Ideological Manipulation in Interlingual Subtitling
The Japanese-Italian Translation of a *nyūhāfu* Genderlect in the Movie *Close-Knit* by Ogigami Naoko

Francesco Vitucci
Alma Mater Studiorum, Università di Bologna, Italia

Abstract   This study focuses on the translation of the genderlect uttered by the transgender protagonist of the Japanese movie *Close-Knit* directed by Ogigami Naoko (2017) within the context of interlingual subtitling in the Japanese-Italian language pair. According to recent research in the field of AVT, gender translation may disclose important clues about the way identity-related issues are perceived in a source and in a target language. In particular, the rendition of 'liquid' genderlects challenges the belief that Japanese society is naturally divided into two sexes/genders and that there are two separate linguistic codes for female and male speakers. By utilizing a constructionist framework that treats gender as a complex and fluid cultural construct, this study intends to stress the importance of disentangling gender norms from dominant heterosexist discourses, and how sociocultural markers of the spoken language need effective transposition in subtitles. Especially, when gender issues emerging from Japanese movies must be translated for non-English speaking target audiences.

Keywords   Subtitling. Audiovisual translation. Japanese. Italian. Gender. Queer speech.

Summary   1 Gender Studies in Audiovisual Translation and Japanese Sociolinguistics. – 2 Intralingual Characteristics of Rinko's Genderlect. – 3 Japanese-Italian Subtitles and the Survey Dataset. – 4 Scene analysis: Rinko's Genderlect (Intralingual Level). – 4.1 Scene 1: Rinko and Tomo in the Bedroom. – 4.2 Scene 2: Rinko and Tomo in the Living Room. – 5 Scene Analysis: Rinko's Genderlect (Interlingual Level). – 5.1 Scene 1: Rinko and Tomo in the Bedroom. – 5.2 Scene 2: Rinko and Tomo in the Living Room. – 6 Final Remarks and Future Perspectives.

Edizioni
Ca'Foscari

1 Gender Studies in Audiovisual Translation and Japanese Sociolinguistics

Recent studies on audiovisual translation (AVT) of gender (Alfano 2018; De Marco 2006; 2009; 2016; Díaz Pérez 2018; Dore, Zarrelli 2018; Hok-Sze Leung 2016; Ranzato 2012; Ranzato, Zanotti 2018; von Flotow, Josephy-Hernández 2018) have brought to light the fundamental role of translation as a tool for an inclusive reimagining of the *queer* identity. These studies also highlight the underlying difficulties for those who are charged with intercultural mediation, as they risk employing stereotypes that further reinforce latent or manifest forms of social exclusion.

> As a site of a discursive practice, audiovisual media and its translation play a special role in the articulation of cultural concepts such as *femininity*, *masculinity*, *race*, and *Otherness* among others. It can contribute greatly to perpetuating certain racial stereotypes, framing ethnic and gender prejudices. (Díaz-Cintas 2012, 281-2)

In particular, as for Ranzato and Zanotti (2018), the relationship between language and translation can itself become a tool for further gender liberation or segregation, precisely because it can reassert the *status quo*, or bring it into discussion. Because of this – as De Marco (2016) suggests – it would be better to employ an *engendering* approach, rather than a *gender* approach, as the English verb *engender* can be considered both in its original meaning of 'to cause', 'to originate', as well as 'underscoring the central role of gender issues', as emerged in very recent studies in the fields of sociology and economics. Therefore – according to De Marco – an *engendering* approach should provide the right level of awareness regarding the subject of gender in the realm of audiovisual translations, as well as rendering it an integral part of the mediation. This allows us to not only understand how potential problems may arise in translation, but also to challenge and overcome them when necessary.

The literature on translation studies and AVT studies is now in line with the most recent sociolinguistics research on how gender is a cultural construct tied to the time, the place, and the societies where men and women operate (Ranzato, Zanotti 2018). Harvey (2000) tells us that when considering *queer* identity, it is important to remember that the characteristics of gender are fluid, unstable, and dynamic and therefore, can no longer be categorized using the ineffective and obsolete idea of a male and female pole. On the key relationship between language and gender, Abe (2010) confirms the shared constructionist view from a sociolinguistic standpoint, by which:

> Sex difference in language approach based on an essentialist dualism of women and men must be abandoned and replaced with the constructionist view of gender, which treats gender as a complex and fluid cultural construct. In the constructionist framework, gender is not seen as a natural binary categorization or attribute, nor as something we own. Rather it is something we do, perform, and try to accomplish with the help of repeated linguistic practice. (Abe 2010, 5)

This viewpoint is in agreement with other related research in the field of Japanese sociolinguistics (Itakura 2015; Lunsing, Maree 2004; Maree 2010; 2018; Michiura 2018; Okamoto 2016) which asserts the need to study and analyse the phenomenon of speech in context, in specific language use cases. In fact, it should be noted that when analysing the *genderlects* of speakers with non-conforming identities, negotiating the linguistic prescriptions – as well as the norms of reference regarding gender and sexuality – will necessarily run into a sense of multiple identity. These contextual/situational pressures on speech often result in creative uses of language. According to Maree (2010), this phenomenon occurs by exploiting the sociolinguistic resources and cultural references available to the speakers. These speakers, as social actors, make certain pragmatic choices that influence not only a personal construction of relationship, but also the construction of their own identity.

Regarding diageneric variation in Japanese, Nakamura (2010; 2013) and Hasegawa (2012) state that, since it is possible to manifest one's own gender identity by adapting the available linguistic (and other) resources according to the situation, the speakers, and the mood, it is important to keep the concept of *variability* in mind when speaking about linguistic practices associated with an individual's biological sex and gender identity. It is also important to consider *indexicality* when referring to the relation between linguistic expression and the context of utterance.[1] As Okamoto (2016) points out, in Japanese the concept of variable indexicality in linguistic gender markers is easily noted since elements that are typically marked as solely masculine or feminine[2] can be interpreted in different ways based on the speaker and social context. Referring to the concept of in-

---

[1] From the point of view of an individual speaker, however, the multiplicity of sociocultural meanings associated with linguistic practice would include the spatio-temporal locus of the communication situation (deixis, use of adverbs of time and place), the personal characteristics of the speaker (age, sex, geographical origin), social identity (belonging to one or more groups), speech acts, social activities (debates, narrations, dialogues), as well as affective and epistemic attitudes.

[2] Referring to the use of certain personal pronouns, suffixes, and certain phenomena of lexical modulation.

dexical field introduced by Penelope Eckert (2008), Okamoto suggests that a set normative relationship, when found in a different context, can acquire added semantic value that integrates with the established meanings in each indexical field. This occurs because indexical fields are naturally fluid and open. An example of this is the way that some young Japanese women use male first-person pronouns among close friends in order to express shared intimacy and solidarity and convey freedom and rebellion, not necessarily mere *masculinity*. A further example in the *queer* sphere (Abe 2010) is the lesbian speech patterns used by some bar employees in the *Shinjuku ni-chōme* district, which demonstrates how some speakers use typically masculine linguistic forms in work-related contexts to signify their social position (*chii*), experience (*kanten*), and their hierarchical role (*yakuwari*) while interacting with clients, or even to simply show emotions such as anger, or other specific speech acts. Abe refers to how, even though a few of the speakers interviewed tended to adapt their first-person pronouns by using the pronoun *jibun*, perceived as more neutral compared to *watashi* or *atashi* (considered to be too feminine) or *boku* (considered, instead, to be excessively masculine), the pronoun *ore* (definitely a vulgar register and directly tied to masculinity) was seen when confronting regular clients (i.e. when expressing anger). Abe suggests that this practice supports not only the hypothesis that language can be utilized as a resource to construct different identities based on the context, but also that the identity of an individual is not predetermined, but rather potentially multiple and variable. Consequently, the interpretation of certain linguistic forms traditionally stereotyped as *masculine* or *feminine* should remain as a mere notion of normative ideology (Okamoto, Shibamoto Smith 2004).

