日本における非英語映画名の英語化

The Anglicization of non-English Film Titles in Japan

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要旨

本研究は、日本の言語景観において、英語の権威がその他の外国語の立ち位置に対し影響を与えているかを考察する。具体的には、英語以外の外国語が日本語に翻訳される際、起点言語の特徴がそのまま反映されずに、英語の語句が部分的、又は全面的に使用されているかを観察する。とりわけ本研究では、スペイン語、ドイツ語、イタリア語、ロシア語、ポルトガル語の五つの言語が、日本における映画名の言語景観において、英語化しているかどうかを確認した。その手段として、これら五つの言語を元とする 338 本の映画を対象とし、それらの映画が日本で配給された際の題名を確認した。その結果、日本語への翻訳過程における外国語の英語化は、映画のジャンルにより、その程度に差異が存在することを明らかにした。特に、アクション、サスペンス、ホラー映画名の英語化率が高かった一方、ドラマ、ドキュメンタリー、コメディ映画名の場合は比較的に低かった。この故、アクション映画が少なかったイタリア語の映画名の英語化は稀であった一方、アクション映画が多かったスペイン語やロシア語の映画名の英語化は顕著であった。

鍵語:英語化、異化翻訳、映画名、和製英語、翻訳

Abstract

This study is focused on the situation of foreign languages in Japan apart from English, and on whether these are affected by the prestige of the English language in the country. More precisely, this study aims to look into cases where some foreign languages are partially or completely replaced by English when translated for Japanese audiences. For this purpose, we analysed 338 film titles from five languages (Spanish, German, Italian, Russian and Portuguese) and their resulting titles distributed in Japan. The results suggest that complete and partially anglicized versions of non-English titles are often used, affecting some film genres more than others. Action, suspense, and horror titles were more prompt to anglicization in comparison to drama, documentaries, and comedies. Therefore, Spanish and Russian which contained the largest proportion of action films were overly more anglicized than Italian which had the least amount.

Keywords: anglicization, foreignization, film titles, wasei-eigo, translation

1. Introduction

As an insular nation, Japan has historically experienced both periods of isolation and openness to foreign influences. During its times of contact with other countries, the Japanese language itself borrowed a large quantity of words from other languages integrating them in its lexical inventory. The Chinese language became one of the first

sources of these transformations from the Heian era when Japan also adopted the Chinese ideographic system. Centuries later, it was the turn for the European languages, mainly Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch during the Edo era, and then English, French and German during the industrialization of the Meiji reforms. Nevertheless, English is undoubtedly the most influential foreign language nowadays, especially US American English since the end of WW2 and the resulting US occupation of Japanese territory. Excluding the case of words borrowed from Chinese (around 47.5% of the language according to Loveday, 1986), it has been noted that English accounts for 90% of the new vocabulary of common usage in Japanese (Morito, 1978). Many of these English words remain unassimilated when transcribed phonetically into the Japanese *katakana* syllabary in order to accommodate to the Japanese phonological inventory, and, sometimes, become abbreviated (Suzuki, 1987, cited in Blair, 1997).

Nowadays, English is well widespread in different areas of society and with a big presence in sectors like education, business, bureaucracy, media and entertainment. Paradoxically, this attachment to English contrasts with the fact that Japan ranks as one of the Asian countries with the lowest results in international proficiency tests (IELTS, 2019; ETS, 2021). Consequently, there is some generalized low self-esteem towards English learning (Benson, 1991). Despite this, the public discourse on the national need for English is nothing new, but surely an ongoing issue. Wada et al. (2000, as cited in Lafaye and Tsuda, 2002) recall a committee conveyed in 1999 by Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi where, among some discussions on measures to enhance the population knowledge of English, a proposal was even made to establish English as the second official language of Japan. This is by no means the first case since public figures like Japan's first education minister Mori Ainori (1847-1889) and the later minister of justice Ozaki Yukio (1859-1954) during their lifetime also advocated for declaring English as Japan's national language (Hall, 1973; Suzuki, 1987). This insistence over English from the media and public institutions has not gone without criticism from some scholars (Takahashi, 1991; Tsuda, 1994, 1996, 1998). Such is the influence, prestige and social emphasis on this foreign language that not only English-derived words are used on a daily basis, but even English-like words are constantly created in what is known as wasei-eigo or "English made in Japan". As an anecdotal case, in 2013 the Japanese national television or NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) was sued by a man who complained not being able to understand the broadcast due to the overuse of loanwords and wasei-eigo (The Japan Times, 27/6/2013). The same is true for even some public agencies. In 2015, the Japanese government launched the personal identification card system or kojin bangō $k\bar{a}do^{I}$, more popularly known by the English-sounding name mai nanbā ("My Number"), since that is the name used in the state-funded official campaign. Authors like Suzuki (1987, cited in Blair, 1997:2) worries about this overuse fearing that Japanese society will become stratified into groups with reduced mutual intelligibility, and that the Japanese language will be less influential globally.

However, there is still the issue of the status of non-English European languages in Japan. Haarman (1984b, 1986) argues that Japanese society, especially the media, uses ethnocultural stereotypes to classify European languages and transmit certain values (e.g., English for quality and modernity, or French and Italian for elegance). This is done, of

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¹ In this paper we have adopted the revised Hepburn system (*shūsei Hebon-shiki*) for the transliteration of Japanese words.

course, regardless of whether the general public can or cannot understand the texts in these commercials. Haarman, thus, continues by also suggesting that the Japanese public assigns different levels of prestige to European languages in the following order: English, French, Italian and then German. Therefore, there is a possibility that the kind of prestige that the English language is endowed with in Japanese society may have some impact over other languages as well. Takashi (1990) and Fields (1991) (cited in Maynard, 2003) see English as cosmopolitanism and to be favoured more than any other language among the Japanese because it is thought as the dominant, universal language (Burton, 1983; Tsuda 1994). From a critical perspective, Tsuda (1994, 1996, 1998) with his "Ecology of Language Paradigm" might be the most famous critic of the hegemony of the English language in Japan. English has a position as a language of prestige that hardly can be compared to the situation in other countries such as France, where, by the so-called *Toubon law*, foreign languages such as English are subject to limits on the public sphere favouring the national language (Vedel, 2005).

