Manga as Cross-cultural Literature:
The Effects of Translation on Cultural Perceptions

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Abstract:

In recent years, manga, anime and other elements of Japanese pop culture have gained increasing popularity in the United States. This has led to a wider awareness of Japanese culture through the appropriation these pop culture materials as a source of cultural information. Manga, in particular, provides visual as well as linguistic examples of Japanese culture, and thus has the potential to be an excellent source of cultural knowledge, perhaps even suitable for classroom use. However, as with any cross-cultural text, manga's ability to serve as an example of Japanese culture depends heavily on how it is translated.

Currently, most manga is translated for the purpose of entertainment, not scholarly discussion. Consequently, there is considerable push from publishing companies to gloss translations with Western ideas and cultural norms, on the assumption that the stories will then be more accessible to readers and have higher sales. Unfortunately, with growing awareness of the Japanese origins of manga, rewriting can instead lead to widespread misunderstanding of Japanese culture as being very similar to Western culture, especially when the series' pointedly retain their Japanese setting. This loss of cultural context and the misconceptions it encourages on the international stage are here exemplified through a case study of the English translation of the sports manga, *The Prince of Tennis*.

Introduction:

Japanese popular culture has become an increasingly influential force in the American market in the last few decades. From *Speed Racer* to *Pokemon*, *Hello Kitty* to *Sailor Moon*, Japanese-originated media broke into the American pop culture scene sometime in the mid-80s and has only grown more entrenched since. Today, there are more dubbed anime series playing in afternoon and Saturday morning time slots than there are American-made cartoons, and even Hollywood has caught on to the trend with movies like *The Matrix*, *Kill Bill*, and *Memoirs of a Geisha.* The film *Spirited Away*, by Japanese director Miyazaki Hayao[1], even won an Oscar for best animated picture in 2003. Major bookstores host extensive manga sections with not only a multitude of translated Japanese series, but manga-style comics written by Western authors trying their hand at the genre (Napier 2007, 5). America has become just as much of a recipient of cultural influence as it is an influencer, as Japanese popular culture represents one of the few growing industries of the American market: the manga industry alone had an estimated value between $155 and $180 million dollars in 2005 (Thompson 2007, xix).

Along with this rising popularity, consumers possess an emerging awareness of the Japanese origins manga and anime. This combination of an increase in presence of Japanese popular culture with the increase in awareness of its foreign origins has led to consumers using the aforementioned materials as a source of Japanese cultural information. People base their perceptions of any given culture and society on the images that are available to them: for Japanese culture, the images most visible in America are from anime, manga, fashion and other areas of pop culture. However, are manga and other popular culture elements truly a suitable source of cultural information? Can comics and cartoons be used as teaching tools, as well as entertainment?

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[1] All Japanese persons mentioned will be referred to by the Japanese custom of putting the family name first and the given name second. Western persons will be referred to by the Western style of given name first and family name second.

Though the appropriation of popular culture as a source of cultural material is relatively new, reading foreign or “cross-cultural” literature has long been advocated as a way of better understanding other cultures. By placing the reader in the mindset of a participant of another culture, the reader is forced to consider a different point of view, and is able to observe the culture from the perspective of an insider, instead of one that is inherently foreign. Literature is often entrenched in cultural context, referencing folk tales, mythology, religion, and history, among other themes, which results in an underlying rhythm of cultural information that provides subtle but crucial support to the overall plot and motivations of the characters. Information about societal structure, pressures and issues can also often be gleaned from literary works, and are sometime even the primary focus. Literature provides a model of a culture's world and worldview, giving the reader the opportunity for a more in-depth understanding than can be gained from textbooks. Teachers urging for a more global curriculum include the incorporation of foreign literature as a crucial part of that curriculum, and cross-cultural literature has also been recommended as an aid for people preparing to live and work abroad, as a way to ease culture shock.

Manga is a form of Japanese literature, just as much as the novel or short story, and it is just as entrenched in the Japanese cultural context. In fact, it could be argued that manga is even more effective in conveying cultural information, since manga possesses a largely visual narrative that enables the reader to observe body language and mannerisms, as well as scenery and common settings such as schools or streets. This leads to a more complete image of not only cultural interactions, but the country itself. Furthermore, manga is not a medium designed for or targeted to foreign audiences and consequently is full of culturally-specific references and situations which, due to the visual nature of the storytelling, are difficult to dismiss or erase in translation. This provides a proverbial multitude of scenes, exchanges, and images that can be used to teach, learn, or spark discussion in or outside the classroom. Manga and anime have already had a marked effect on the group of people studying Japan and Japanese culture. Where in the early 90s, Japanese language was considered a course for business students, who tended to maintain a relatively detached attitude towards the country and culture, today's students are of a different sort. They have grown up with *Pokemon*, *Sailor Moon*, and *Yu-Gi-Oh*, and could not be less detached in their attitude towards Japanese culture, as an interest in the culture is often their primary motivation for studying the language. They are pop culture fans, driven by their interest in Japanese media to understand the culture and language behind it (Manes 2005).

However, despite this clear ability to augment cross-cultural learning, manga's origin is that of entertainment, and so, with a few exceptions, it has not been recognized as cross-cultural literature by most scholarly circles. Comics are generally perceived in the West as a format for children, not something to be considered serious literature, or literature at all. As a result, the importation and translation of manga has largely been left to the publishing industry, for whom the primary concern is that volumes sell, not that they most accurately portray the original story and culture. Consequently, manga are often modified for the sake of appealing to an American audience, which is often considered to be disinterested or outright disdainful of foreign works. Though the degree of change varies depending on the series and publisher, many culturally-specific aspects of the stories are lost or disguised with Western principles. As knowledge of manga's Japanese origins increased, the changes have lessened, but partial altering of cultural material actually presents even more of a problem than a complete re-write that switches everything to Western norms. Altered cultural information, combined with obvious or understood Japanese origins and setting, leads to a blending of Western and Japanese cultural material that is not true to either culture. This presents a misleading image that invites the reader to believe that this erroneous blend is an accurate portrayal of Japanese culture. The continued misrepresentation of Japanese culture then feeds the incorrect assumption that all cultures operate along the same principles and reasoning that American culture does: an ethnocentric presumption that America, as a country, can no longer support in the current age of global interaction. Manga has great potential as a source of cultural information for Japan, and as cross-cultural learning tool, but this potential is dependent on manga translations maintaining culturally-specific information, as seen in the English translation of the sports series, *The Prince of Tennis*.

Japanese Popular Culture in the United States:

Japanese pop culture as a presence in the United States is not a new phenomenon, nor is its popularity. The first imported anime series was dubbed and running on television as early as 1978, and "by 1979 [it was] running on 100 network affiliates throughout the U.S., from 4 to 6:30, Monday to Friday. . . in other words, [it was] a hit" (Kelts 2006, 14). Though the series, Battle of the Planets, was worked on by "staff [who] could neither read nor understand Japanese. . .[and] interpreted the plots visually," and was heavily edited in an attempt to match U.S. television standards, it was nevertheless unlike anything else on television at the time.

> The characters looked different and fresh. The animation sometimes emphasized the racier parts of the human body. Their modes of transport had sleek yet believable shapes. And when the characters fought, they didn't just zap one another, as in most American cartoons. They grappled, hand to hand. . . Each character was defined by personal dilemmas, tics, and shortcomings that made them feel more complex and less predictable (Kelts 2006, 15).