2 Intralingual Characteristics of Rinko's Genderlect

As will be illustrated below, the complexity of the translated subtitles is immediately apparent when looking at the *genderlect* by Rinko, the protagonist of *Close-Knit*. In the first place, *they* speak in motherese in the scenes where *they* are reassuring *their* niece (Tomo), or when mentoring/educating, yet every time – always in the presence of Tomo – *they* switch to narrative or descriptive speech *they* resorting to a completely different linguistic register that allows *them* to more clearly define *their* own identity. In this case, Rinko utilizes a few morphosyntactic and lexical elements that are typical of Japanese spoken by females (*joseigo*), though it is not emphasized and is intermixed with more neutral gender elements (Inoue, 2003; Matsui 2018). In the context of interlinguistic translation, – also according to Zabalbeascoa (2012) – the person creating the subtitles is in the difficult position of having to mediate between an accurate

description of the character's uniqueness and the risk of slipping in-
to stereotypes, given the spatio-temporal limitations of the subtitles.
The fact remains, though, that it is impossible to ignore the micro-
textual characteristics of the audiovisual dialogue and still maintain
an ethically equivalent translation without running the risk of sub-
consciously manipulating the identities being represented. As Díaz-
Cintas recalls (2012):

> Translators cease to be linguists in the traditional sense – i.e pro-
> fessionals with knowledge of two languages –, to become inter-
> cultural agents and mediators, whose allegiances emanate from
> their works and can be untangled somewhat by scholars. Migra-
> ting from a passive role as mere transmitters of information, tran-
> slators are now considered to be active agents participating in the
> shaping of the ideological discourse of their culture, whose system
> of values they may consciously or unconsciously accept, contribu-
> ting to their dissemination or subversion. (Díaz Cintas 2012, 282-3)

As mentioned above, Rinko's speech includes examples of *mother-
ese*, also known as *mother talk*, *mommy deixis*, *caretaker speech*,
child directed speech, and *baby talk* (Bernal 2012; Hyams 2008;
Snow 1986). From a sociolinguistic perspective, *motherese* is refer-
red to as the linguistic variance spontaneously utilized by adults
when speaking to children. It's found in a wide variety of langua-
ges and, along with the general tendencies, it can present elements
of differentiation according to a language's respective cultural and
linguistic characteristics.[3] The literature in this field (Burnham et
al. 2002; Burnham, Kitamura 2003; Saint-Georges et al. 2013) fin-
ds that *motherese* shows both qualitative and quantitative characte-
ristics that involve all structural levels of communication, such as:
1. Phonologic and prosodic patterns involving simplified and control-
led phonetics, as well as paralinguistic characteristics such as higher
tones of voice; 2. Morphosyntactic modulation through short senten-

---

3 As Roger Brown notes in the introduction to Ferguson and Snow's volume (1977),
the peculiarities of this idiolect are the result of two existential factors that distin-
guish communications held with children: factors of affection held within the field of
social interaction that characterize a child's need to be cared for of by an adult figure,
as well as linguistic factors derived from differences that adults and children have in
their mastery of language. Indeed, the use of *motherese* varies in function according
to the child's age (usually used from twelve or sixteen months onwards, gradually di-
minishing towards seven or eight years of age), as well as the adult's characteristics.
As will be seen in the case study of the film in question, even though Tomo (a young
middle-schooler) doesn't belong to the typical age group of *motherese*, we can see how
Rinko voluntarily makes use of it in order to emotionally comfort Tomo, and also to af-
firm Rinko's new role as an acquired mother.

ces with a net prevalence for parataxis; 3. Lexical variations through the use of diminutives, terms of endearment, onomatopoeias, repetition, the substitution of adjectives, pronouns, and nouns, expressions of guidance, deixis (the insertion of adverbs and demonstrative pronouns), as well as lexemes commonly found in infantile speech (e.g. in Italian *bua* instead of *ferita*; *nanna* instead of *dormire*); 4. Extraverbal activity through gestures, physical contact, gazes, and facial expressions (*hyper-speech*).[4]

Japanese *motherese* (*hahaoyago*) also shows many of these characteristics, manifesting as a set of linguistic, vocal, and extraverbal elements. Some of its main characteristics are: redundancies, phonetic alterations, the use of onomatopoeias, *bikago*, as well as a high timbre and tone of voice. On a phonetic and lexical level, Ishiguro (2013) illustrates how there is a common tendency to simplify and modify some sounds which are complicated to pronounce. For example, in *motherese*, the Japanese syllables *sa/shi/su/se/so* transform into *ta/chi/chu/te/to* forming the words *okaasan* (→ *okaatan*, translation *mother*), *oishii* (→ *oichii*, translation *good*), *daisuki* (→*daichuki*, translation *I love you very much*). Analogously, the *tsu* syllable becomes *chu*, as in *oyatsu* (→ *oyachu*, translation *snack*), and *zu* becomes *ju*, as in *omizu* (→*omiju*, translation *water*). On a lexical level, the use of *bikago* terms is frequent, as in *omimi* (instead of the neutral term *mimi*, translation *ears*), and *omikan* (instead of the neutral term *mikan*, translation *mandarin*), as well as the syllabic reiteration of terms with honorific prefixes such as *omeme* (instead of the term *me*, translation *eyes*), *otete* (instead of the term *te*, translation *hand*). Other common uses include redundant onomatopoeias accompanied by the verb "to do" (*suru*) instead of single verbs, such as: *nenne suru* (instead of *neru*, translation *to sleep*), *tonton suru* (instead of *tataku*, translation *to knock*), or the insertion of suffixes alongside proper nouns, signifying closeness and affection, such as *-chan* for girls, and *-kun* for boys.

As mentioned earlier, the recurring phenomenon of *language shift* that characterizes Rinko's speech means *they* employ a *genderlect* that's quite close to female speech (*lady talk*) each time *they* begin describing and/or narrating events. In Japanese this idiolect (called *joseigo*) often resorts to lexical prefixes of courtesy such as *o/go* (*obentō*→ Japanese box lunch; *ocha*→ green tea; *okaban*→ bag) and is characterized by the absence of verbal imperative and negative forms (*tabero!* → eat it!; *taberu na!* → don't eat it!) as well as by the tendency not to use profanities and masculine-oriented lexicon. On the contra-

---

4 For the analysis of the interlinguistic Japanese-Italian subtitling in *Close-Knit*, it's important to specify that this study will concentrate specifically on the morphosyntactic and lexical levels, as the multimedia nature of the text makes it possible to extrapolate the prosodic and extraverbal functions (which, in translation, cannot be modified).

ry, it often resorts to an exclusive use of neutral/feminine first person singular pronouns (*watashi*, *atashi*, *atai* or *uchi*) and second person singular (*anata*, with the partner), feminine suffixes (-*kashira*, -*wa* in raising tone in its forms -*wane* and -*wayo*) and interjections (*maa*, *arama*, *araa*, *kyaa*). Finally, it is worth noting how Rinko's speech often tends to eliminate the copula -*da* after -*na* adjectives and nouns, making it followed by the particle *ne* (*gomen ne!* → forgive me!), or replacing the neutral suffix -*no desu* (or its masculine version -*ndayo*) with its feminine version -*noyo* (Abe 2010; Gottlieb 2006; Nakamura 2013; Wakabayashi 1991). However, Rinko is not even consistent in *their* use of *joseigo*, as *their* idiolect tends towards a third type of speech that is more neutral and plain (*futsūgo*) when *they* are creating a relationship of trust with their interlocutors. This speech pattern is particularly noticeable when Rinko wants to reassure *their* niece, Tomo, by asking questions, when Rinko begins reflecting or monologuing, and when *they* talk about their own personal experiences, as Rinko drops all diageneric markers (lexical and morphosyntactic) in both *motherese* and *joseigo*. It is precisely this sophisticated intertwining of the two sociolinguistic concepts of *variability* and *indexicality*, including endogenous and exogenous factors pertaining to the process of linguistic mediation, that renders the translation of this *genderlect* extremely complex.