It may not come to surprise that such status of the English language over other foreign languages in the Japanese media might also be observable in the film industry as well. According to the *Internet Movie Database* (IMDb), Japan apparently became the only country in the world where the 1988 famous Italian masterpiece Nuovo Cinema Paradiso was released with an English sounding title as nyū shinema paradaisu ('New Cinema Paradise'), although in English speaking countries most of the Italian wording was respected. Just to mention a pair of examples from Spanish speaking countries, the 2015 Mexican film Los parecidos ('The Similars') turned into dāku rein ('Dark rain'), and the Argentine-Uruguay production *El otro hermano* ('The other brother', 2017) became kiringu famirī ('Killing family'). The Russian-Ukranian production Bitva za Sevastopol ('Battle for Sevastopol', 2015) became roshian sunaipā or "Russian sniper" appearing in posters written in both Japanese katakana syllabary in the title and in English with Latin letters as a subtitle, although no film exists in any other country with such title in English. Even titles with Japanese related words like The karate kid (1984) lost the word karate and became known in Japan plainly in English as besuto kiddo ('Best kid'). Thus, it might be worth to analyse the nature and extent of the phenomenon on whether non-English titles are anglicized on purpose for linguistic or commercial reasons, and how this affects the perception of the status of non-English foreign languages and cultures in Japan. The present paper aims to explore such grey areas by taking the translation of Spanish, German, Italian, Russian and Portuguese film titles in Japan as a case study.

2. Background

According to Furiassi, Pulcini, and González (2012: 1), anglicization can be defined as "the adoption of Anglicisms or the [...] Anglo-American culture" and can include issues such as "lexical borrowing(s)" or "idioms". Anglicization is a rising issue, as "the status of English as a lingua franca of international communication, its established used in academic and professional contexts, and the growing number of non-native speakers have all contributed to the impact of English on many languages and cultures" (Furiassi, Pulcini, and González (2012: 1). In the Japanese context, anglicization has been researched in relation to different topics, such as language teaching, sociology and politics (e.g., Kubota, 2002; Se, 2015; Terasawa, 2015; Saito, 2017).

In the context of translation studies, anglicization could be theorized in relation to the famous domestication vs. foreignization dichotomy coined by Lawrence Venuti. Venuti (1995: 20) defines the former as "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bring the author back home" and the later as "an ethnodeviant pressure on those (cultural) values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad". In this regard, anglicization in the context of non-English speaking countries, could in principle be thought as a case of foreignization in which English is used more for aesthetic reasons rather than the reflection of the original language. In Venuti's words, this kind of foreignized translation "sends the reader abroad", but, in this case, to an English-speaking world.

Now, we should also look into the history of the translation of film titles. We can see several topics of interest. For instance, some authors have focused on the translation strategies through the Skopos theory along with foreignization and domestication (Mei, 2010; Shi, 2014), while others focus more on the complexities of the translation process itself (Schubert, 2004; Leonardi 2011; Limon, 2012; Šidiškytė and Tamulaitienė, 2013; Jutronić and Karabatić, 2016; Surdyk and Urban, 2016), and some even provide a cognitive perspective (Alousque, 2015; Peña-Cervel, 2016). From this line of research, we have decided to adopt Schubert's (2004) framework as modified by Gabric et al. (2011) (see Table 1) for the classification of translation strategies in film titles.

There are some studies dealing with the translation of (US American) English film titles in Japan such as Tsukawaki (2009) and Teuber (2020). Tsukawaki overall mentions three strategies: a) transliteration into Japanese katakana syllabary b) literal translation and c) "culturally transformed translation" in order to accommodate the Japanese audience. This last one includes diverse strategies such as free translation and transcreation, where partial or no meaning from the source language remains. In her diachronic case study of American science fiction film titles from 1900 to 2006, Tsukawaki concludes that, especially from the 1970s, transliteration of such titles into Japanese katakana has been on the rise (at the time of the study it comprised the 75%) in comparison to the decline of literal translations², while "culturally transformed translation" has mostly remained constant.

Main strategy	Sub-strategy
1. Direct translation	
2. Free translation	Addition
	Subtraction
	Shift
	Substitution
3. Transcreation	
4. Transcription	Complete transcription
	Addition
	Subtraction
	Substitution

Table 1 Schubert (2004) classification of film title translation strategies as cited in Gabric et al. (2017:9-11)

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² Tsukawaki, however, points out that, especially from the 2000s, literal translations have experienced some resurgence in the form of explanative subtitles to the main title consisting of transliterated English into *katakana* (2009:23).

Tsukawaki attributes this exponential increase to the promotion of English compulsory education in Japan from 1963 meaning that more and more ordinary Japanese may understand titles in simple English. This increasing preference for transliteration over translation as a foreignization strategy can also be found in South Korea (Kim, 2017), although not as much in Chinese where domestication is still preferred (Cheang Ka Ian, 2005). Kim is much more critical than Tsukawaki in his explanation and argues, citing Cronin (1996), that "globalization is generally synonymous with unidirectional Anglicization, the dominance of the English language and Anglo-American culture at the expense of other languages and cultures" (1996:197). Actually, Cronin also claimed that this kind of foreignization strategies in translation may suppose a threat to minor languages (in this case, Japanese, but in extension, minor foreign languages in Japan as well) which may "become so infused with lexical and syntactic borrowings from a dominant language that they lose their identity" (Cronin, 2010:251). All of this is related to our object of study. As Tsuda (1996) argues, more than half of films in Japanese cinemas are from the United States, so many English sounding titles conform to a usual linguistic landscape in such establishments.

Finally, film genres have been mentioned to be an important variable influencing the translation of film titles. In his study on the translation of US American film titles belonging to the action and drama genres, Teuber (2020) found that action films titles were more often rendered in the *katakana* syllabary compared to drama film titles, although such titles may not necessarily be phonetically equivalent to the original. In order to explain such a tendency, Teuber makes the following theorization.

"I can only speculate on the possible reasons for these differences. Action films and drama films appeal to different audiences, and it may be that certain types of titles are more appealing to members of those audiences. Also, action films, with crime, car chases, and guns, may seem more foreign than drama films, warranting a more foreign-sounding title. On the other hand, drama films tend to focus on emotions, so a more nuanced title in Japanese may be better suited to draw out those emotions." (Teuber 2020:56)

In conclusion, based on previous research on the state of English and other languages in Japan, our study aims to describe the extent in which English itself and wasei-eigo (i.e., English "made in Japan") are used in the translation process of non-English film titles in Japan in relation to source language and film genre.

3. Research questions

Taking the mentioned visibility of Anglo-American titles in the Japanese market and the tendencies observed in the translation of such titles, we considered the three following research questions:

i) Can a certain language of prestige A (English) influence the translation process of a source language B (Spanish, French, etc.) addressed to the target public of a language C (Japanese) by substituting partially or completely the source language B for A?