In contrast, American cartoons of the time depended heavily on “slapstick gags and one note portrayals,” with characters cycling through the same motions each episode: Tom never does catch Jerry, Bugs Bunny will always outsmart the hunter, and “that damn coyote” never does learn (15). “[They were] frustrating. You'd have shows like the A-Team or Superman. . . these powerful heroes. And then, they'd just wind up shooting at walls or lifting heavy objects” (16). Though severely altered, and of uncertain origin, early series like *Battle of the Planets, Speed Racer*, and even live action series such as *Power Rangers* captured the attention of an entire generation, even if they didn't know what it was they were being fascinated by.

This paved the way for further Japanese imports, and in 1987, the first full-length manga was translated and brought to the United States (Thompson 2007, xii). Imports continued into the 90s, including the series *Sailor Moon* which, though not initially a success, enchanted a significant number of young girls and opened the market for *shōjō*, or “girl's” manga where previously only series aimed at boys had been brought considered capable of selling abroad (xviii). Then came *Hello Kitty, Dragonball Z*, and the now notorious *Pokemon*, which exploded onto the American market like nothing before, even making the cover of Time magazine in 1999 (McGray 2002, 46). By the late 90s, the majority of Saturday morning and after-school time-slots were filled with dubbed-over anime like *Yu-Gi-Oh, Gundam, Yu Yu Hakusho, Sailor Moon* (making at triumphant return at the request of the fans) and *Cardcaptors* (46). Manga sections appeared in bookstores as publishers moved away from the Western comic style of thin pamphlets, and began printing in the now-familiar graphic novel style, with *Sailor Moon* selling especially well (Thompson 2007, xviii). Though in 1990 “the word 'anime' or the notion of Japanese animation as a genre would hardly have been recognized by the vast majority of Westerners,” by the end of the decade there were anime clubs appearing all over the country, from from colleges to Boy Scout troops, and “the terms 'anime' and 'manga' had even become common enough to be used in crossword puzzles” (Napier 2007, 4).

Manga vs. Comics:

What drove this massive increase in popularity? What had American children cheering for Pikachu over Bugs Bunny, or reading *Sailor Moon* instead of *Wonder Woman*? Though they share some similar origins, the American comics and cartoons of the 90s had little in common with most anime and manga. Historically rooted differences in everything from available stories to how those stories were (and are) produced and sold resulted in radically different industries, with almost incomparable products.

American comic have undergone incredible changes since their first conception in the 1930s. Originally, “newspaper comic strips. . . featured long, melodramatic stories and were read by millions of people. In 1934, comic books were invented. . . and for years they enjoyed incredible popularity, with genres such as crime, Westerns, superheroes, romance, humor and science fiction” (Thompson 2007, xv). However, in the 1950s, public opinion changed: the growing trend of juvenile delinquency was linked to the horror and crime present in comic books and a terrified public rebelled. Comic publishers, the few that remained in business when the protests died down, imposed strict censorship rules on artists and limited their works to the superhero and other “safe” genres (Thompson 2007, xv). Comics became something considered only appropriate for children, not an art style for all ages. The anti-violence campaigns of the 50s resulted in cartoons being deemed children's entertainment as well, and so both industries became extremely limited in what they could portray. In contrast, Japan never experienced this censorship, and so manga, and the anime developed from them, continued through the years to explore and expand into a range of subjects and narratives as broad as any other creative work (Schodt 1996, 28). Where comics in the United States became a “caricature” of life, with plots depending on “incredible people doing incredible things”, manga “provide[d] something for both genders, for nearly every age group, and for nearly any taste” (28).

> There are manga that rival the best in literature. There are soft-core and hard-core porn tales for both men and women. There are stories about the problems of hierarchical relationships in boring office jobs or about the spiritual rewards of selling discount cameras in Tokyo's Shinjuku district. . . It seems like the most popular comics are the comics of normal people doing normal things (28).

Without censorship, or the oppressive label of children's entertainment, manga artists were free to develop stories in whatever genre they pleased, until manga covered as wide a range of topics and styles as written fiction.

The industries also diverged in their treatment of the contents of their products. Even today Japanese manga are artist and story driven, while mainstream American comics instead focus on“the franchise.” Unlike the vast majority of Japanese manga artists, American artists generally do not hold the copyrights to their work, with the comic ‘world’ belonging to a company, and the artists changed as necessary: “*Blade, Spiderman* and *X-men* were all created as works for hire” (Thompson 2007, xx-xxi). American companies build a comic 'world' centering around a set of characters, which, similar to the real world, is mean to continue indefinitely.

Stories have beginnings, but no overarching plot or final conclusion, since to end a superhero's story would require the creation of either an entirely new world or an entirely new character. Instead, the franchise produces a never ending stream of “one-shots, collectables, and novelty items. . .[with characters] designed to be reinvented endlessly by 'new creative teams'” (Thompson 2007, xx). Manga, in comparison, are rarely as tightly planned as novels, but usually have “the dramatic cohesiveness of long running TV shows” (xx). There is an initial pilot “chapter”, to establish the setting of the series, and if it is a success, the artist continues the story until either it's intended conclusion, or until readers get sick of it. Even with the longest manga series, the focus remains on the artist and their own ideas for the work, as opposed to “corporate-owned properties that [view] artists as interchangeable cogs,” with a story and a world that is supposed to continue inevitably. (xxi).

Finally, manga and Western comics differ in both their artistic style and the manner in which they are produced and sold, differences which dramatically change how they are then consumed by the public. American comics are richly colored, with detailed, realistic drawings and copious narration; the reader may spend several minutes taking in the entire content of a single page (Schodt 1996, 25-26). In contrast, manga have much simpler drawings, in monochrome, and hardly any narration; pages are meant to be scanned quickly, and most of the story is told through the images. Where this lack of color and narration would be seen as limiting in the West, manga artists have instead “elevated line drawing to new aesthetic heights and developed new conventions to convey depth and speed with lines and shading. . . [they have] learned to convey subtle emotions with a minimum of effort; an arched eyebrow, a down turned face, or a hand scratching the back of the head can all speak paragraphs” (23-24) Furthermore, manga artists use framing techniques similar to those used in film, changes in perspective and other visual effects first used by Tezuka Osamu after WWII, which revolutionized the art and are now known as 'cinematic techniques' (Schodt 1996, 25). “The way they used the frame – they weren't afraid to break it!. . .You're used to 'wham!' and 'bam!' as an American kid, but what about 'wheeeee'. . . The perspectives are so evocative. They'll go top down, then from *tatami* (floor) level. Things will get suddenly perverse and violent. These are unbelievable ways of expression” (Kelts 2006, 33). Like directors, manga artists can focus the reader's attention on any detail they choose, be it leaves falling from a tree or the steam rising off a cup of soup, and use that focus to evoke “associations and memories that are deeply moving” (26).

The Japanese have been using illustration as a primary means to tell stories since as early as the 12th century, with the *Chōjū-giga* or “Animal scrolls” that featured anthropomorphic animals engaged in a variety of activities following a loose, story-like format. After WWII, the Western comic format of panels and speech bubbles was readily adopted, but manga still maintain the format of telling their stories mostly through pictures, not words, and these new cinematic techniques and monochrome pictures enable them to do so to great effect (22). Where an American comic would take a single panel with word balloons and extensive narration to describe a past event, the manga version might take ten pages and only a handful of words. “Until recently, many mainstream American comics still resembled illustrated narratives, where Japanese manga were a visualized narrative with a few words tossed in for effect” (26).