3   Japanese-Italian Subtitles and the Survey Dataset

Before introducing the dataset used in this research, it is important to mention a few brief considerations regarding Japanese-Italian subtitling, as well as gender themed film distribution in Italy. Unfortunately, apart from a few presentations at international festivals, the author would like to note that the majority of these films (which, truth be told, are not very numerous even in Japan) have not made it into Italian cinemas, leading to a complete lack of official translations (both dubbing and subtitling) for the translation pair under investigation. This scarcity of films results in a substantial lack of datasets available for an in-depth analysis on AVT.[5] In most cases, the translations from Japanese to Italian found online are created by amateurs (*fansubbing*), often mediated through English and they reveal – as indicated in recent studies (by Bruti, Zanotti 2012; Bruti, Buffagni, Garzelli 2017; Díaz-Cintas 2014) – not only an incomplete knowledge of the source language – but also a true absence of theoretical and technical knowledge about translation (Ōta 2007; Vitucci 2013, 2016a, 2018, 2019).

---

5 Compared to the situation for most modern European languages.

To remedy this situation, for the Japanese-Italian subtitling of the film *Close-Knit* (2017, Ogigami Naoko) investigated in this study, a mini-corpus of twenty-four interlingual subtitles was used, with corresponding back-translations in English that were extrapolated from four scenes in the film (a total of eight minutes). This corpus was created by six groups of students, enrolled in an audiovisual translation course sponsored by the Emilia-Romagna region, between March and July of 2018 (500 hours of lessons on theory and workshops). In each group there were five students divided equally by sex who – before subtitling – have deepened sociolinguistic gender issues within the realm of audiovisual translation studies for the Japanese-Italian pair. No restrictions were imposed and the translation was the result of an autonomous coordination that took place in each group. For the aims of this study, two of the four scenes were chosen for the following intralinguistic characteristics: 1. Rinko is the main speaker; 2. Tomo (the niece) is the main person being spoken to; 3. Rinko synchronically uses mixed elements of *motherese*, *joseigo*, and neutral speech (*futsūgo*) in *their* utterances and in every scene. The distinctive markers of *motherese* and *joseigo* will be analysed through the morphosyntactic and lexical levels of dialogue, following the indications of Ishiguro (2013) and Nakamura (2013). The final aim of this study is to: 1. Accurately describe the *genderlect* of the transgender protagonist in the film (Rinko); 2. Analyse the interlinguistic subtitling produced by the six groups involved in the creation of the subtitles; 3. Understand the degree of reliability of the translation from an identity perspective and track any ideological manipulation of gender, if it emerges.

4　Scene analysis: Rinko's Genderlect (Intralingual Level)

Rinko, the protagonist of *Close-Knit*, is a young transgender person (male-to-female transsexual, *nyūhāfu* Japanese) who lives with Makio, *their* partner, in the Tokyo suburbs. One day, Makio comes home with his niece (Tomo) who was abandoned by her mother. Rinko and Makio decide to take care of her and, despite Tomo's initial reticence, the bond that blossoms between Rinko and Tomo soon becomes an intense, authentic mother-daughter relationship.

4.1　Scene 1: Rinko and Tomo in the Bedroom

Setting　In this first scene, Rinko discovers that Tomo was having nightmares. Tomo woke up after having dreamt she had heard her missing mother's voice. Rinko kneels down on the futon and tries to comfort her. Reassured by Rinko's presence, Tomo makes an odd request, asking to touch Rinko's breasts. Rinko accepts, in good spi-

rits, and Tomo thus establishes her first physical contact with her new *transgender* mother.

Scene 1

Line	Speaker	Captions and Trascription	English (back) translation from Italian subs
1	Rinko	どうした? Dō shita?	Everything good?
2	Rinko	大丈夫、大丈夫。 Daijōbu, daijōbu.	Nothing happened.
3	Rinko	大丈夫だよー… Daijōbu dayō…	Don't worry.
4	Rinko	タオルボロボロだね。 Taoru boro boro dane.	That handkerchief is a disaster.
5	Tomo	いいの。 Ii no.	I don't care.
6	Rinko	まだまだ赤ちゃんだなー! Mada mada akachan ndanā!	You're still small.
7	Rinko	赤ちゃーん!いい子でちゅねー!はい!抱っこしましょうー。 Akachān! Ii ko dechunē! Hai! Dakko shimashō.	Come here love. You're my little one. Let me hug you.
8	Rinko	オッパイ,オッパイー! Oppai, oppaī!	Let me cuddle you.
9	Tomo	ね,オッパイ触ってみたい。 Ne, oppai sawatte mitai.	Your boobs. Can I touch them?
10	Rinko	いいよ。 Ii yo.	Go ahead.
11	Rinko	本物よりやや固めらしいよ。 Hommono yori katame rashii yo.	Compared to real ones, mines are much harder.
12	Rinko	どう? Dō?	Don't you think so?

13	Tomo	うん。やや固めかも。	Yes. They are harder indeed.
		Uhm. Yaya katame kamo.	
14	Tomo	でも,ちょっと気持ちいい。	And though they're still nice to touch.
		Demo, chotto kimochi ii.	

Analysis   Rinko's quasi-monologue immediately unfolds in a maternal manner that is first visible on an extra and paraverbal level, then gradually becomes clear on a verbal level. Rinko's affectionate attitude is immediately apparent on an intralinguistic level in the first few lines, 2 (*Daijōbu, daijōbu → Nothing happened*) and 3 (*Daijōbu dayō... → Don't worry*) characterized above all by elements of prosody (softly spoken in a soothing rhythm) and extraverbal elements (sitting behind Tomo while caressing her back and gently patting her back rhythmically). On a verbal level, however, Rinko's role as a mother becomes more apparent starting from line 4 (*Taoru boro boro dane → That handkerchief is a disaster*), where Rinko uses the agglutinative suffix *dane* (→ *Isn't it?*), intentionally using modes of expression aimed at establishing the initial affectionate contact with Tomo. This behaviour becomes more marked in line 6 (*Mada mada akachan ndanā! → You're still small*) where certain morphosyntactic strategies are purposely employed, such as using the noun *akachan* (→ *Baby*), followed by the informal suffix -*ndanā* with a long *a* vowel (→ *Aren't you?*), used to establish empathy with the speaker. In line 7 (*Akachān! Ii ko dechunē! Hai! Dakko shimashō. Mada akachan ndanā! → Come here love. You're my little one*) Rinko uses the syllabic modulation of the courtesy suffix -*desu* (*dechu*) which is typical of *motherese*, then enters into declarative syntax (*Dakko shimashō!, → Let me hug you*) which is used to reassure Tomo, and is said with an ascending tone in the guise of a musical ditty. This declarative speech pattern occurs again in line 8, with the same prosody (*Oppai, oppaī! → Let me cuddle you*), but this time with a clear reference to nursing a baby (*Oppai* literally means *Breast, bosom*) which seems to complete Rinko's immersion into the role of Tomo's new mother. The tone of the dialogue suddenly changes only when the child asks if she can touch Rinko's breasts. Here, Rinko appears to present *themself* as more of an equal with the interlocutor when the typical markers of *motherese* disappear from *their* speech patterns and move to a neutral and more friendly tone where the sole aims seems to be establishing a bond of mutual trust and eliminating hierarchy. This is particularly noticeable in line 10 (*Ii yo! → Go ahead!*), 11 (*Hommono yori katame rashii yo → Compared to real ones, mines are much harder*) and 12 (*Dō? → Don't you think so?*) where there is an evident phenomenon of *language shift* with identity; the *motherese* gives way to a plain register of Japanese (*futsūgo*) that only presents connotations of informality, without any further connotation of gender.