- ii) If such is the case, what is the extent of the phenomenon as well as the most common substitution patterns across B languages?
- iii) In addition to these questions, are anglicized translations more likely to be produced depending on the source language or the genre of the film?

4. Methods

4.1. Data collection and analysis

We collected film titles from non-English speaking countries' films released in Japan between January 2000 and December 2018 including both regular screenings and film festivals. The languages chosen for this study were Spanish, German, Italian, Russian and Portuguese. We primarily used the Allcinema Movie & DVD Database (allcinema.net), since it is the largest database in Japan containing non-English titles distributed in the country. As a secondary resource we also used the IMDb database. This latter one has also been used in corpus building by other relevant studies as well (Schubert, 2004; Surdyk and Urban, 2016; Peña-Cervel, 2016). We first did a search by country since the search parameter for the original language was not available in the Japanese database. Then, we discarded those titles that were partially or completely in English by default in the country of production. We also discarded films containing English during most of the screening in Japanese cinemas, for example, when English dubbed versions were used. This last element was deducted on a case-by-case basis by visualizing trailers for Japanese audiences when available. This was done to avoid data contamination, for instance, in the case of films recorded in different countries including English speaking ones. Ideally, most of the films analysed would have consistency among the language of the title, the language used during the film and the places portrayed in the story (for instance, a Spanish speaking film set in Mexico). Apart from source language, titles were also grouped by the film genre which overall included categories such as action, animation, comedy, documentary, drama, horror, romance, and suspense. It should be noted that information from the databases should not be regarded as a definite guide since information gaps do exist among them. Then we analysed the translation strategies of each title in relation to source language and film genre.

4.2. Classification of translation strategies

In order to analyse the strategies used in the translation of film titles, we made several technical distinctions for titles including proper nouns, cognates, etc. in order to avoid any categorization bias. Titles and subtitles (when available) were both treated as part of a single segment. According to Wilss (1988), translation strategies can be defined as a concept "which refers to the general transfer perspective or transfer concept of a particular text". The following are the translation strategies used in our study and their definition as based in the mentioned framework of Schubert (2004) in Table 1 with several modifications to account for the phenomenon of indirect translations (e.g., see "Indirect free translation" and "Indirect transliteration" below).

Direct translation: a translation often thought to be made "word by word" but in which the overall semantic meaning in the resulting title remains similar to the one in the source language. For example, "this is water" would be translated into Spanish as "esto es agua"

and in Japanese in different ways such as "kore wa mizu desu", "kore wa mizu", "kore wa mizu da" or "mizu desu". However, as Gabric et al. (2017) mention, some connotations can be lost in translation while accomplishing a direct translation. For instance, this can be due to linguistic differences based on morphology (such as the absence of *the*, *a/an* in Japanese) or due to the loss of certain implied meanings.

Free translation: a translation which "has survived specific modifications but has retained some semantic equivalence" (Gabric et al. 2017: 9). For instance, the 2017 Spanish title Una mujer fantástica ('A fantastic woman') became in Japan Nachuraru ūman ('Natural woman') by substituting 'fantastic' with 'natural'. Here, 'fantastic' by definition refers to extraordinary qualities in contrast to the ordinary qualities implied by the word 'natural'.

Indirect free translation: same as the previous one, but with more languages involved as pivot languages. In the case of our study, English serves as such a pivot language, often in the form of international titles. For example, the Spanish title *Musarañas* (2014) ('Shrews') had *Shrew's Nest* as an international title, which probably influenced the decision to make *Nesuto* ('Nest') the title in Japan.

Transcreation: when the original text is used as a base for creating something new "from scratch" that accomplishes a similar function in the meta text, but with "zero-linguistic equivalence" with the original (Gabric et al. 2017: 11). For instance, the 2016 German title Willkommen bei den Hartmanns ('Welcome to the Hartmanns') (English title: Welcome to Germany), became Hajimete no omotenashi ('The first hospitality').

Direct transliteration: rendering phonetically most of the original text into another language, for example the Japanese katakana symbol \mathcal{D} as ka in the Latin alphabet. For instance, the 2002 Portuguese title $Moro\ no\ Brasil$ ('I live in Brazil') became $Moro\ no\ burajiru$. Transliteration is often used in titles including proper names. However, it should be noted that not all cases of direct transliteration were faithful to the phonological and morphological features of the source text. For example, the Spanish title $Gitano\ (2000)$ could have been rendered in Japanese as $hitano\ (/xi'ta.no/)$ reflecting the original pronunciation of $gi\ (/xi/)$ in Spanish, but instead became $jitano\ (/dzi'ta.no/)\ ^3$. Furthermore, definite articles such as $the\ in\ English\ or\ el\ in\ Spanish\ are\ also\ sometimes\ omitted\ in\ the\ final\ text.$

Indirect transliteration: the same as the previous one, but using a pivot language. For instance, the 2015 Spanish title *Anacleto: Agente secreto* ('Anacleto: Secret agent') had *Spy time* as its English title which probably was the base for its adoption in Japanese as *Spy Time / Supai taimu* (Latin letters as title and *katakana* as subtitle).

Finally, micro-strategies were also included in our analysis. These included *subtraction* of parts of the source text, *shifting* of the morphosyntactic structure, *addition* and *substitution* of certain elements of the title in favor of others. In the case of addition and substitution, these could include elements in Japanese, English or the source language.

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³ A *romaji*-based pronunciation of *gitano* could be $\# \mathcal{F} \mathcal{F}$ (/gi'ta.no/), so probably an English-based reading of the letter g as /dz/ may have influenced the transliteration process in this case.

5. Results

In total, 338 film titles were analysed on a case-by-case basis. In principle, we have adopted Schubert (2004) classification of film titles translation strategies, although we have used the word 'transliteration' instead of 'transcription'. Besides, we added the macro-strategies "indirect free translation" and "indirect transliteration". These refer to cases in which it was inferred that the translator might have taken an existing English title as the source text based on similarities between the English version and the resulting title. However, as it will be noted later, making such judgements turned out to be sometimes a challenging task. Therefore, especially in the case of the "indirect free translation category" we provisionally considered it to be in a grey zone between being part of the "free translation" category or an entirely different category on its own. Sub-strategies were also added according to the particularities of each one of the titles analysed, although this task has turned quite complex since many titles do not fit in a single category. In this regard, we also added sub-categories such as "Mixed" or "Other/Unclassified" when such results were found. Finally, regarding film genres, the categories in our analysis include action, animation, comedy, documentary, drama, horror, romance, suspense, fantasy, science-fiction, musical and family. However, these vary greatly in number having, for instance, drama with the most entries (n=163), whereas genres such as fantasy (n=3), musical (n=3) and family (n=2) had the least.