Manga are also consumed differently than American comic books. Most series in Japan are released chapter-by-chapter in manga magazines, which can contain as many as 20 other series and are often up to 400 pages long. These magazines are serialized monthly, or in some cases weekly, and are meant to be read once and then thrown away or recycled. Popular manga are compiled into paperback books (the “graphic novel” format that was adopted by Western publishers) so readers can own their favorite series without having to preserve all of the the bulky, cheaply printed magazines it was originally serialized in. This also means readers can easily catch up on a series by going and finding the paperback volumes, or can discover and enjoy a manga that has long since finished its run. “Most of the best comics in Japan – even those from forty years ago – are available in such permanent editions at a very reasonable price” (Schodt 1996, 23). It is these permanent editions that the Western publishing companies have adopted, though there are a few manga magazines circulating as well.

The creation of permanent editions in both America and Japan eliminates the need to preserve the magazines, and thus avoids one of the largest issues with the American comic industry: speculation. “Collectors dominate the American mainstream comics market, and they are more likely to poly-bag their purchases and place them in a drawer than read them, thus driving up the price of both old and new comics” (Schodt 1996, 22). American comic companies do not release permanent editions, a practice that invites collectors, which strangles the market for casual readers who cannot find the beginning of a series, or are not willing to pay the money to involve themselves in the market. The need for higher quality paper, so the comics will last, combined with color printing (also more expensive) and collectors that are already driving up the prices also makes American comics a significantly more expensive investment than manga. “Even given the dollar's gutted value versus the yen in late 1995[, w]here a typical 32-page U.S. comic book (with many ads) cost over $2, a 400-page manga magazine rarely cost more than $3-4” (23). As a result of these differences in publishing, manga remains a fairly open arena, easily accessible even to a newcomer, whereas American comics occupy a far more narrow and closed space.

Japan Today:

Americans are more than comfortable considering ourselves a part of one of the great powers of this age. American popular culture has spread worldwide, and we perceive our country as having influence over the rest of the world not only politically, but culturally as well. In recent years, however, that particular phenomenon has begun to work in the reverse. Despite the international proliferation of Hollywood, Coca-Cola, and the golden arches, in America today, Japan is *cool*.

It is something that has transcended anime as morning cartoons and manga in bookstores, and moved into fashion, movies, books, and food. In 2002, the style editor of the *New York Times* declared Tokyo "the real international capital of fashion", and a few years later, on Manhattan-centered dating website, "an exasperated male's blurb was featured on the front page: 'If you can't or won't eat sushi – don't even think about getting a date in NYC'" (McGray 2002, 46; Kelts 2006, 8). Also in 2002, the *Anime Network* made its debut as the first cable channel showing exclusively anime, and more than a dozen other U.S. channels were regularly broadcasting dubbed anime shows. More recently, the children's cartoon *Avatar the Last Airbender* has enjoyed incredible popularity, and will soon have a sequel. *Avatar* has clear Asian influences in not only character but world design, and was drawn in a very anime-like style, indicating the extent to which anime has influenced contemporary cartoon companies and artists. In the winter of 2006, the *New York Times* reported that manga represented one of the few “quantifiable growth sectors of the U.S. publishing industry,” and today even the smallest of bookstores hosts a manga section somewhere within its walls (Kelts 2006, 19). Miyazaki Hayao, one of Japan's most well-known animators, is now a household name in most of the United States, and has been declared one of the greatest inspirations of American animators such as Pixar (Kelts 2006, 48-49). Even Hollywood has caught onto the trend, with anime-inspired movies such as *The Matrix* and *Kill Bill*, as well as those in a slightly more traditional setting like *Memoirs of a Geisha* (Allison 2008, 101). Another film, based on the well-loved story of the 47 *ronin* is slated for release in 2012. Newly released Nintendo and Playstation games are often either translated Japanese games, or draw heavily on manga and anime for inspiration (McGray 2002, 46).

In short, America has developed a voracious appetite for anything Japanese, and it's Japaneseness is no longer a limiting factor. “Japanese culture has transcended U.S. demand or approval” (46). Where *Battle of the Planets, Speed Racer*, and *Sailor Moon* had to be heavily edited to make it onto television, today “there are a host of shows made in Japan. . .with not only Japanese credits but also scenes and characters that are clearly reflecting a Japanese, or at least Asian, identity (with temples and spirits, and characters drinking tea, eating with chopsticks, and writing Japanese script). Indeed. . . such signs of Japaneseness no longer need to be excised because they *are* what now makes a show cool with American youth” (Allison 2008, 101). There is no longer a time lag between what sells well in Japan, and what sells well in the United States (McGray 2002, 46). Japan has perfected the art of transmitting their mass culture, and through those exports, Japan's global influence has grown immensely, exceeding even the influence it wielded at the height of its economic power in the 1980s (47). Termed “soft power” by Harvard professor Joseph S. Nye, Jr., the phrase describes a country's ability to achieve its goals by attracting rather than coercing others, and the current Japan is a prime example (Yasushi and McConnel 2008, xvii).

Today, Japanese media is virtually everywhere Americans look, but it is not media intended for or targeted at foreign audiences. In fact, “Many Japanese, even within the industries that produce [anime, manga, etc], are stunned that Americans care about their products” (Kelts 2006, 7). Foreign reception and foreign audiences are not considered when series are created and stories are written, so much of anime and manga is heavily steeped in Japanese cultural context. With the growing public knowledge that these anime, manga, and games are originally from Japan, and the continuing transparency of Japanese cultural elements in the series, consumers develop an image of Japan based on the popular culture media they are exposed to, and often as a result become curious about Japan in general. Even as early as *Pokemon*, “virtually all the fans [that were] interviewed – girls and boys ages four to sixteen – were well aware that [*Pokemon*] originated in Japan. Many also said that the image they had of Japan was positive and, further, that they wanted to visit there one day and even study the language and culture” (Allison 2008, 101). Japanese language study has been booming, but in place of the business students of the 1980s and early 1990s, today's students are of a different breed entirely. “They ask for help in translating Japanese pop-song lyrics and talk excitedly about the Japanese cartoon character Card Captor Sakura,” or “come into the classroom listening to J-pop on their mp3s and toting backpacks adorned with anime characters. . .[o]n tests, they draw their favorite anime characters and after class they exchange anime DVDs and music” (Parker 2004, Manes 2005).

This is Japan's soft power, in Saturday morning cartoons where the characters eat with chopsticks or visit a Shinto temple, the steadily increasing anime and manga fans who go on to study Japanese language, literature, and culture, and the “teenagers and 20-somethings [who] buy Hello Kitty purses and cell phone cases as icons of Tokyo pop chic” (McGray 2002, 49). Japanese popular culture has become incredibly pervasive in Western society, and society in turn is using those pop culture elements to develop an understanding of Japan. In the words of one consumer: “We know about Japan from manga, anime and movies. Pop culture, that's what we know . . .That's how we know about Japan, the culture, about how people live” (Botzakis 2009, 53). Manga, to a Western audience, is not only a popular fad, but seen as representative of Japan and Japanese culture.

Manga as Culture:

This appropriation of manga as representative of Japanese culture is having a marked effect on Western perceptions of Japan as a country, and general interest in its people and culture. Where in the early 90s, Japanese was considered a smart choice for “ambitious, business-minded college students,” today's classes are filled with manga, anime, and music fans, and their interest in pop culture is cited as one of the chief reasons behind their study of the language (Parker 2004). Students are “absorbing Japanese language and customs directly with their eyes and ears” through their interest in Japanese pop culture, and this exposure to cultural elements incites curiosity towards the original culture. “People, by nature, take similarities for granted and become curious of things that are different . . . They feel the difference viscerally; they crave answers. Thus, they register for Japanese class” (Manes 2005). Fans develop an interest in language, culture, history, even Japanese society because of what they see in anime and manga.