4.2 Scene 2: Rinko and Tomo in the Living Room

<u>Setting</u>   In the second scene selected, Rinko is at home sitting in the living room alongside Tomo. Tomo has just been involved in an unpleasant interaction at the supermarket where the mother of one of her friends, surprised to see her with Rinko, told Tomo not to hang around with "strange" people. Bothered by this woman's intrusion, Tomo sprayed her with dish washing soap, forcing supermarket security to intervene. Although Tomo's reaction was justifiable, since she refused to apologize to her friend's mother, Rinko decided to talk to her about it, once they got back home.

Figure 2 Rinko and Tomo in the living room

Scene 2

Line	Speaker	Captions and Trascription	English (back)translation from Italian Subs
1	Rinko	あたしに謝れてなんであのおばさんにあやまれなかったの? Atashi ni ayamarete nande ano obasan ni ayamarenakattano?	Tell me why you didn't apologize to that lady?
2	Rinko	なんか言われた?あのおばさんに? Nanka iwareta? Ano obasan ni?	Did she say something?
3	Rinko	もしかしてあたしのこと? Moshikashite atashi no koto?	Did she say something about me?
4	Rinko	ね,トモ… Ne, Tomo…	Hey, Tomo.
5	Rinko	何があっても,何を言われても Nani ga attemo, nani o iwarete mo	No matter what happens
6	Rinko	あんなことしちゃ絶対だめ。 Anna koto shicha zettai dame.	No matter what they say

7	Rinko	飲み込んで,踏ん張って,我慢して Nomikonde, funbatte, gaman shite	You cannot react like that. You have to swallow. You must be patient,
8	Rinko	怒りが通り過ぎ去るのを待つの。 Ikari ga toorisugisaruno o matsuno.	and wait until the anger flows.
9	Tomo	通り過ぎないときは? Toorisuginai toki wa?	And if the anger doesn't flow?
10	Rinko	あたしはね… Atashi wa ne…	I do like this.
11	Rinko	これですっげー悔しいこととか Kore de suggē kuyashii koto toka	Whenever I'm angry.
12	Rinko	死ぬほど悲しかったりすることを Shinu hodo kanashikattari suru koto o	Or when I feel uncredibly sad.
13	Rinko	全部チャラにするの。 Zenbu chara ni suruno.	I knit.
14	Rinko	誰かに洗剤をぶっかける代わりにね。 Darekani senzai o bukkakeru kawarini ne.	Instead of spraying people with detergent.
15	Rinko	ザッケンジャネーよ! Zakkenjanēyo!	"Ugly idiots!"
16	Rinko	畜生!畜生って! *Chikushō! Chikushōtte!*	"Fuck! Fuck!"
17	Rinko	一目一目編みながら Hitome hitome aminagara	Knit after knit
18	Rinko	そうするとね Sō suru to ne	I do like this,
19	Rinko	いつのまにか心がすーっと平らになる。 Itsunomanika kokoro ga sutto taira ni naru.	and after a while I cool down.
20	Tomo	今日の腹巻きはリンコさんが作ったの? Kyō no haramaki wa Rinko san ga tsukuttano?	Did you knit Makio's wool corset?
21	Rinko	そうよ。 Sō yo!	Of course!
22	Rinko	トモにもなんか作ってあげる。 Tomo ni mo nanka tsukutte ageru.	I can knit something for you too.
23	Rinko	マフラーでも。セーターでも。手袋でも。 *Mafurā demo. Sētā demo. Tebukuro demo.*	A scarf, a sweater, maybe some gloves.
24	Rinko	何がいい? Nani ga ii?	What would you prefer?
25	Tomo	こんな暖かい日に考えられないよ。 Konna atatakai hi ni kangaerarenai yo.	It's so hot that I cannot even think about it.
26	Rinko	そりゃそうだよね。 Sorya sō dayone.	You're absolutely right.

Analysis   After the unpleasant incident at the supermarket, Rinko understands that she should comfort Tomo, and make her feel that she's on her side. Even though Rinko doesn't want to admit it, they know that the reason behind the confrontation was the other mother's discriminatory attitude against them. Rinko takes advantage of this to break the ice, and asks Tomo some questions in line 1 (*Atashi ni ay-*

amarete nande ano obasan ni ayamarenakattano? → *Tell me why you apologized to me and not to that lady?*) and 3 (*Moshikashite atashi no koto?* → *Did she say something about me?*). These are marked on a paraverbal level by a soft tone of voice, and on a verbal level by the Japanese suffix *-no*, used in its interrogative form, as well as the personal pronoun *atashi*, both typical of the feminine gender. In this context, Rinko appears to present *themself* in the role of a mother and/or friend, showing openness and willingness to listen to Tomo, who is quite embarrassed. This behaviour is emphasized on an extraverbal level analysing the posture (Rinko is sitting on the couch, with legs crossed and hands together in *their* lap) and eye contact (Rinko is looking towards Tomo, while Tomo is rigidly staring at the table in front of the couch) (Figure 2). Rinko continues in the role of friend/confidant during the next few lines, which are also marked by typical *joseigo* elements: it is noticeable at the beginning of line 4 with the use of the discourse marker *ne* (→ *Ehi*), in line 6 with the agglutinative verb *shicha* (instead of *shitewa*), as well as the reiteration of previous linguistic strategies seen in lines 8 and 13 (suffix *-no* used as an interrogative) as well as lines 10, 14, and 18 (female pronoun *atashi* and discourse marker *ne* at the end of the sentence). On an extraverbal level, postural analysis reveals Rinko is even more deeply involved emotionally: though *they* are sitting next to Tomo on the couch, *their* body is turned to face Tomo, trying to maintain direct eye contact. From a literary-theatrical point of view (Vitucci 2019), Rinko is in the act of admonishing Tomo and advises her to keep calm and never act out against people without good reason. From a visual standpoint, however, it is interesting to note how the director frames this dialogue in a shot that gradually focuses onto the two speakers, as if the scene were underlining the importance of this verbal exchange.

On a sociolinguistic level, the conversation's tone suddenly changes in line 15, while Rinko is explaining to Tomo how to calm down. The dialogue unexpectedly changes to an interior monologue, where the prevalent linguistic markers are a diageneric neutral register that's occasionally vulgar. This is particularly noticeable in lines 15 (*Zakkenjanēyo!* → *Ugly idiots!*), 16 (*Chikushō! Chikushōtte!* → *Fuck! Fuck!*), 17, 18 and 19 (*Hitome hitome aminagara, sō suru to ne, itsunomanika kokoro ga sutto taira ni naru* → *Knit after knit, I do like this. And after a while I cool down*) where Rinko's *code-shifting* as signalled by the plain register (*futsūgo*) seems to intentionally draw the viewer's attention to *their* personal experience, juxtaposing it with the more feminine and maternal register that Rinko uses when speaking to Tomo. The translation of this passage shows how extremely complex it was for the Italian subtitlers in terms of identity, as it requires recreating an emotional and psychological state in the target language (Vitucci 2016b), which in Japanese is rendered extremely clear on a lexical and morphosyntactic level. This attitude can also

be found in the following lines, when Rinko, having vented *their* frustrations, asks if she can knit Tomo something to wear, while maintaining an extremely "fluid" *genderlect* on a sociolinguistic level which resorts to the same linguistic register as before, simply without the markers of either *hahaoyago* or *joseigo*. This is apparent in lines 21 (*Sō yo! → Of course!*), 22 (*Tomo ni mo nanka tsukutte ageru → I can knit something for you too*), 23 (*Mafurā demo. Sētā demo. Tebukuro demo → A scarf, a sweater, maybe some gloves*) and 24 (*Nani ga ii? → What would you prefer?*) in the same scene. Most likely, the only elements that remind the viewer of Rinko's transgender identity can be found on a paraverbal level in *their* tone of voice (which is low and peaceful), on an extraverbal level in clothing choices (Rinko is wearing female clothing with a feminine haircut), and in Rinko's body language (keeps knitting while looking down at the knitting needles).