5.1. Titles in Spanish

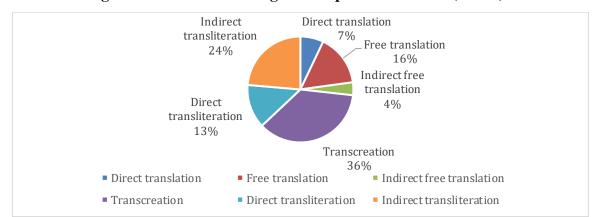
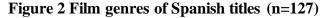
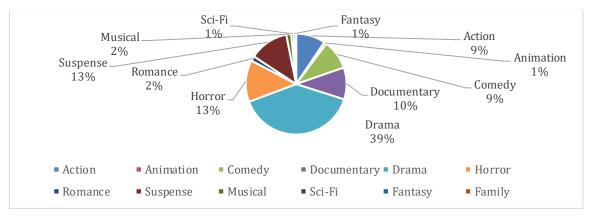


Figure 1 Translation strategies for Spanish film titles (n=127)





Qualitative examples containing English⁴:

UNA MUJER FANTÁSTICA [2017] [Drama] ("A fantastic woman") > Nachuraru $\bar{u}man$ [2018] ("Natural woman") [[(Indirect?) ⁵ Free translation / Substitution in English]]

As previously mentioned, in this case, "woman" is the common word in the source and final titles. Although in both cases they are accompanied by an adjective, *fantastic* and *natural* denote opposites, thus changing the full meaning of the title.

FIN [2012] [Suspense] ("End") > The end > Za endo [2013] ("The end") [[Indirect transliteration / Transliteration of the Int./English title]]

In this case, indirect transliteration is plausible due to the similarities between the English and Japanese titles.

PLAN DE FUGA [2016] [Action] ("Escape plan") > Kurimināru puran - kanzen naru gōdatsu keikaku [2017] ("Criminal plan: The perfect robbery plan") [[Free translation / Substitution in English]]

The word *plan* can be found in the source language, the international title, and to both the Japanese title and subtitle. Here, the subtitle in Japanese is used to explain the meaning of the title, although such English sounding title is neither related to the original in Spanish, neither found in an English/International version.

EL HABITANTE [2017] [Horror] ("The inhabitant") > Donto herupu [2018] ("Don't help") [[Transcreation / Full transcreation into English-like title]]

This is a clear case of transcreation since the final title does not have any semantic relationship with neither the source nor the English title (*The Inhabitant*).

EL OTRO HERMANO [2017] [Horror] ("The other brother") > Kiringu famirī – koroshiau ikka [2017] ("Killing family: A family that kills each other") [[Transcreation / Full transcreation into English-like title]]

This transcreation case is similar to the previous one, with the difference in the addition of an explanatory subtitle. By adding *koroshiau* ("to kill each other"), this subtitle clarifies the possible ambiguity on who are the object of *killing* in the title *Killing family*, that is, family members or someone external to the family.

Qualitative examples containing added references to the source language or culture:

In contraposition to instances of anglicization, references to the source culture and language may also be of interest for our analysis. In this sense, titles including extra words

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⁴ Examples are shown in the following pattern: *TITLE IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE* [Year of international release] [Film genre] (Meaning in English) ((> *English/International title*, if any)) > *Title in Japanese* [Year of release in Japan] (Meaning in English) [[Macro-strategy / Sub-strategy]]

⁵ This one example shows that sometimes it is difficult, maybe impossible, to know whether the translator used the original language or an existing English translation as the source text.

related to the Spanish language or Spanish speaking countries and culture are shown below underlined.

MUERTOS DE RISA [1999] [Comedy] > Dotsukarete Andarushia ("Andalusia, tired") UN PARAISO BAJO LAS ESTRELLAS [1999] [Romance] > Viva! Viva! Kyūba ("Viva! Viva! Viva! Cuba")

VIDAS PRIVADAS [2001] [Drama] > Buenosu Airesu no yoru ("Buenos Aires' night") EL ABRAZO PARTIDO [2004] [Drama] > Boku to mirai to Buenosu Airesu ("Me, the future and Buenos Aires")

IBERIA [2005] [Documentary] > Iberia: Tamashi no furamenko ("Iberia: The soul's flamenco")

NARANJO EN FLOR [2008] [Drama] > Koroshi no ato ni tango o ("A tango after killing") SECUESTRADOS [2010] [Horror] > Supein ikka kankin jiken ("The kidnapping case of a Spanish family")

OUE DIOS NOS PERDONE [2016] [Suspense] > Goddo seibu azu Madorīdo: Renzoku rōjo gōkan satsujin jiken ("God save us Madrid: The case of the serial rapings/killings of elderly women")

Toponyms (Spain, Cuba, Madrid, Buenos Aires) were the most frequently added Spanish related words, probably for contextualizing the place in which the film takes place. Nevertheless, whether some of these words could count as authentically Spanish despite the use of their anglicized versions is open to debate (e.g., Supein/Spain instead of España, or Cuba as transcribed in katakana as $\pm 2 - \frac{1}{2} / \frac{1}{2} / \frac{1}{2} / \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} / \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} +$ Spanish-like クーバ/ Kūba).

5.2. Titles in Italian

Figure 3 Translation strategies for Italian film titles (n=68)

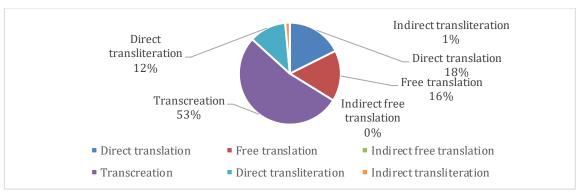
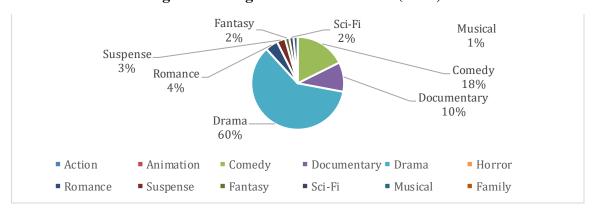


Figure 4 Film genres of Italian titles (n=68)



Qualitative examples containing English:

NON HO SONNO [2001] [Suspense] ("I'm not sleepy") > Sleepless > Surīpuresu [2002] ("Sleepless") [[Indirect transliteration / Transliteration of the Int./English title]]

Interestingly, Italian seems to be the least affected by English compared to the other languages in this study. Apart from the example above of the suspense film *Non ho sonno* (2001) involving indirect transliteration, no other titles including English could be found. As it is revealed later in Table 3, this might be explained by the extent by which English is used depending on the film genre. In the case of Italian, drama, documentary and comedy films were considerably numerous. By contrast, Italian is also, within the scope of our study, the only language category without action and horror titles.