“One woman wrote 'I notice when Japan is on the news now. I couldn't tell you the names of any major political figure in Canada at the moment, and it's the country next door. On the other hand, for a while last summer, I knew the names of several important figures in Japanese politics'” (Allison 2008, 187). Though fan's primary interest may be in the fictional stories or pop culture aspects of Japan, this interest often leads to study of other areas. Without a classroom setting, without organized discussion, without the reader even intending to study or interact with a foreign culture, simply by being foreign texts with foreign cultural elements, manga and anime have almost completely redefined the community of Japanese studies.

It is unsurprising that manga would have this effect on its readers, as manga tend to have deep roots in Japanese culture. Folklore and history are common settings for stories, or feature prominently in the plot, to say nothing of the multitude of works that are defined by their focus on normal, everyday life. Manga provide not only a linguistic model of Japanese culture, through forms of address and names, but a visual one. As comics that depend heavily on the use of a visual narrative, manga provide clear images of Japan's cities and countryside, schools and streets, as well as the people themselves. Body language, physical interactions, and other non-verbal gestures abound as characters interact with each other and their environment, and these visual elements are near impossible to simply dismiss in translation. “No matter how well translated, [most manga] are still very 'Japanese' in story, visual style, and pacing. Pictures are intrinsically linked with verbal jokes and even puns. Sometimes characters seem to have nothing but dots in their word balloons, or to be gazing incessantly at horizons or making poignant gestures” (Schodt 1996, 30).

Manga are written in Japan, for a Japanese audience, most often using Japanese characters. The culture depicted is thus one that would be familiar to such an audience, and natural for those characters. In other words, a setting filled with the stereotypes, tropes, mannerisms and pressures of Japanese culture. “There are countless of examples [in manga] of mannerisms in Japan such as bowing, using chopsticks and taking shoes off at the *genkan* (entrance of the house). . . [Interviewed students showed] increased Japanese cultural knowledge of nonverbal gestures, mannerisms, social settings and rules, families, meals, and homes. . .[They] told me how they developed visual images of how streets look in Japan with vending machines and *konbini* [convenience stores]” (Fukunaga 2006, 215). Japanese mannerisms, societal problems, or traditional culture elements are even sometimes the focus of a series, which leads to more direct confrontation and heightened understanding with whatever aspect is highlighted. “[A student] explained she learned about Japanese school settings, *juken jigoku* (examination hell), *ijime* (bullying), and *katei hōmon* (teacher's home visit) [from an anime series]. [Another] mentioned that some of his friends started playing Go, a Japanese board game that uses black and white stones after watching *Hikaru no go* [a series focused on the game]” (215). “Respondents mentioned learning about history because of samurai shows like *Ruroni Kenshin*, or studying Japanese religion because of their fascination with the gods and demons depicted in *Inuyasha*” (Napier 2007, 187).

Linguistically, manga are rife with words and references to concepts that do not exist in English: food, historical periods and figures, the *senpai/kōhai* relationship and other social relations, terms of address and suffixes, as well as those described above. Different styles of speech are also often noted, from specific dialects to varying levels of formality and the significance of their use. “In *Kareshi kanojo no jijō* the change in speech is obvious because the main female character, Yukino, is an honor student at her middle school where she uses 'proper' manners and polite speech, while she acts quite differently at home" (Fukunaga 2006, 214). Manga often feature references to which speech forms characters are using, and their relative appropriateness with regards to the setting of the scene, prompting an awareness in the reader of not only the existence of these different levels of formality, but in which situations certain forms are or are not suitable. Manga is, in fact, considered such "an excellent language learning resource for new students of Japanese" that there is even a manga magazine centered around the concept of using manga to teach Japanese culture and language (Schodt 1996, 29-30).

Cross-cultural literature is deemed as such by its ability to transport the reader to the text's original culture, enabling them to visualize and remotely experience the culture the text is based in, in the hopes of increasing understanding and knowledge of said culture. Working with this definition, manga is already functioning as a cross-cultural text, in spite of comic books' status as mere entertainment, by supplementing learning and inspiring interest in Japanese culture.

Literature as Culture:

Literature's ability to convey cultural information alongside its stories, and its usefulness in cross-cultural understanding and communication has been the subject of scholarly discussion for some time. The immersion of the reader in the point of view of a character who exists in and experiences a culture significantly different than the reader's own allows for a virtual transportation into that culture, and the chance for the reader to better understand it themselves. Though reading literature cannot take the place of real life experience, it has been argued that exposure to cross-cultural literature increases not only understanding of other cultures, but tolerance as well; valuable skills as business and politics begin to function on an increasingly global scale (Amirthanayagam 2000, 48).

The primary advantage to using literature to teach culture is that it allows the reader to experience the culture themselves, as opposed to studying it as an outside observer and through the lens of their own perceptions (10). “Literature is an invaluable cultural expression because it springs from its cultural nexus, if it may be so called, with an immediacy, a freshness, a concreteness, an authenticity and a power of meaning which are not easily found in other emanations or through other channels” (348). Literature reveals a culture's thought process, its values and often the rationale behind them, “[providing] a view of life from the inside” instead of one that is inherently foreign (350, 9). Rather than study a culture from an outsider's perspective, literature takes the reader and inserts them into the heart and mind of one of the culture's participants, allowing them to “[explore] what it [would] be like in the real world of personal emotions and interpersonal relationships” someplace other than their home country (Fox 2003, 100). “Literature offers windows into worlds that have not been experienced by the reader and opportunities for learning that are both enjoyable and memorable” (102).

This cultural aspect of literary study, though largely unexploited, has been tested in various arenas, each resulting in a fairly high level of success: participants showed both greater understanding and greater interest in other cultures after exposure to cross-cultural literature. Larry Smith, in 1986, conducted a study with two Japanese businessmen in which they read and discussed two novels, one set in their home country, Japan, and one set in Thailand, a country neither of the men knew much about. Though at each meeting the men were supposed to discuss portions of both novels, they “rarely talked about the events in [the Japanese novel]. The usual process was to discuss one of the topics (women, family, education, etc.) as it related to Thailand, based on [the Thai novel], and then compare that with what they felt would happen in a similar situation in Japan. . . They became quite interested in (i.e. they often talked about) rural Thai life and how that differed from urban life and how rural/urban life in Thailand was different from rural/urban life in Japan” (Smith 1986, 244). The men were given a questionnaire before and after reading the novels, asking them to give brief comments on several topics with regards to Japanese, Thai and American society. Before reading the Thai novel, the men were unprepared to give answers relating to Thai society, writing responses such as “I have no information about Thailand” and “I am not sure but I suppose Thailand is not so different from Japan. Can I say that?” (244). However, after reading and discussing the novels for several weeks, the men wrote readily and were able to give much more specific responses in relation to Thailand's cultural views (248). They also, in discussions, began to show more recognition of the cultural differences within Asia, due to several differences between Japanese and Thai culture revealed in the novel (246).