5 Scene Analysis: Rinko's Genderlect (Interlingual Level)

A quick analysis of the mini-corpus, composed of twenty-four interlinguistic subtitlings, created for the film *Close-Knit*, by a group of six students enrolled in the audiovisual translation course, demonstrates a rather low level of reliability in the translation of gender. Of the fifty-seven lines translated into Italian which are present in the four scenes (eight minutes of screen time) being investigated in this study, only 15% attempted to maintain the diageneric markings of Rinko's *genderlect* in Italian and in 49% of the sample, the markings were completely erased. On the other hand, the remaining 36% (concerning the lines in the "neutral" Japanese register), while more easily translated into Italian, did not contribute to the description of Rinko's personality, but simplified and flattened *their* identity through translation solutions that did not fit well with the rest of the original lines. As Zabalbeascoa (2012) suggests, these inconsistencies could be driven by causes endemic to the translation process, such as: spatio-temporal limitations of the subtitles, typological differences in the languages given in the translation pair, and intersemiotic difficulties of translation due to both icon and subtitles sharing the space on the screen (Chaume Varela 2004; Taylor 2016; Vitucci 2018, 2019). In other recent studies (Von Flotow, Josephy-Hernández 2018), these inconsistencies emerge from factors external to the translation process, such as potential self-censoring on the translator's part (known as the moral gate keeper's effect), their personal experience in the field of translation regarding gender themed films, as well as possible censoring by intermediaries or those paying for the tran-

slation.[6] The following will analyse the interlingual results obtained from one of the six translations of the film, specifically referencing the two scenes introduced in the previous paragraph.

5.1   Scene 1: Rinko and Tomo in the Bedroom

Scene 1

Line	Speaker	Captions and Trascription	Italian subs	English (back) translation
1	Rinko	どうした? Dō shita?	Tutto bene?	Everything good?
2	Rinko	大丈夫、大丈夫。 Daijōbu, daijōbu.	Non è successo niente.	Nothing happened.
3	Rinko	大丈夫だよー… Daijōbu dayō…	Tranquilla.	Don't worry.
4	Rinko	タオルボロボロだね。 *Taoru boro boro **dane***.	Quel **fazzolettino** è un **disastro**.	That handkerchief is a disaster.
5	Tomo	いいの。 Ii no.	Non mi interessa.	I don't care.
6	Rinko	まだまだ赤ちゃんだなー! *mada mada **akachan ndanā**!*	Sei ancora **piccolina**, d'altronde.	You're still small.
7	Rinko	赤ちゃーん!いい子でちゅねー!はい!抱っこしましょうー。 ***Akachān**! Ii ko **dechunē**! Hai! **Dakko shimashō**.*	Vieni qui **amore**. Sei la mia **piccolina**!	Come here love. You're my little one. Let me hug you.
8	Rinko	オッパイ,オッパイー! ***Oppai, oppaī!***	Fatti coccolare!	Let me cuddle you.
9	Tomo	ね,オッパイ触ってみたい。 Ne, oppai sawatte mitai.	Le tue tette… me le fai toccare?	Your boobs. Can I touch them?
10	Rinko	いいよ。 Ii yo.	Fai pure.	Go ahead.
11	Rinko	本物よりやや固めらしいよ。 Hommono yori katame rashii yo.	Rispetto a quelle vere… sono molto più sode.	Compared to real ones, mines are much harder.
12	Rinko	どう? Dō?	Non pensi?	Don't you think so?
13	Tomo	うん。やや固めかも。 Uhm. Yaya katame kamo.	Sì. Sono un po' dure.	Yes. They are harder indeed.
14	Tomo	でも,ちょっと気持ちいい。 Demo, chotto kimochi ii.	Sono comunque belle da toccare.	And though they're still nice to touch.

---

[6]   With the specific translation used for this study, however, the subtitles were not commissioned for commercial distribution.

<u>Analysis</u>   In Scene 1 there are six lines where Rinko defines *their* identity verbally (lexis and morphosyntax) and paraverbally (through tone of voice), intentionally moving into the feminine sphere. According to Japanese scholars Nakamura (2010; 2013) and Hasegawa (2012), Rinko manifests *their* gender identity by adapting the available linguistic and paralinguistic resources based on Tomo's presence, being in the bedroom with her late at night, and immersing *themself* in *their* new role of being a mother. In this situation, it's easy to note how Rinko's use of language includes more *variability* than would be expected from either *their* original biological sex or *their* gender identity. The relationship between one's own idiolect and the speech context leads to a reinterpretation of the meaning of various words in this new context of translation. From an interlinguistic point of view, it's important to note how the elements of prosody in lines 2 (*Daijōbu, daijōbu*) and 3 (*Daijōbu dayō*) that are present in the source language (softly spoken in a soothing rhythm) and are easy to attribute to intimate and maternal speech, become diluted in the diamesic passage into Italian, turning into a completely neutral subtitle on a diageneric level (2 → *Non è successo niente*; 3 → *Tranquilla!*). Something appears to change, though, in line 4 (*Taoru boro boro dane → Quel fazzolettino è un disastro!*), where the agglutinative suffix *-dane*, typically used in the feminine sphere,[7] transfers into Italian by modulating the lexis with a diminutive (*fazzolettino → little hankerchief*) and inserting the noun *disastro* (→ *mess*, *disaster*) both acts signify Rinko's feelings of maternal attention towards a frightened Tomo. This translation approach is also found in line 6 (*Mada mada akachan ndanā! → Sei ancora piccolina, d'altronde*) where the intralinguistic use of the noun *akachan*, followed by the informal suffix *-ndanā* with an elongated *A* vowel, is rendered with the diminutive *piccolina* (→ *small*, *little one*). In line 7 (*Akachān! Ii ko dechunē! Hai! Dakko shimashō. Mada akachan ndanā! → Vieni qui amore. Sei la mia piccolina!*), we can see the insertion of the noun *amore* (→ *my dear*, *my love*) and, yet again, the diminutive *piccolina* in place of the syllabic modulation of the courtesy suffix *-desu* (*dechu*), which is typical in *motherese* and in declarative statements made in an ascendant, prosodic tone, in the guise of a musical ditty (*Dakko shimashō!*). The Italian subtitle, though, returns yet again to a rather sterile mood in line 8 (*Oppai, oppaī!*) when Rinko, with the same tone and a clear allusion to the act of nursing a baby, is translated as saying → *fatti coccolare!*, which cushions the emotional impact of the original term, as well as Rinko's intent to communicate and demonstrate that *they* are a real mother. The tone of this conversation suddenly changes when, in line 9 (*Ne, oppai sawatte mitai*), Tomo asks Rinko if she can touch Rinko's breasts. From this moment onward, Rinko assumes a more egalita-

---

7   At least, regarding normative ideology.

rian mood, taking on the role of a close friend for Tomo. This line does not pose any particular difficulties on an interlinguistic level. The language shift phenomenon marked by the switch from *motherese* to a neutral tone in line 10 (*Ii yo*), 11 (*Hommono yori katame rashii yo*), and 12 (*Dō?*), facilitates the process of adapting precisely because it does not require a shift in the character's identity, nor does it impose added semantic value that could in some way integrate other meaning into the specific indexical fields.