Qualitative examples containing added references to the source language or culture:

Italian seems to be the language category in which references to the home country (Italy) and the source language of the film (Italian) were specially added. This took the form of Italian words (i.e., *amore*, *viva*, *ristorante*) and references to the country (i.e., Italy, Italian), its cities (i.e., Rome, Milan, Turin, Venice) or regions (especially Tuscany) as shown in the following examples.

MANUALE D'AMORE [2005] [Comedy] > <u>Itaria</u> teki, Ren'ai manyuaru ("<u>Italian</u> love manual")

MANUALE D'AMORE 3 [2011] [Comedy] > *Hirugari:* <u>Rōma</u> no koi ("Aftemoon: <u>Rome</u>'s love")

QUO VADO? [2015] [Comedy] > Viva! Kōmuin ("Viva/Hooray! Government worker")

LA PAZZA GIOIA [2016] [Comedy] > Yorokobi no Tosukana ("The happiness of Tuscany")

FUOCUOAMMARE [2016] [Documentary] > Umi wa moeteiru: <u>Itaria</u> sainantan no chīsana shima ("The sea is burning: <u>Italy</u>'s southernmost little island")

PANE E TULIPANI [2000] [Drama] > Venisu de koishite ("Love me in Venice")

IL CELO CADE [2000] [Drama] > Futari no <u>Tosukana</u> ("<u>Tuscany</u> for two")

DOPPO MEZZANOTTE [2004] [Drama] > <u>Torino</u>: 24 jikan kara no koibito tachi ("<u>Turin</u>: The lovers from 24:00")

IO SONNO L'AMORE [2009] [Drama] > Mirano: Ai ni ikiru ("Milan: Living in love")

NINA [2012] [Drama] > Nina: <u>Rōma</u> no natsu yasumi ("Nina: Summer vacation in <u>Rome</u>")

NON TI MUOVERE [2004] [Romance] > Akai <u>amōre</u> ("Red <u>amore</u>/love")

As seen in the previous examples, love is a frequent theme, especially in the romance, drama and comedy genres which, as explained before, were also very frequent in the Italian category compared to other languages.

5.3. Titles in German

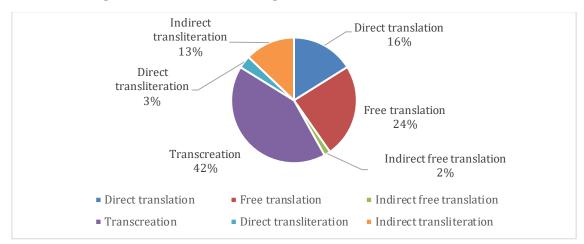
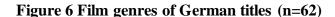
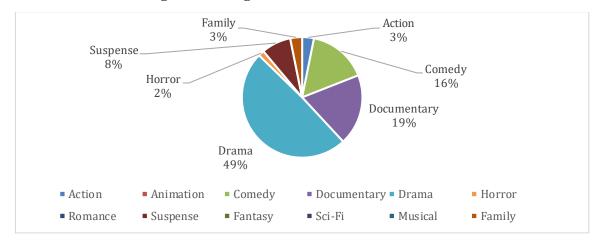


Figure 5 Translation strategies for German film titles (n=62)





Qualitative examples containing English:

WAS TUN, WENN'S BRENNT? [2002] [Drama] ("What to do in case of fire") > What to do in case of fire > Reboryūshon 6 [2003] ("Revolution 6") [[Transcreation / Full transcreation into English-like title]]

WIR SIND DIE NACHT [2010] [Horror] ("We are the night") > We are the night > Buraddi pāti [2011] ("Bloody party") [[Transcreation / Full transcreation into English-like title]]

In the above two cases of transcreation, the original titles with four words were shortened. This seems to be a common strategy in the case of exceedingly long titles (Gabric et al. 2017: 10), although it might be difficult to quantify this kind of cases since the impression of excessive length may be relative.

BIN ICH SCHON? [1998] [Drama] ("Am I beautiful?") > Am I beautiful? > Amu ai byūtifuru? [2000] ("Am I beautiful") [[Indirect transliteration / Transliteration of the Int./English title]]

This case of transliteration involves an original title in taking the relatively uncommon form of a question. We regarded this as a case of indirect transliteration due to the similarities with the English version.

IMPRESSIONEN UNTER WASSER [2002] [Documentary] ("Impressions under water") > Impressions of the deep > Wandā andā wōtā / Genshoku no umi [2003] ("Wonders under water / The sea of primary colours") [[Free translation / Substitution in English]]

This is an interesting case. The resulting title clearly has more semantic similarities with the original title ($unter\ Wasser = under\ water = and\bar{a}\ w\bar{o}t\bar{a}$) than the English title, although the final rendering of the title takes the full form of an English one.

Qualitative examples containing added references to the source language or culture:

German had not a single case of addition in the German language or referring to German speaking countries.

5.4. Titles in Russian

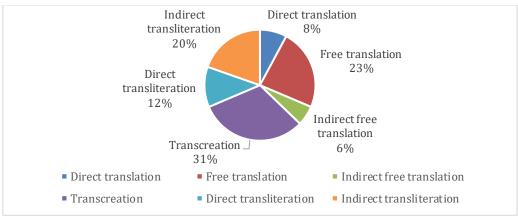
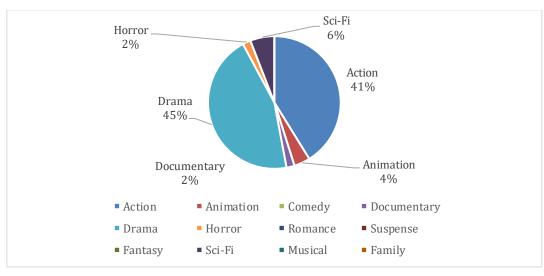


Figure 7 Translation strategies for Russian film titles (n=51)

Figure 8 Film genres of Russian titles (n=51)



Russian is, by far, the language category with the largest proportion of action (41%) and science-fiction (6%) titles. It should be noted that not a single title with Russian as a source language contained Russian words in the final title unless (1) they had a similar pronunciation in English, (2) the International/English titles included them, or (3) they were similar to an English loanword already accepted in Japanese. It is especially the case of titles with proper names such *Elena* [2011] (> *Erena no madoi* [2014]) or *Salyut-7* [2016] (> *Saryūto* 7 [2018]).