A more recent study, in 1997, tested the use of “adolescent fiction to encourage multicultural self-development among primarily European American pre-service teachers” (Chevalier and Houser 1997, 426). In the context of the study, participants read and discussed a series of six cross-cultural novels from various countries, with the intention that “by reading and discussing these novels, the pre-service teachers would be able to participate vicariously in the experiences of children from cultural backgrounds other than their own. . .[the researchers] hoped [the teachers] would identify empathetically with a broader range of people, struggle with (and sometimes against) new perspectives, critically examine their own values and beliefs, and consider actions they might take to promote social equity" (Chevalier and Houser 1997, 428-9). The experiment was overall a success. Though "in some instances the students rejected the validity of the new information," far more often they "expressed heightened awareness about the life conditions and perspectives of others [and] appeared to modify fundamental attitudes and perspectives as a result of their ongoing struggles and new understandings" (430).

The exposure to a wide range of other cultural experiences also seemed to awaken or intensify a respect for other cultures in the teachers, and a determination to increase cultural awareness in their future teaching methods.

> As teachers, we must try our hardest to let other cultures retain their identity. We must integrate other cultures into our curriculum as much as possible. They deserve to have their talents lifted as high as other cultures. They have made contributions and achievements to the American society and deserve to be recognized and studied (433).

More recent education articles also call for the institution of a more "global curriculum", and cross-cultural literature is advocated as an integral part of that curriculum. Books are considered the "written symbols" of the culture from which they come, and thus able to transmit the culture most effectively. "The best and most authentic materials by which to understand another culture are the books and stories written by authors of that culture for the participants of the culture . . . Literature not only illustrates and reflects the culture from which it comes, but also gives insights into the reasoning and belief systems of people whose outlooks and life experiences may be far different from our own" (Lo 2001, 84). Now more than ever, people are able to interact with those outside their own country, and "Americans can no longer afford to be limited to an understanding of culture that begins and ends in the West" (84). The spread of the internet has prompted this confrontation, and interaction in both the political and economic spheres have become increasingly globally-focused. Cultural fluency is essential to succeed in a global market, and the lack of materials with which to develop that fluency will only serve to hinder students in the future.

Textbooks may provide facts, and other information such as political structure and a general understanding of history, but it is literature that “gives [students] insights into how people feel, how events affect their lives, and how their individual attitudes may affect events both personal and historical” (Lo 2001, 85). Literature attaches facts to people, events to emotions, bringing the students as close to an actual cross-cultural experience as they can get without leaving their own home. Culture-specific lessons or occasional celebrations are not enough to supplement an otherwise Western or American-culture focused class, as “these isolated visits to other cultures do little to develop an understanding or appreciation for the cultural diversity in our society. Events that focus on food, clothing, tools and folklore in isolation become trivial exercises [where] the children 'visit' non-white cultures and then 'go home' to their daily classrooms” (Montgomery 2008, 33). Introducing cross-cultural literature to the curriculum, and the discussion of said literature, allows students to explore and understand these other cultures on a deeper level than other methods of learning.

Literature is also suggested as a method of “preparing people for cross-cultural living and work,” with which the greatest problem is “the obvious chasm between theory and practice . . .[a] missing educational component [that is] not the knowledge, but the content put into experience” (Fox 2003, 102, 100). No matter the purpose of the time spend abroad, the participant's effectiveness depends on their “ability to understand the nationals with whom he/she works and gain their respect and confidence” (107). Whether for a two-year teaching position or a two day business trip, the ability to understand and move comfortably within another culture can only aid in the accomplishment of the trip's goals. Literature, being able to “stimulate the human imagination in bringing to life situations and experiences” provides the reader the opportunity to virtually interact with the culture prior to their arrival. This interaction assists in the formation of a better picture of cultural aspects of the country in which the reader will be living, making it easier for them to envision their own time abroad. “Literature can be used to produce a level of experience, which will fill a gap in the intercultural learning process” (Fox 2003, 121). As with cultural simulations, literature permits the reader to experience alongside the characters the culture in which the text is set.

However, there are drawbacks, and other hesitations in using literature as a cultural teaching method. Firstly, there is the fact that most literature is fictional, or largely fictional, and thus is prone to exaggeration or representations that may not be accurate. In order to read cultural information out of literature, the reader first must know how to read literature. “One has to have the required critical sense to recognize that some works may be merely idealistically nostalgic, or even utopian or future-oriented. . . The 'feel' or reality may be deceptive: if you read Tolstoy's short story *Master and Man*, you cannot conclude that the aristocrat who gave his life to prevent his servant from dying of cold is in any way typical of relations between master and man in nineteenth-century Russia” (Amirthanayagam 2000, 352). Though sometimes deliberately non-traditional aspects of a story serve to highlight usual social norms, this is not always the case. If the reader's only source of cultural information, or primary source of cultural information, is a text that is purposely non-representative, the basing of their cultural learning on such literature can backfire.

There is also the matter of interpretation, with regards to information presented through literature. Literature is not strictly factual, it does not lay out its lessons or cultural contexts in neatly organized rows to be memorized, but instead depends on the reader's ability to infer meaning and emotion from the descriptions and text. If the reader does not pick up on certain textual cues, or interprets actions or references differently, it could also lead to confusion in their understanding of the culture represented in the text.

Finally, how the text is translated can have an enormous impact on its usefulness as cultural information. All of the previous praises of using literary texts as sources of cultural knowledge did so under the assumption that the texts were translated in such a way that the cultural aspects of the text were preserved. However, due to various marketing assumptions, this is not always the case; especially with regards to children's literature, where it is generally thought that a child will find the foreignness of the text off-putting, and thus be unwilling to read it (Oittinen 2006, 43). Such changes obviously severely limit the usefulness of the text as a cultural resource.

There exists a wide range of translation techniques that encompass varying levels of domestication, everything from removing all of the foreign culture cues to only replacing a few key references so the reader can better understand the text, and the level of a domestication must be carefully considered before a text can be used for cultural education. Partially-domesticated works are equally if not more problematic than completely domesticated works as they provide a melding of cultures that is not accurate to either the original cultural context or the reader's home culture. For any cross-cultural text, its usefulness as a source of cultural information depends heavily on how it is translated: namely, how much of the culturally-specific material is brought across accurately, and how much is glossed.

Language as Culture:

Translating is no easy task: language *is* culture in its richest sense, as it is through language that people describe and quantify how they see their world. As a result, translating is never just a bi-lingual action, always a bi-cultural one (Mohanty 1994, 25). “Language is a part of culture, and in fact, is the most complex set of habits that any culture exhibits. Language reflects the culture, provides access to the culture, and in many respects constitutes a model of the culture,” (Schaffner 1995, 1). “No language can exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture; and no culture can exist which does not have a center, the structure of natural language . . .Language is both an expression of culture as well as a vehicle for cultural transmission” (Mohanty 1994, 26). Cultural values and assumptions are reflected as much in the structure of the language as in the words themselves; gendered terms, forms of address, grammatical structure, and even writing style can provide just as much information about a culture as descriptions of scenery, actions and what is considered appropriate humor. Working within these constructs, translation has to link two, often entirely dissimilar, cultures via their respective “vehicles of cultural transmission.” This is not nearly as simple as replacing a word in one language with its equivalent in the other, even if the word in question has an equivalent.

> Translation of literature is far from mechanical and translating between languages that, like Japanese and English, are very different from each other requires fairly strenuous cultural and mental gymnastics. . . Trying to convey those unspoken cultural assumptions without overdoing it is one of the challenges of translation. . .[For example,] just off the top of my head I can think of eight ways to say you [in Japanese], each with a cultural nuance that reflects the speaker's sex or social status in relationship to the listener (Hirano 2006, 225, 229).