5.2 Scene 2: Rinko and Tomo in the Living Room

Scene 2

Line	Speaker	Captions and Trascription	Italian subs	English (back) translation
1	Rinko	あたしに謝れてなんであのおばさんにあやまれなかったの? ***Atashi*** *ni ayamarete nande ano obasan ni ayamarenakatta**no**?*	Spiegami perché non ti sei scusata con quella signora?	Tell me why you didn't apologize to that lady?
2	Rinko	なんか言われた?あのおばさんに? *Nanka iwareta? Ano obasan ni?*	Ti ha detto qualcosa, per caso?	Did she say something?
3	Rinko	もしかしてあたしのこと? *Moshikashite **atashi** no koto?*	Ti ha detto qualcosa su di me?	Did she say something about me?
4	Rinko	ね、トモ… ***Ne**, Tomo…*	Ehi, Tomo.	Hey, Tomo.
5	Rinko	何があっても,何を言われても *Nani ga attemo, nani o iwarete mo*	Non importa cosa succede, non importa cosa dicono,	No matter what happens, no matter what they say,
6	Rinko	あんなことしちゃ絶対だめ。 *Anna koto **shicha** zettai dame.*	non puoi reagire così.	you cannot react like that.
7	Rinko	飲み込んで,踏ん張って,我慢して *Nomikonde, funbatte, gaman shite*	Devi mandare giù, portare pazienza	You have to swallow. You must be patient,
8	Rinko	怒りが通り過ぎ去るのを待つの。 *Ikari ga toorisugisaruno o matsu**no**.*	e aspettare che la rabbia passi.	and wait until the anger flows.
9	Tomo	通り過ぎないときは? *Toorisuginai toki wa?*	E se non passa?	And if the anger doesn't flow?
10	Rinko	あたしはね… ***Atashi** wa **ne**…*	Io faccio così,	I do like this.

11	Rinko	これですっげー悔しいこととか Kore de suggē kuyashii koto toka	quando sono arrabbiata	Whenever I'm angry.
12	Rinko	死ぬほど悲しかったりすることを Shinu hodo kanashikattari suru koto o	oppure triste da morire.	Or when I feel uncredibly sad.
13	Rinko	全部チャラにするの。 *Zenbu chara ni suru**no**.*	Lavoro a maglia.	I knit.
14	Rinko	誰かに洗剤をぶっかける代わりにね。 *Darekani senzai o bukkakeru kawarini **ne**.*	Invece di spruzzare la gente con il detersivo.	Instead of spraying people with detergent.
15	Rinko	ザッケンジャネーよ! Zakkenjanēyo!	"Brutti idioti!"	"Ugly idiots!"
16	Rinko	畜生!畜生って! *Chikushō! Chikushōtte!*	"Merda, merda!"	"Fuck! Fuck!"
17	Rinko	一目一目編みながら Hitome hitome aminagara	Punto dopo punto.	Knit after knit
18	Rinko	そうするとね Sō suru to ne	Faccio così	I do like this,
19	Rinko	いつのまにか心がすーっと平らになる。 Itsunomanika kokoro ga sutto taira ni naru.	e dopo un po' mi calmo.	and after a while I calm down.
20	Tomo	今日の腹巻きはリンコさんが作ったの? Kyō no haramaki wa Rinko san ga tsukuttano?	Hai fatto tu la panciera di lana di Makio?	Did you do Makio's wool corset?
21	Rinko	そうよ。 Sō yo!	Sì.	Yes.
22	Rinko	トモにもなんか作ってあげる。 Tomo ni mo nanka tsukutte ageru.	Posso fare qualcosa anche per te.	I can knit something for you too.
23	Rinko	マフラーでも。セーターでも。手袋でも。 *Mafurā demo. Sētā demo. Tebukuro demo.*	Una sciarpa, un maglione, dei guanti.	A scarf, a sweater, some gloves.
24	Rinko	何がいい? Nani ga ii?	Cosa vorresti?	What do you want?
25	Tomo	こんな暖かい日に考えられないよ。 Konna atatakai hi ni kangaerarenai yo.	Fa troppo caldo per pensarci.	It's so hot that I cannot even think about it.
26	Rinko	そりゃそうだよね。 Sorya sō dayone.	Hai ragione.	You're right.

Analysis   The second scene proves to be extremely complex when translating into Italian, due to the protagonist's code shifting, which amplifies interlinguistic difficulties quite a bit. Rinko, who is worried about Tomo's rash behaviour, asks her some questions in line 1

(*Atashi ni ayamarete nande ano obasan ni ayamarenakattano?*) and
3 (*Moshikashite atashi no koto?*), paraverbally marked by a soft to-
ne of voice, and verbally marked by the Japanese suffix -*no* used in
its interrogative form, as well as the personal pronoun *atashi*, both
typically used by females. With these lines, the Italian subtitles give
use a translation that's substantially sterile and that does not offer
the target audience the shades of meaning contained in the original
prototext. Not surprisingly, this means the translations (1 → *Spiega-
mi perché non ti sei scusata con quella signora?* and 3 → *Ti ha det-
to qualcosa su di me?*) end up influencing the intersemiotic cohesion
of the text, creating a gap in the translation between the onscreen
image and the protagonist's *genderlect*. Again in the following, when
Rinko falls perfectly into a motherly role of teaching Tomo how to be-
have with adults (in lines 3 to 14), it becomes noticeable how the Ita-
lian translation is no longer able to integrate the constant incursion
of typical *joseigo* elements. For example, the discourse marker at the
beginning of the sentence *ne* (→ *Ehi*) in line 4, the agglutinative verb
shicha (instead of *shitewa*) in line 6, the reiteration of the -*no* suffix
used in its interrogative form in lines 8, 13, and 10, as well as the choi-
ce of the feminine personal pronoun *atashi* and the discourse marker
-*ne* at the end of the sentence in lines 14 and 18. In these lines, the
Italian translation produces an "asexual" genderless tone that does
not contrast with the scene where Rinko intentionally adopts a mo-
re neutral language stance. The result is that Rinko's creative use of
language, which allows *them* to carefully nuance *their* identity whi-
le speaking to Tomo, all but vanishes. The reasoning for this transla-
tion approach can be partially found in the typological differences
between the two languages: Italian does not offer the same richness
of pronouns as Japanese (*io* does not carry the same indexical cha-
racteristics as *atashi*); and a few of the pragmatic elements in Japa-
nese (such as the -*no* suffix) are inevitably lost in the different sen-
tence constructions available in the target language. However, the
impression is that the Italian subtitles would have improved if speci-
fic translation strategies had been used to harmonize with the mul-
timedia context, for example, lexical modulation.[8]

Rinko's "fluid" speech loses more of its efficacy in the following
lines when the plain Japanese *futsūgo* register gradually loses the
markers of *joseigo* to mark an internal quasi-monologue where Rin-
ko bares all, revealing *their* weaknesses. The expletives in lines 15
(*Zakkenjanēyo!*) and 16 (*Chikushō! Chikushōtte!*), as well as the brief
description of *their* state of mind and the therapeutic effects of knit-
ting, between lines 10 and 19, clearly demonstrate how Rinko goes

---

8 The use of nicknames and terms of endearment, or the repetition of adjectives (Vi-
tucci 2016).

beyond diagenesis and beyond the limits of the male/female duality. This appears when, after Rinko abandons the markers of feminine speech and begins swearing (which is primarily part of masculine sphere in Japan), *they* immediately find refuge in a narrative style that favours factual storytelling without any gender markers. In Italian, these lines lose the original intralinguistic emphasis signalled by the adverbs (*suggē*), ideophones (*sutto*), lexical repetition (*hitome hitome*), and postpositions (*-toka*), turning into a flat chronicle of events that describes, perhaps due to the limited space available to subtitles, a person who is less engaged and with less conviction than in the original version (→ *Io faccio così, quando sono arrabbiata oppure triste da morire. Lavoro a maglia. Invece di spruzzare la gente con il detersivo. Brutti idioti! Merda, merda! Punto dopo punto. Faccio così e dopo un po' mi calmo*). In this case, we could even sustain that not adequately rendering this diageneric shift ended up directly influencing this character's identity construction in the target language. Therefore, it is also not surprising that in lines 21 to 24 (*Sō yo! Tomo ni mo nanka tsukutte ageru! Mafurā demo. Sētā demo. Tebukuro demo. Nani ga ii?*), Rinko's excitement when offering to knit Tomo some new things to wear seems to be diluted in the translation, which does not convey the attention a mother would show her own child. The effect is that of a different Rinko, who's described as stranger who's struggling in a cold and detached way with a child *they* barely know. (→ *Posso fare qualcosa anche per te. Una sciarpa, un maglione, dei guanti. Cosa vorresti?*). Unfortunately, there is no trace of Rinko's complex inner feelings, personal experience, *their* special relationship with Tomo, or any characteristics of *their* identity.