Qualitative examples containing English:

BRAT [1997] [Action] ("Brother") > Brother > Roshian burazā [2001] ("Russian brother") [[Free translation / Addition in English]]

BITVA ZA SEVASTOPOL [2015] [Action] ("Battle for Sevastopol") > Battle for Sevastopol > Roshian sunaipā [2015] ("Russian sniper") [[Transcreation / Full transcreation into English-like title]]

The two examples above show the adding of the word *Roshian*⁶ (Russian), probably for contextualization purposes, as part of a novel full English title.

OBRATNYYOTSCHET [2016] [Action] ("Countdown")> Moscow Mission > Misshon in Mosukuwa ("Mission in Moscow") [[Indirect transcription / Shift]]

This is a characteristic case of shifting, but it may be of interest as to show another way in which anglicization may take place. Taking the English title *Moscow Mission*, introducing the preposition *in* and changing its order results in a syntactically novel full English title.

CHERNOVIK [2018] [Action] ("Draft") > A rough draft > Pāfekuto wārudo / Sekai no nazo wo toke [2018] ("Perfect world / Resolve the mysteries of the world") [[Transcreation / Full transcreation into English-like title]]

Qualitative examples containing added references to the source language or culture:

ZOYA [2021] [Drama] > *Roshian sorujā: Senjō ni kieta 18-sai no shōjo heishi* ("Russian soldier: The 18-year-old girl soldier that disappeared in combat")

⁶ As an anecdote, there was a case in which the word *Russian* appeared in the original title, but it became omitted in the final title (*RUSSKIY KOVCHEG* [2002] [Drama] / "Russian ark" > *Erumitāju gensō* / "The Hermitage's fantasy"). Similarly, we wondered if the formula "*Roshian* + noun" may have been used in other titles since our original data collection. In the *Allcinema Movie & DVD Database*, we found a total of 16 titles including the word *Roshian*, although only 2 cases referred to Russian movies in which the word *Russian* did not originally appear:

SOLOVEY-RAZBOYNIK [2013] [Action] ("Nightingale – The Robber") > Roshian bureikāzu ("Russian breakers"),

Apart from the two examples above ($Roshian\ buraz\bar{a}$ and $Roshian\ sunaip\bar{a}$), only the following titles included words referring to the Russian context.

ALEKSANDRA [2008] [Drama] > <u>Chechen</u> e, Arekkusandora no tabi ("To <u>Chechenia</u>: Alexandra's journey") [[Free translation / Addition in Japanese]]

BATALION [2015] [Action] > Batarion: <u>Roshia fujin kesshitai vs Doitsu gun</u> ("Batallion: <u>Russian</u> women suicide corps vs the German army") [[Direct transcription / Addition in Japanese]]

5.5. Titles in Portuguese

Figure 9 Translation strategies for Portuguese film titles (n=30)

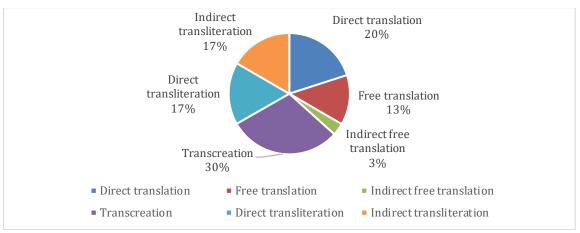
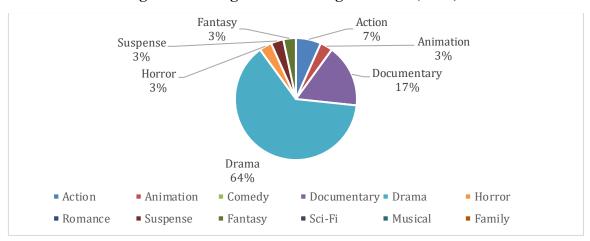


Figure 10 Film genres of Portuguese titles (n=30)



Qualitative examples containing English:

MAR NEGRO [2013] [Horror] ("Black sea") > *Dark Sea* > *Shī obu za deddo* [2013] ("Sea of the dead") [[Free translation / Substitution in English]]

A ESTRADA 47 [2013] [Action] ("Road 47") > Road 47 > Rosuto patorōru [2013] ("Lost patrol") [[Transcreation / Full transcreation into English-like title]]

CIDADE DOS HOMENS [2007] [Drama] ("City of men") > City of men > Shiti obu men [2008] ("City of men") [[Indirect transliteration / Transliteration of the Int./English title]]

COISA MAIS LINDA: HISTORIAS E CASOS DA BOSSA NOVA [2005] [Documentary] ("The most beautiful thing: Stories and cases of Bossa Nova") > Bossa Brasil: Stories of love – The birth of Bossa Nova > Disu izu bosa nova [2019] ("This is Bossa Nova") [[Free translation / Substitution in English]]

Qualitative examples containing added references to the source language or culture:

O CAMINHO DAS NUVENS [2003] [Drama] > The Middle of the World > Oi bishikuretta (in Portuguese, "Oi bicicleta", or "Hi bicycle") [[Transcreation / Other]]

This is a minority case in which there is full transcreation into the source language. In this example, *Oi bicicleta* constitutes a novel full Portuguese title.

5.6. Cross-linguistic results

Table 2 Breakdown of translation strategies across source languages (grey = English related translation strategies)

Macro-strategy / Sub-strategy	%ES	%IT	%DE	%RU	%РТ	
Direct translation	7.09	7.09 17.65		9.8	20	
Free translation	16.54	26.47	29.03	23.53	16.67	
Addition in Japanese	3.94	4.41	8.06	11.76	0	
Addition in English	0	0	0	1.96	0	
Subtraction	0.79	0	6.45	0	0	
Substitution in Japanese	7.09	19.12	8.06	7.84	6.67	
Substitution in English	3.94	0	3.23	1.96	6.67	
Other/ Mixed	0.79	2.94	3.23	0	3.33	
Indirect free translation	3.94	0	1.61	7.84	0	
Addition in Japanese	0	0	1.61	1.96	0	
Addition in English	0.79	0	0	3.92	0	
Subtraction	0.79	0	0	1.96	0	
Substitution in English	2.36	0	0	0	0	
Transcreation	35.43	42.65	33.87	29.41	30	
Full transcreation into Japanese	17.32	38.24	24.19	13.73	16.67	
Full transcreation into English-like title	11.02	0	6.45	7.84	6.67	
Japanese/English partial transcreation	5.51	0	0	7.84	3.33	
Other	1.57	4.41	3.23	0	3.33	