Situations such as this, with linguistic or cultural disconnects that have to be rendered understandable in the translated text, are especially complicated as it is only through a translator's understanding of the culture that those not fluent in the language will be able to experience it.

For anyone who does not master a second language, or is not exposed to one at all, translations are “their sole means of entering into genuine contact with foreign literatures and cultures” (Van Coillie and Verschueren 2006, ix). Despite market pressures to domesticate foreign texts, this introduction of other cultures is very often the translator's foremost intention in translating the work. “The objective is to bring the world of [the original culture] closer to them, to help them feel what [those] kids feel, view the world through their eyes, while still appreciating the differences. Ideally, the translation should make them laugh where a [native] reader would laugh, cry where a [native] reader would cry, etc” (Hirano 2006, 228). In order to generate this effect, it is critical the translator possess an awareness of not only how an object or situation is perceived in the source culture, but how the same situation or object is perceived in the translated culture; in other words, a full working knowledge of both cultures.

Translating Culture:

Translation plays a crucial role in the development of cultural identities. Cultural knowledge, including the idea that other cultures may be different from one's own, can only be acquired by exposure to the culture in question; such as “living in the culture, watching undubbed films or reading texts produced in this culture – but all this obviously requires knowledge of the language” (Schaffner 1995, 2). In the absence of multilingual ability, translation is the only method through which people can be exposed to other cultures, and as such, translation “wields enormous power in constructing representations of foreign cultures” (Venuti 1995, 10). Depending on what and how texts are translated, translations can “create stereotypes for foreign countries” as well as determine the target culture's view of the culture in question (Schaffner 1995, 2). The degree to which a text is foreignized will affect the degree to which the target culture is aware of the text's original culture, as well as their opinion of it. “Translation is instrumental in shaping domestic attitudes towards foreign countries, attaching esteem or stigma to specific ethnicity, races, and nationalities, able to foster respect for cultural difference or hatred based on ethnocentrism, racism or patriotism” (Venuti 1995, 10).

The translation of culture goes hand in hand with literary translation of any text. How the culturally-specific elements of the work are treated during this process, however, depends on a variety of factors, “not only linguistic differences but also [the] cultural, social, ideological and poetological norms or constraints specific to [the] culture, society and time,” (Gonzalez-Cascallana 2006, 99). Translation occurs in a charged space, one where the translator is responsible for not only the representation of a particular work, but the entire culture from which the work originates, and thus must be constantly negotiating between it and the linguistic, cultural and market demands of the target culture.

As a result, the greatest issue with translation, outside of societal or political agendas that may affect how or what is being translated at any given time, is the choice between staying as close as possible to the source text, or making the work fully accessible and understandable to the target culture. Closer representation of the original text lends itself to a fuller translation of the source culture, which then increases target culture contact with foreign cultures and provides the opportunity for “intercultural education” to help “overcome [the] hostility toward the foreign, the strange, 'the other'” (van Coillie 2006, 134). As one scholar argues, “good translation does not seek to dispel the foreignness of the language but on the contrary allows its native language to be affected, expanded and defamiliarized by the foreign tongue” (Mohanty 1994, 28). The presence of culturally-specific terms and situations allows for the appropriation of new meaning by the target reader, in the context of a culture that is not their own. This encourages the development of a frame of reference for other cultures that is not dependent on the reader's own cultural rules of conduct, thus increasing tolerance and understanding of foreign culture.

However, the foreignization of a text is not without its drawbacks. A text that is too rooted in its original culture may not be understood by the target culture without considerable explanation, which could, when added, alter the flow or tone of the text. Readers may simply not respond to a foreignized text, regardless of its merit as a story or how much scholars advocate the building of a multicultural mindset. This makes publishers wary, and adds pressure on the translators to domesticate a text to ensure that it will sell. “The translator is in the middle of two demands that seem almost impossible to reconcile. On one side, the author calls out to him: respect my property, don't take anything away from me, and don't attribute anything falsely to me. On the other side, the audience demands: respect our taste, give us only what we like and how we like it” (Schaffner 1995, 5). Translators occupy a liminal state where they must balance the demands of the target audience, publishing company, original author, and their own interpretation and intended purpose for the text.

This is further complicated in that there can be no single tactic with which to address cultural content, even within the course of a single text. The significance of the cultural material varies depending on the type of text, the situation within the text, and how key the references are with regards to the story as a whole.

> No uniform treatment of unmatched elements of culture in translation is possible which would be valid for all such elements and for all communicative situations. No blanket decision is possible for a particular text type or an individual text either. Finally, no unique solution exists for a given cultural element that could be utilized by the translator each time that it appears. Instead the translator chooses from among the possible procedures by considering the nature of the cultural term to be translated. . . and the nature of the communicative process in which it appears. . . He is guided in his choice by a consideration of the status of that cultural element in the source culture and of the status of its linguistic expression in the source and the target language [and text] (Mailhac 1996, 132).

The translation of a historical record and the translation of a popular novel cannot be treated as identical situations, as the texts' purposes and audiences are completely different. This variety in audience, market pressure, and type of text has resulted in the development of a wide range of translation tactics with which to deal with culturally-specific material, ranging from complete domestication into the target culture to foreignization that emphasizes or exoticizes the cross-cultural elements (Oittinen 2006, 42).

Domestication, or naturalization, tactics are those that that bring the culturally-specific item wholly into the target culture, through such means as replacing it with an equivalent term, usually known as “glossing”. The changing of “dollars” into “duro”, a Spanish currency, is one such example of an English term being glossed with a Spanish equivalent (Franco Aixelà 1996, 63). Others include replacing culturally-specific words with more general phrases (“a Chesterfield” becoming just “a sofa” in the translated work), replacing original names with similarly pronounced names from the target language (often used with main characters) and replacing references to well-known or popular figures with someone of equivalent status from the target culture, or a generic term (van Collie 2006, 126). Naturalization also includes the tactic of deletion of a culturally-specific term if it is deemed “unacceptable on ideological or stylistic grounds, or [the translators] think it is not relevant enough for the effort of comprehension required of their readers, or that it is too obscure and they are not allowed or do not want to use procedures such as [glossing]” (Franco Aixelà 1996, 64). This is often used for plays on words, and other references that either do not have an equivalent, or for which an attempt to recreate the reference or joke would be awkward (van Coillie 2006, 129).

Foreignization allows for some or most of the text's original cultural references to remain in translation. In order to ensure that the meaning of the reference is still understood, there are various strategies used to insert explanation into the translated text. Footnotes, or end notes, are one solution, which allow for more extensive explanation of a reference or just general background knowledge that the reader would be expected to have in the original culture. This reinforces the learning aspect of cross-cultural knowledge by making information more explicitly available, where the reader in the original culture would be left to their own devices to find any information they did not know (van Coillie 2006, 126). If notes are deemed to clumsy, or distracting from the reader's enjoyment of the story, the translator may insert an explanation directly into the text, either in the form of a few words (“the poet Woodsworth”) or sentences (126). These explanations are essential in foreignized texts, where without them terms or situations would likely be understood differently than intended, or not understood at all.

> I knew from the outset that school and *juku*, a kind of school after school, were going to be major obstacles to understanding for American readers. Although most of the story takes place outside these venues, they set the rhythm of the boys' lives and are an essential part of the backdrop. . .Without knowledge of these aspects, many of the things the boys do just would not make sense to target readers. . . To simply translate [*juku*] as *cram school* and leave it at that would make it impossible for North American readers to appreciate its implications in Japanese children's lives.
> These problems were solved [by]. . .additional description naturally woven in as briefly

> and unobtrusively as possible. . .[They are] short, but [make] a tremendous difference to how readers experience the rest of the book (Hirano 2006, 228)

These additional descriptions include everything from a few words clarifying a term, to a short paragraph more fully explaining the *juku*, its purpose, and how the boys feel after they finish each evening.