6 Final Remarks and Future Perspectives

Díaz-Cintas (2014) reminds us that the concern for sociolinguistic variations and the scarce intercultural capacity of subtitles has become nowadays a theme of great relevance in our society where exchanges acquire an increasingly audiovisualized and multilingual nature. In particular, as Santipolo (2006) suggests in this regard, since the analysis of diageneric variation reveals the anthropological and sociocultural schemes of the societies under investigation together with the roles gender plays within them, translators should be particularly attentive not to convey and reinforce stereotypes in their target cultures when transcoding them (De Marco 2006; 2016; Okamoto, Shibamoto Smith 2004). As also illustrated in the above scenes, Rinko's *genderlect* challenges the belief that Japanese society can be naturally divided into two sexes/genders and that there are two separate linguistic codes for female and male speakers: on the contrary, *their* talk mirrors how "liquid" identities can be molded by

carefully modulating lexicon, morphosyntax and prosody according to the roles speakers intend to assume (Fay 2011; Lunsing, Maree 2004; Maree 2010; 2018; Okamoto 2016; Zottola 2018).

From a translatological perspective, this study shows the complexity of rendering Japanese gender into Italian, both for typological reasons (therefore intrinsic to the translation pair), and for reasons external to the realm of translation. In our opinion, a significant role was played by the gender assumptions the subtitlers involuntarily reflected into the Italian translation. The objective difficulties in the verbal rendering of these diageneric shifts that are present in Rinko's speech patterns, stem from a different conception of identity in Japanese and how it is rendered verbally. Thus, we find ourselves in a somewhat "diageneric void" when subtitling from a different cultural latitude. From an intralingual perspective that is naturally generative (*engendering*, in fact), we can reflect on the possible strategies to adopt when fluid and non-conforming identities must be spoken from outside the geo-cultural borders of the source society that produced the work. As already shown in the studies by Nakamura (2010; 2013) and Okamoto (2016), when *linguistic variability* (i.e. the relationship between biological sex and language) facilitates manifestations of identity that exist partially between one language and another, or sociolinguistic behaviours that tend to be predetermined at the normative level, then the phenomenon of *indexicality* (the relationship between linguistic expressions and context) becomes quite complex to manage in the case of *queer* identities. This is due to the interweaving of the speaker's multiple identities with the contextual / situational pressures of speech that often leads to creative uses of language, thus providing added semantic value that integrates with the consolidated meanings, in the specific indexical fields of reference.

Undoubtedly, respecting these identities is not an easy task for the translator. Nevertheless, in order to find new ways of conveying "liquid" identities in translation, subtitlers must overcome interlinguistic and intercultural distances and losses by conferring to their translation a more dynamic aspect (Osimo 2014) which – especially in the case of diageneric adaptation from Japanese into Italian – can include hypocorism, diminutives and profanities. In addition – in order to reach this goal – it could be also necessary a creative manipulation of the linguistic and extralinguistic resources at hand with the purpose of avoiding stereotyped registers in the target language (*yakuwarigo* in Japanese) and creating a so-called *catabolic effect* (Nakamura 2013) thanks to the semiotic cohesion produced by the complex relation between text and images (Chaume Varela 2004; Perego 2005; 2009; Vitucci 2013, 2018, 2019). This delicate operation will compel the translator to not only connect the verbal pattern of characters with their sociocultural context, but also to transmit their ethnic, social, sexual and geographic identification (Katan 1999; Massid-

da, Casarini 2017; Osimo 2014; Sato-Rossberg, Wakabayashi 2012). According to Abe (2010), Japanese *transgenders* and *crossdressers* continually break down the barriers in their speech imposed by cis-sexism. Therefore, translation becomes a fundamental tool in challenging dominant heterosexist ideologies, especially in patriarchal societies such as Italy. Particularly in the field of audiovisual translation, subtitling can take on this challenge and provide an opportunity to give voice to minorities and differing gender perspectives, in the overarching goal of greater social inclusion. In order to overcome the obstacles that exist today leading to poor renditions of sociolinguistic variation in certain audiovisual materials (Díaz-Cintas 2014; Katan 2014; Ranzato 2012), especially for the translation pair of Japanese-Italian under investigation, it is necessary to: 1. Extend the number of datasets available to researchers by adding official (not amateur) translations of new films on this topic; 2. Concentrate research efforts on intra and interlinguistic analysis, avoiding translations from English to extend the literary corpus of reference for audiovisual materials; and 3. Through this, capture any trends or practices established in the subtitlings that have been analyzed.

Bibliography

Abe, Hideko (2010). *Queer Japanese – Gender and Sexual Identity through Linguistic Practices*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Alfano, Vincenzo (2018). "Different Gender Stereotypes for Different Subtitles: Divorce – Italian Style". *Cultus*, 1, 77-95.

Bernal, Elisenda (2012). "The Translation of Fictive Orality and Diastratic Variation: Appreciative Derivation". Brumme, Jenny; Espunya, Anna (eds), *The Translation of Fictive Dialogue*. Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 155-64.

Bruti, Silvia; Zanotti, Serenella (2012). "Orality Markers in Professional and Amateur Subtitling: The Case of Vocatives and Address Pronouns". Buffagni, Claudia; Garzelli, Beatrice (eds), *Film Translation from East to West. Dubbing, Subtitling and Didactic Practice*. Bern: Peter Lang, 167-92.

Bruti, Silvia; Buffagni, Claudia; Garzelli, Beatrice (2017). *Dalla Voce Al Segno*. Milano: Hoepli.

Burnham, Denis; Kitamura, Christine (2003). "Pitch and Communicative Intent in Mother's Speech: Adjustments for Age and Sex in the First Year". *Infancy*, 4, 85-110.

Burnham, Denis et al. (2002). "Universality and Specificity in Infant-directed Speech: Pitch Modifications as a Function of Infant Age and Sex in a Tonal and Non-tonal Language". *Infant Behavior and Development*, 24, 372-92.

Chaume Varela, Frederic (2004). "Film Studies and Translation Studies: Two Disciplines at Stake in Audiovisual Translation". *Meta*, 49(1), 12-24.

De Marco, Marcella (2006). "Audiovisual Translation from a Gender Perspective". *Jostrans*, 6, 1-10.

De Marco, Marcella (2009). "Gender Portrayal in Dubbed and Subtitled Come- dies". Dìaz-Cintas, Jorge (ed.), *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation*. Bri- stol; Buffalo; Toronto: Multilingual Matters, 176-94.

De Marco, Marcella (2016). "The Engendering Approach in Audiovisual Transla- tion". *Target*, 28(2), 314-25.

Dìaz-Cintas, Jorge (2012). "Clearing the Smoke to See the Screen: Ideological Manipulation in Audiovisual Translation". *Meta*, 57(2), 279-92.

Dìaz-Cintas, Jorge (2014). "La questione della qualità nel sottotitolaggio". Gar- zelli, Beatrice; Baldo, Michela (eds), *Subtitling and Intercultural Communi- cation*. Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 291-312.

Díaz Pérez, Francisco Javier (2018). "Language and Identity Representation in the English Subtitles of Almodovar's Films". *Cultus*, 1, 96-121.

Dore, Margherita; Zarrelli, Ilaria (2018). "Transfeminine Identity and HIV/AIDS in Audiovisual Translation Dallas Buyers Club and Its Italian Subtitled Ver- sion". Williams, Julia et al. (eds), *Translation and Gender: Discourse Strate- gies to Shape Gender*. Cantabria: Cantabria University Press, 1-19.

Eckert, Penelope (2008). "Variation and the Indexical Field". *Journal of Socio- linguistics*, 12(4), 453-76.

Fay, Ledvinka (2011). *What the fuck are you talking about? Traduzione, omis- sione e censura nel doppiaggio e nel sottotitolaggio in Italia*. Torino: Eris.