Direct transliteration	13.39	11.76	3.23	11.76	16.67
Transliteration of the original title	9.45	8.82	0	5.88	13.33
Addition in Japanese	2.36	1.47	1.61	3.92	3.33
Substitution in Japanese	1.57	1.47	1.61	1.96	0
Indirect transliteration	23.62	1.47	11.29	17.65	16.67
Transliteration of the Int./English title	14.96	1.47	11.29	9.8	16.67
Addition in Japanese	8.66	0	0	5.88	0
Shift	0	0	0	1.96	0
Total % of English (partial/complete) related strategies	47.24	1.47	20.97	41.18	33.33

As Table 2 shows, the final titles from Spanish (47.24%) and Russian titles (41.18%), followed by Portuguese (33.33%) and German titles (20.97%) contained much more words in English in comparison to the titles of Italian origin (1.47%). It must be remembered that all titles analysed in our survey did not include English words in the first place. If we break down the results, it can be observed that most cases involving English can be found within two macro-strategies: transcreation and indirect transliteration. In cases of transcreation, Spanish had 11.02% of all-English resulting titles and 5.51 for partial use; Russian had 7.84% for total and 7.84% for partial; Portuguese, 6.67% total and 3.33% partial; German, 6.45% (total) and Italian had no cases. If we look into indirect transliteration, that is, transliterating a title already available in English⁷ instead of the title in its original language, then the results are even higher than in transcreation. Spanish had 14.96% cases of total indirect transliteration, 8.66% partial; 9.8% (total) and 5.88% (partial) cases for Russian; 16.67% of (total) for Portuguese; 11.29% (total) for German and 1.47% (total) for Italian. Therefore, we can conclude that most cases of anglicization involve the direct and total use of a pre-existing title in English followed by transcreation cases with some degree of English.

5.7. Cross-genre results

Table 3 Breakdown of % of translation strategies by film genre⁸ (grey = English related translation strategies)

⁷ These titles may be obtained by translators by searching for the titles used in English speaking countries, or those used during international film festivals.

The names of the film genres in Table 3 are abbreviated the following way: action (Act), animation (Ani), comedy (Com), documentary (Doc), drama (Dra), horror (Hor), suspense (Sus), science-fiction (SF), fantasy (Fan), musical (Mus), and family (Fam).

Macro-strategy / Sub-strategy	Act / n=37	Ani / n=4	Com / n=34	Doc / n=38	Dra / n=163	Hor / n=20	Rom / n=5	Sus / n=24	SF / n=5	Fan / n=3	Mus / n=3	Fam / n=2
Direct translation	0	25	20.59	15.79	16.56	5	0	4.17	0	0	0	100
Free translation	18.92	25	17.65	34.21	21.47	10	40	12.5	60	0	66.67	0
Addition in Japanese	8.11	0	2.94	2.63	7.36	5	0	0	0	0	33.3	0
Addition in English	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtraction	0	0	2.94	5.26	1.23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Substitution in Japanese	0	25	8.82	10.53	12.27	0	40	4.17	40	0	0	0
Substitution in English	5.41	0	2.94	5.26	0.61	5	0	8.33	20	0	0	0
Other/Mixed	2.70	0	0	10.53	0	0	0	0	0	0	33.3	0
Indirect free translation	8.11%	0	2.94	0	1.23	10	0	4.17	0	33.3	0	0
Addition in Japanese	2.70	0	2.94	0	0.61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Addition in English	5.41	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtraction	0	0	0	0	0.61	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Substitution in English	0	0	2.94	0	0	0	0	4.17	0	33.3	0	0
Transcreation	40.54	25	47.06	13.16	38.65	45	60	29.17	0	0	0	0
Full transcreation into Japanese	0	25	32.25	7.89	32.52	15	20	12.5	0	0	0	0
Full transcreation into English-like title	24.32	0	5.88	2.63	3.07	25	0	8.33	0	0	0	0
Japanese-English partial transcreation	16.22	0	2.94	2.63	1.23	5	0	4.17	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	5.88	0	1.84		40	4.17	0	0	0	0
Direct transliteration	5.41	25	2.94	23.68	12.27	5	0	0	20	66.67	33.3	0
Transliteration of the original title	2.7	25	2.94	10.53	7.98	5	0	0	20	66.7	33.3	0
Addition in Japanese	2.7	0	0	5.26	3.07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Substitution in Japanese	0	0	0	7.89	1.23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indirect transliteration	27.03	0	8.82	13.16	9.82	25	0	50	20	0	0	0
Transliteration of the Int./English title	18.92	0	8.82	10.53	7.36	10	0	37.5	0	0	0	0
Addition in Japanese	5.41	0	0	2.63	2.45	15	0	12.5	20	0	0	0
Shift	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total % of English (partial/complete) related strategies	81.08	0	23.53	23.68	14.72	65	0	75	40	33.3	0	0

By looking at Table 3, it becomes clear that some film genres undergo anglicizing changes more than others. Action (81.08%), suspense (75%), horror (65%) and science-fiction (40%) include the highest proportion of cases of partial and total anglicized titles in contrast to the genres of animation (0%), romance (0%), family (0%), musical (0%), drama (14.72%), documentary (23.68%), comedy (23.53%) and fantasy (33.3%). At this point, we refrain from making strong conclusions about the animation, romance, science-fiction, fantasy, musical and family categories due to their reduced data sampling.

6. Discussion

In the presentation of our study, we introduced three questions. Firstly, whether a language of prestige like English could substitute partially or completely the text in a source language B during the translation process for a text aimed to be read by the public of a third language, in this case, a Japanese audience. As it has been shown in our qualitative data, English is indeed used for rendering non-English titles, sometimes even creating completely new titles in English. When anglicization is used, the Japanese language may appear, but no traces of the original language remain. English or Englishlike (wasei-eigo) titles are then represented in katakana or rōmaji. Here we tentatively make the distinction between "direct anglicization" and "indirect anglicization". Direct anglicization could be thought as when the translator peplaces the source language completely with English, or partially with English and Japanese. Meanwhile, indirect anglicization could be defined as when an English pre-existing title is used as a source language, and the translator transliterates it completely or with some modifications in English or Japanese. Therefore, drawing from this distinction, we could have four possibilities: Direct Total Anglicization (DTA), Direct Partial Anglicization (DPA), Indirect Total Anglicization (ITA), and Indirect Partial Anglicization (IPA). This dichotomy between direct and indirect relies on the assumption that, when an already existing title is simply adopted, the linguistic creativity of the translator (and hence his/her volition to apply any ideology related to linguistic prestige) is not as directly engaged with the text as if he/she were to try to translate it from the source language from the very beginning.