Translation is an involved process of negotiation between two cultures, the author's intentions, and the demands of the target market. The methods for dealing with translation of culturally-specific material vary greatly depending on not only the text and its purpose, but societal pressures and the opinions of the translators and publisher with regards to the cultural material and its place in translation. This leads to fluctuation in the relative amounts of cultural information present in translated works, as well as the overtness with which it is presented.

Cultural Translation in Manga:

As previously stated, manga is a medium steeped in Japanese culture: visually, linguistically, and contextually. When it is then brought into the American market, this becomes something of a dilemma, especially with the visual aspects of manga, as body language and mannerisms (such as bowing and using chopsticks) are difficult and time-consuming if not impossible to disguise. Despite this, many early series and notably almost all dubbed anime, replaced character's names with Western ones and relocated the series to America or some other Western setting, glossing the majority of the Japanese cultural references. Manga and anime are imported for entertainment, not study, so the focus during translation was on selling power rather than accurate cultural representation. Changes were made to censor 'inappropriate' content, or to render something more familiar without much consideration as to the implications with regards to reader's perceptions of Japanese culture. Translations were also sometimes simply inaccurate, or replaced jokes and other culturally-specific moments with statements seemingly unrelated to the prior conversation.

With the spread of the internet there has been more direct interaction between fans, both amongst themselves and with the Japanese manga market and fans. Western fans began to discover and translate new series themselves, called scanlations, and also began to notice that the official translations of their favorite series were less than accurate. Even today there remains suspicion among fans with regards to the accuracy of official translations, and a presumption that fan translations are more true to the original story, since the translation is not expected to comply with any kind of marketing strategy. This rejection by fans of heavily altered material, along with growing cultural awareness and increasing popularity has prompted the current translating trend: a shift away from rewriting towards more literal translations, and the inclusion of cultural material, usually through explanatory pages in the front and back of the novels (Thompson 2007, 487). However, this does not mean that all series are completely foreignized; just as with other translations the amount of cultural material maintained varies depending on series and publisher. This presents a problem, considering the degree to which manga are now being appropriated as a source of cultural information. If the cultural references are not maintained, or are only partially maintained, the series become inaccurate representations of Japanese culture that mislead readers and sabotage manga's potential as a teaching tool.

Case Study Introduction:

One of the most commonly changed cultural references in cross-cultural literature is the names of the characters. Familiarity, ease of pronunciation, and a pun or reference that would not come across in translation are all commonly cited reasons, or sometimes there is an equivalent or very similar name in the target language which is deemed more appropriate. Though names are often assigned meaning in literature, there is also considerable cultural context attributed to the system of forms of address a culture uses. Systems of addresses vary even among Western cultures, but the difference is even greater when compared to Japanese forms of address and the significance applied to them. Until recently, these address forms were usually not brought across in translation, even when the characters retained their Japanese names. This not only leads to the erasure of subtext which can play heavily into the plot of a story, but presents the extremely misleading image that American and Japanese systems of address are exactly the same, as demonstrated in the English translation of the manga, *The Prince of Tennis*.

Significance of Japanese Forms of Address:

Japanese culture is structured along different principles than American culture, a fact which is neatly reflected in customary speaking patterns and forms of address. Instead of the largely egalitarian lines familiar to Westerners, with a default to given names in most situations, Japanese society is structured vertically, with differences in age and perceived rank playing an active role in defining a person's speech and behavior (Nakane 1972, 23). Summarized by Japanese anthropologist Nakane Chie, "A Japanese finds his world clearly divided into three categories, *senpai* (seniors), kōhai (juniors) and *doryo*. *Doryo*, meaning 'one's colleagues', refers only to those with the same rank" (26). This implicit ranking system organizes almost every aspect of Japanese society, and how two people act and speak to each other depends heavily on their relative ranks.

With society, and thus speech patterns, centered around the concept of rank and respect, the default address is not a given name, but the family name, a more formal address. Given names are used with young children, but as the child ages this familiar address is reserved for a select few. As Nakane explains, “Among adults, [address by given name] is employed only in relation to those who had close relations in childhood. One is addressed by the first name only by parents, siblings, close relatives and child hood friends," (Nakane 1972, 27). Consequently, address by given name is an anomaly, not the norm.

A person owes respect and deference to his or her senpai, which is shown both in the politeness of his/her speech, and the choice of address form. Within a school setting younger students are required to call the older students by their family name with the suffix "senpai", explicitly classifying their relative rank and to show respect or deference. The older students, in turn, are able to refer to their kōhai in more casual terms, using the somewhat diminutive suffix "kun,”[2] or no suffix at all. As the older students have a higher standing, they are able to use less formality in their speech and address. Similar address structuring is present in the workplace, such as an office setting, where younger or newer members of a company will often refer to their seniors with the suffix "senpai.” The pressure to show respect for the person to whom one is speaking to lessens with that person's decrease in hierarchical standing (27).

Students of the same age and grade in school (or of similar rank in the workplace) will call each other by any number of forms depending on the relative closeness of their relationship. These addresses range from the most formal, family name and suffix "san", to rare cases of extreme familiarity in the use of the other person's given name, as well as a variety of nicknames and uses of the suffixes "kun" and "chan" in combination with either familial or given names (Nakane 1972, 27).[3]

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[2] "Kun" is generally used with young men, though it can be used for girls as slang, or when in an informal setting.

These rules are obviously not absolute, and there are “personal differences in the degree to which people observe the rules of propriety," but in general, this ranking is the societal expectation. "When speaking, [a Japanese person] is always expected to be ready with differentiated, delicate degrees of honorific expressions appropriate to the rank order between himself and the person he addresses" (30-31). Due to the societal codes tied to forms of address, specific details of the relationship between two people is instantly available to anyone who hears them speaking. Consequently, terms of address define the relationship between two people, not only for others, but for themselves.

This differs greatly from English, where address forms are limited and not nearly as formalized. "Westerners simply are not concerned with the questions of language use that Japanese speakers face. . . [because] there is no paradigm in English whose primary function is to reflect the social relationships between speakers of the language," (Wetzel and Inoue 1999, 71). As such, the importance of these finely differentiated forms of address may not be immediately obvious. That forms of address used by two people strongly indicate their relationship to each other is a layer of subtext that is very difficult to convey in English, which lacks any equivalent structure.

Another construct of Japanese address forms is that familiar or informal addresses used inappropriately are not only considered too casual, but incredibly rude in their casualness.

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[3] The suffix "kun", while used by senpai, is also be used among those of relatively equal rank as a more familiar form than "san.” "Chan" is a similar suffix to "kun", though it has more feminine implications, and is thus most often coded for girls or very young children, though it can be used towards boys in a more teasing manner, or as a cute nickname.

