

Audience 2: I am curious of how you could manipulate these gendered languages purposefully in some occasions. My mother sometimes uses masculine language when she scolds me. She uses feminine language in some other situation. Even the same person can use languages characterized by different genders, masculine or feminine.

Professor Nakamura: That's a great question to me. Thank you! Japanese speakers use both feminine and masculine language features to accomplish their actual interactions. We have many language resources, such as Osaka-ben, a regional speech, women's and men's language, gendered speech. Japanese speakers use all these resources depending on various situations. Many researches have been done on actual usage by Japanese speakers. Japanese speakers — not only Japanese but also English speakers too, I guess — use a lot of linguistic resources to accomplish a certain interactional goal in a specific situation.

Your question reminds me that there is a large change about the use of women's language recently in Japan, especially in the use of women's language in comics. Several researchers have found that the young female characters in comics shift to women's language when they make strong assertions, for example, when they criticize or scold somebody. Why do they do so? One of the researchers says, because the female characters try to make themselves look calm and intelligent even if they get really angry. If they use rough language when they are upset, they look so emotional. In order to show that they are calm, those female characters get angry in women's language. Another researcher says that because there is a strong norm that women are supposed to speak in a polite way; therefore, they use women's language when criticizing somebody. Is this not being polite anyway...? They do the opposite things simultaneously, being polite and criticizing somebody by using women's language. There are many possible interpretations about this phenomenon.

Today, I talked about Japanese translations and gender. There are many studies about how women and men use actual language and there are so many factors related to the way Japanese people use those linguistic resources. I did not have time to cover all these topics, but I hope you enjoyed today's talk and will get interested more in Japanese language and culture. Thank you very much again.

[Applause]

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