Considering the second research question of our study, the quantitative results show that the most common substitution patterns concerning anglicizing strategies mostly took place within the categories of transcreation and indirect transliteration of existing English titles. Concerning source languages, Spanish and Russian had most cases of anglicized titles, followed by Portuguese and German, and Italian having the least. Our analysis, however, did not go without difficulties, though. The design of the database selected was not specific enough about the language(s) used in the films. In fact, at the beginning of our study we also wanted to include French titles, for which we were sure to find hundreds of entries. However, the sorting of French titles from English ones turned out to be extremely challenging since the database did not include a searching option by language, but for country. Since France is a powerhouse in the international film industry, it was not uncommon to find entries in which Anglo-American productions collaborated

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⁹ We are aware of the fact that film distribution companies, rather than individual translators, do often have the last word on the final translation to be used, especially when it comes to marketing. For the sake of the argument, we refer to the individual translator as the first and final agent of the translation process.

with French studios to produce films in English. As a result, we focused on other European languages. Another problematic point is the unbalance in the number of titles among languages with having accepted just thirty Portuguese titles in comparison to more than one hundred Spanish ones. For this reason, we abstain from drawing any strong conclusions in relation to the Portuguese language. This inequality might be simply explained by the imbalance in the import of films from different non-English speaking countries into Japan in the first place. During the classification of titles into translation strategies, we also struggled to define whether some titles should be thought to have undergone free translation from their source language or from an English version (indirect free translation). With all this being said, in some minority cases the source language was also used for cultural contextualization (e.g., Manuale d'amore [2005] > Itaria teki, Ren'ai manyuaru / "Italian love manual") and even creating novel titles (e.g., O Caminho das Nuvens [2003] > Portuguese: Oi bishikuretta / Oi bicicleta). Italian, and to some extent Spanish, seem to be used sometimes for contextualizing drama, documentary, and comedy titles by using toponyms (Italy, Rome, Tuscany, Spain ...) and other words (flamenco ...). Russian particularly had the word Roshian prefixing mostly words in action titles (Roshian burazā, Roshian sunaipā, Roshian bureikāzu, Roshian sorujā), Portuguese did not show tendencies of adding any specific words in particular, while German words were not added in any title.

Regarding the third question, film genre does seem to influence the degree of anglicization. As seen in Table 3, the genres of drama and action show different tendencies when it comes to anglicization. With 81.01%, the action genre is by far the most anglicized followed by suspense (75%) and horror (65%). Meanwhile, drama, the genre with the largest number of titles in our study, had only 14.72% of its titles undergoing some kind of anglicization followed by comedy (23.53%) and documentary (23.68%). This might explain why English was almost never used in the translation of Italian titles, since most of its genres included drama (60%), comedy (18%) and documentary (10%) with no action films. This contrasts with Russian which had the largest proportion of action films (41%) among the five languages and thus showed a large quantity of anglicized titles (41.18%). These results seem to corroborate previous findings such as Teuber (2020) regarding the anglicization rates of action and drama titles. However, it should be noted that, while other genres such as science-fiction or romance may also have a place in different parts of the anglicization spectrum, our reduced sample size regarding such genres may not be enough to warrant any conclusions yet. Besides, further research might be necessary to stablish a theory on why some genres may be prone or resistant to be anglicized in the first place.

Finally, we would like to comment on what anglicization might mean to the development of translation studies regarding the famous *domestication vs. foreignization* dichotomy, and to Japan's linguistic landscape. In a traditional sense, anglicization may not be regarded as a kind of domestication strategy since domestication is synonymous with linguistic clarity and cultural familiarity between the title and the reader. The semantic meaning often transmitted by anglicized titles is not the same as the one in the source language. Besides, for the general Japanese public, some of these titles are not easy to understand, therefore it is necessary to add explanatory subtitles in Japanese. On the contrary, anglicization may not be classified as a foreignization strategy either if we understand foreignization as maintaining information from the source text as well as its cultural norms. Therefore, we might view anglicization as a kind of exoticization strategy on its own based on aesthetic and commercial purposes. From a culture-focused

perspective, replacing traces of the source language with English creates inequality in the amount of exposure of the source language to the public compared to the exposure of English. However, the extent on which the usage of English in this type of translation may hinder the public's exposure to the source language, or whether this practice may reenforce linguistic attitudes concerning English as a language of prestige are issues that exceed the scope of our study, and which need further investigation.

7. Conclusions

Our results corroborate the fact that English or English-like words and expressions are sometimes used in Japanese translations of non-English film titles completely or partially. This is done instead of maintaining the source language or translating it into the target language. As previously mentioned, in the context of translation studies, anglicization of film titles could be theorized in relation to the famous domestication vs. foreignization dichotomy introduced by Venuti. As the results showed, anglicization could be thought of as a special case of foreignization in which English is used more as a transculturation tool prioritizing the exoticization of the title rather than the reflection of the original language. On the other hand, it could also be thought of as a domestication strategy within the Japanese context. Elements of less familiar foreign languages in Japan are changed into a more recognizable shape by using English or wasei-eigo (i.e., English "made in Japan") as it is the foreign language that has permeated most of Japan's landscape involving film titles. Therefore, within the Japanese context, anglicization might also well be an independent ambiguous category out of the foreignizationdomestication spectrum proposed by Venuti. Anglicizing seems to be optional to the translator instead of a translation problem-solving technique since linguistic equivalents may be found in the target language and the fact that transcreation in the source or target language is also possible. We also found that anglicization seems to affect certain source languages more than others in direct correlation to the genre of their films. Corroborating previous research (Teuber, 2020), action, suspense, and horror seemed more prompt to anglicization in contrast to genres such as drama, documentary, and comedy. Such is the case of Spanish and Russian which presented most cases of anglicization due to their larger list of action films in contrast to Italian. In the lack of studies on this phenomenon, it might be soon to elaborate a major theory on the general influence of English over other European or even neighbouring East Asian languages of lesser social prestige in the country. Further research might focus on other languages, film genres, periods, fonts (katakana or rōmaji) as well as the public's attitudes towards films with titles in Japanese, English and other languages.

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