Ferguson, Charles; Snow, Catherine (1977). *Talking to Children. Language Input and Acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gottlieb, Nanette (2006). *Linguistic Stereotyping and Minority Groups in Japan*. New York: Routledge.

Harvey, Keith (2000). "Gay Community, Gay Identity, and the Translated Text". *TTR. Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction*, 13(1), 137-65.

Hasegawa, Yoko (2012). *The Routledge Course in Japanese Translation*. New York: Routledge.

Hok-Sze Leung, Helen (2016). "Always in Translation – Trans Cinema across Lan- guages". *Transgender Studies Quarterly*, 3(4), 433-47.

Hyams, Nina (2008). "Reflections on Motherese". Miwa Isobe et al. (eds), *An Enterprise in the Cognitive Science of Language*. Tōkyō: Hitsuji Shobe Pu- blishing, 1-12.

Inoue, Miyako (2003). "Speech Without a Speaking Body: Japanese Women's Language in Translation". *Language & Communication*, 23, 315-30.

Ishiguro Kei 石黒圭 (2013). *Nihongo wa kūki ga kimeru – shakaigengogaku nyūmon* 日本語は空気が決める・社会言語学入門 (Japanese Determines the Context – Introduction to Sociolinguistics). Tōkyō: Kōbunsha shinsho.

Itakura, Hiroko (2015). "Constructing Japanese Men's Multidimensional Identi- ties: A Case Study of Mixed-gender Talk". *Pragmatics*, 25(2), 179-203.

Katan, David (1999). *Translating Cultures*. New York: Routledge.

Katan, David (2014). "Intercultural Communication, Mindful Translation and Squeezing Culture on the Screen". Garzelli, Beatrice; Baldo, Michela (eds), *Subtitling and Intercultural Communication*. Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 55-75.

Lunsing, Wim; Maree, Claire (2004). "Shifting Speakers – Negotiating Reference in Relation to Sexuality and Gender". Okamoto, Shigeko; Shibamoto Smith, Janet (eds), *Japanese Language, Gender and Ideology – Cultural Models and Real People*. New York: Oxford University Press, 70-89.

Maree, Claire (2010). "Grrrl-Queens – onē-kotoba and the Negotiations of He- terosexist Gender Language Norms and Lesbo (homo)phobic Stereotypes

in Japanese". Martin, Fran et al. (eds), *AsiapacifiQueer – Rethinking Genders and Sexualities*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 76-93.

Maree, Claire (2018). "Onē kotoba wa nanika おネエことばは何か (What is onē kotoba?)". *Nihongogaku* 日本語学 (Japanese Language), 37(4), 22-30.

Massidda, Serenella; Casarini, Alice (2017). "SubMeDo: The Development of Fansubbing in Traditional Dubbing Countries – The Case of Italy". Orrego-Carmona, David; Lee, Yvonne (eds), *Non-Professional Subtitling*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 63-83.

Matsui Toshihiko 松井利彦 (2018). "Joseigo no rekishi 女性語の歴史 (History of Female Language)". *Nihongogaku* 日本語学 (Japanese Language), 37(4), 56-67.

Michiura Toshihiko 道浦俊彦 (2018). "Heisei no masumedia no kotoba 平成のマスメディアのことば (The Language of Heisei mass-media)". *Nihongogaku* 日本語学 (Japanese Language), 37(10), 36-45.

Nakamura Momoko 中村桃子 (2010). *Jendā de manabu gengogaku* ジェンダーで学ぶ言語学 (Studying Linguistics Through Gender). Tōkyō: Sekaishisōsha.

Nakamura Momoko 中村桃子 (2013). *Honyaku ga tsukuru nihongo* 翻訳がつくる日本語 (The Japanese Produced in Translation). Tōkyō: Hatakusha.

Okamoto, Shigeko; Shibamoto Smith, Janet (eds) (2004). *Japanese Language, Gender and Ideology – Cultural Models and Real People*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Okamoto, Shigeko (2016). "Variability and Multiplicity in the Meanings of Stereotypical Gendered Speech in Japanese". *East Asian Pragmatics*, 5(39), 6-39.

Osimo, Bruno (2014). *Manuale del traduttore*. Milano: Hoepli.

Ōta Naoko 太田直子 (2007). *Jimaku wa ginmaku no katasumi de nihongo ga hen da to sakebu* 字幕は銀幕の片隅で日本語が変だと叫ぶ (Subtitles Shout that Japanese is Strange from a Corner on the Silver Screen). Tōkyō: Kōbunsha shinsho.

Perego, Elisa (2005). *La traduzione audiovisiva*. Roma: Carocci.

Perego, Elisa (2009). "The Codification of Nonverbal Information in Subtitled Texts". Díaz Cintas, Jorge (ed.), *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 58-69.

Ranzato, Irene (2012). "Gayspeak and Gay Subjects in Audiovisual Translation: Strategies in Italian Dubbing". *Meta*, 57(2), 369-84.

Ranzato, Irene; Zanotti, Serenella (2018). *Linguistic and Cultural Representation in Audiovisual Translation*. New York: Routledge.

Saint-Georges, Catherine et al. (2013). "Motherese in Interaction: At the Cross-Road of Emotion and Cognition?". *PLoS ONE*, 8(10), 1-17. DOI https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0078103.

Santipolo, Matteo (2006). *Dalla sociolinguistica alla glottodidattica*. Torino: UTET.

Sato-Rossberg, Nana; Wakabayashi, Judy (2012). *Translation and Translation Studies in the Japanese Context*. London; New York: Bloomsbury.

Snow, Catherine (1986). "Conversation with Children". Fletcher, Paul; Garman, Michael (eds), *Language Acquisition. Studies in First Language Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 69-89.

Taylor, Christopher (2016). "The Multimodal Approach in Audiovisual Translation". *Target*, 28(2), 222-35.

Vitucci, Francesco (2013). "Il sottotitolaggio nella didattica della lingua giapponese". *Analele Universitatii din Bucuresti. Limbi si literaturi straine* (The

Annals of Bucharest University. Faculty of Foreign Languages and Litera-
tures), 1, 37-53.

Vitucci, Francesco (2016a). *Ciak! Si sottotitola – Traduzione audiovisiva e didat-
tica del giapponese*. Bologna: Clueb.

Vitucci, Francesco (2016b). "L'utilizzo dei sottotitoli nella didattica della lingua
giapponese: un'esperienza di laboratorio presso l'Università Ca' Foscari di
Venezia". *Lend*, 3, 27-45.

Vitucci, Francesco (2017). "The Concepts of Ambiguity and Equivalence in In-
terlinguistic Japanese-italian Subtitling". *EL.LE*, 6(1), 125-44. DOI `http://
doi.org/10.14277/2280-6792/ELLE-6-1-17-7`.

Vitucci, Francesco (2018). "La coesione semiotica del testo audiovisivo – Ti-
pologie di esplicitazioni intersemiotiche nella sottotitolazione interlingui-
stica in italiano di lungometraggi giapponesi". *Quaderni di semantica*, 2,
1077-101.

Vitucci, Francesco (2019). "Prospettive diafasiche nella sottotitolazione giap-
ponese-italiano del lungometraggio Sayōnara keikoku di Ōmori Tatsushi".
Quaderni di Semantica, 5, 593-611.

Von Flotow, Luise; Josephy-Hernández, Daniel (2018). "Gender in Audiovisual
Translation Studies – Advocating for Gender Awareness". Pérez-González,
Luis (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook on Audiovisual Translation*. New York:
Routledge, 296-311.

Wakabayashi, Judy (1991). "Translation Between Unrelated Languages and
Cultures, as Illustrated by Japanese-English Translation". *Meta*, 36(2-3),
414-23.

Zabalbeascoa, Patrick (2012). "Translating Dialogues in Audiovisual Fiction".
Brumme, Jenny; Espunya, Anna (eds), *The Translation of Fictive Dialogue*.
Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 63-78.

Zottola, Angel (2018). "Narrating Transgender Identities: A Linguistic Perspec-
tive". *PIJ*, 3, 1-2.