Though this idea is again present to some degree in English, it lacks the significance of the Japanese context. Because of the explicit hierarchical leveling and respect tied to address in Japanese, deviation from the usual structures is immediately obvious, and the presumption of a close relationship where one does not exist is generally considered insulting. Conversely, remaining formal when permission for informality has been given, or is expected, creates distance that can "hinder the fostering of friendship" (Matsumoto and Okamoto 2003, 35). Close relationships are expected to be reflected in the terms of address used amongst the participants, and to not use a familiar form indicates a rejection of the closer relationship. One cannot shift to informality without permission or tacit agreement, but to remain aloof past that point is to stagnate the development of the relationship and force a distance between the participants.[4]

Finally, kinship addresses are also used differently in Japanese society. Within the immediate family, it is not only the parents that are addressed by kinship terms such as “mother” or “father”, but also older siblings. The given name is used only with those lower on the hierarchy than the addresser (Loveday 1986, 6-7). Consequently, younger siblings refer to their older siblings as “Older brother” or “Older sister” in place of their name, deliberately using the form of address to classify relationship status, with the given name added at the beginning only if there are multiple older siblings. Older siblings generally refer to their younger siblings with simply their given names: though the worlds for “older brother” and “older sister” can be used as address forms, their counterparts for younger siblings cannot, and are instead used only as referential terms, as they are in English (Ishikawa et al. 1981, 136). Kinship addresses also have fictive use with strangers, or in other situations where the speaker does not know the name of the person they are addressing. For example, *Onee-san*, literally “Older sister”, is used not only with one's own elder sister, but with “[another person's] elder sister, an elder sister-in-law, a young female neighbor who is older than the speaker, [or] a shop assistant”. The speaker “imagines what s/he would call the addressee or the referent if they were a member of his/her family. Then the speaker [chooses] the most appropriate family term,” though it should be noted that unknown men are usually addressed as “uncle” (*oji-san*), not “father” (*otō-san*), and women as “aunt” (*oba-san*) instead of “mother” (*okaa-san*) (Mogi 2002, 17-18). As with addresses within the family, kinship terms that indicate someone lower on the hierarchy than the speaker, such as those for younger siblings, are not used as addresses (17). For younger children, other terms such as *ojyō-chan* (young girl) or *bōya* (young boy) are used (Ishikawa et al 135).

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[4] A common sequence in anime or manga, particularly the slice-of-life genre, focuses around this. Particularly when characters enter a romantic relationship, the point at which they begin using each other’s given names is usually a turning point, remarked on by the other characters. Also the assigning of nicknames or asking permission to use a nickname or more informal version of a name are frequent scenes.

Forms of Address in *The Prince of Tennis*:

The Prince of Tennis, written and drawn by Konomi Takeshi, was first published in Japan in July of 1999, and was serialized in the magazine *Weekly Shōnen Jump* until it's conclusion in March 2008, spanning 379 chapters in total. The main character is a 12-year-old Japanese boy named Echizen Ryoma, the son of a former Japanese professional tennis player, and something of a tennis prodigy himself. The story begins when he enrolls in his father's old middle school, Seishun Gakuen or “Seigaku” for short, and joins the tennis club. Echizen displays incredible talent during the first few days of club activities, and is unprecedentedly permitted to take part in the club's ranking matches, despite his being a first-year student.[5] Having been trained by his father since he was a young child, Echizen secures a position on the regular team, and the series then follows Echizen and his eccentric, similarly incredibly talented teammates as they make their way to the All-Japan National Tournament. The series was adapted into an anime that aired in Japan from October 2001 until March 2005, and still has occasional movies or original animation sequences released (Wikipedia 2011, "The Prince of Tennis"). The manga was licensed for release in America and Canada by VIZ Media in 2004, and the anime by the same company for streaming and broadcast on Cartoon Network's *Toonami* in 2006. However, the anime was removed from both broadcast and streaming in 2007, after only 50 episodes were dubbed (Wikipedia 2011, "List of the Prince of Tennis Episodes").

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[5] In the series, only “regulars” are allowed to play in competitive matches. The regulars are decided by monthly ranking matches in which members of the club are separated into blocks and play against each other until only 8

The setting of *The Prince of Tennis* allows for a wide range of relationship types between both adults and children, as well as an abundance of diverse characters and situations unique to Japanese societal structure. As a result of the school environment, the series is rife with situations and interactions that model the senpai/kōhai dynamic and the hierarchical nature of Japanese forms of address. Though the characters are separated along distinct grade lines, the club setting allows characters of all years to interact not only amongst themselves, but with teachers, other adults, and students outside their school, thus providing depiction of a variety of relationships. In the original Japanese, characters most often use the traditional forms of address of family names, with the suffix “senpai” for older students, and occasionally more informal addresses for their peers, but there are exceptions.

For example, Momoshiro, one of the second-year regulars, makes a valiant attempt at the beginning of the series to convince the new first-year club members to call him "Momo-chan",

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members are left. The term is translated as "starter" in the American version. Normally, only second and third year students are considered for a position on the regulars.

an extremely informal address, which is predictably greeted with stammering surprise by the first-years in question (Konomi 1999, 2:24).[6] After much protesting, they compromise on the nickname of "Momo-chan-senpai", combining Momoshiro's requested address with the respect he is owed as an upperclassman, and it is used for the remainder of the series (Konomi 1999, 3:69).

This exchange highlights not only the traditionally appropriate address structures of Japanese society, but the ways in which those structures are sometimes broken or dodged. Momoshiro, characterized as a more casual, open person, is comfortable with his kōhai calling him by an affectionate nickname – his kōhai, however, are not comfortable doing so. Even so, they cannot easily refuse a persistent request from their senpai, and thus a compromise is struck that satisfies both their desire to stay within the traditional societal structures and Momoshiro's determination to be addressed by a nickname. Echizen uses a similar address with Momoshiro, dropping the more affectionate “chan” to refer to the older student as “Momo-senpai”, which again combines the respect and hierarchical aspects typical of senpai/kōhai relationships with a desired nickname (3:84). The majority of the third-year students, higher on the hierarchy and thus free to address Momoshiro more casually, call him simply “Momo,” (11:166, 167, 14:81,157). These exchanges, and the cultural context associated with them, are not present in the translated version, in which Momoshiro is called “Momo” by all club members, regardless of year, and the respect and deference tied to age in Japanese culture is erased (VIZ 2004, 4:155, 10:71, 177).

Another character, third-year student Kikumaru Eiji, displays similar disregard for societal conventions in that he is most commonly referred to by his given name, not only by his peers, but by his kōhai. With only a few exceptions, the third-year students call Kikumaru “Eiji”, and the second-year club members, even those not on the regular team, call him “Eiji-senpai” (Konomi 1999, 11:136, 140). This casual address is not only used right from the beginning of the series, when Momoshiro is shown conversing with Kikumaru, but throughout the series alongside the use of his family name by adults and characters outside the team. Consequently, through Kikumaru alone, the leveling and changes in Japanese forms of address are explicitly modeled. Like Momoshiro, Kikumaru is portrayed as a friendly, casual person that forms close relationships with his teammates, thus explaining his peers' habit of referring to him by his given name (2:92). Though the lack of any distancing suffix[7] is somewhat notable, it is in the second-year students' addresses that Kikumaru begins to defy societal norms. Where Momoshiro encouraged his kōhai to call him by a nickname, it is implied that Kikumaru encouraged his kōhai to go even further and address him by his given name, an address normally reserved for familial, near-familial, or serious romantic relationships. The second-years apparently used the same dodge that was used with Momoshiro, which provides some distancing, but “Eiji-senpai” nevertheless remains a far more familiar address than is customarily used with one's senpai. That the second and third year club members call Kikumaru by some permutation of his given name is made pointedly obvious in the use of Kikumaru's family name by other characters. Seigaku's coach, Ryūzaki Sumire, consistently refers to Kikumaru by his family name, as do all of Seigaku's opponents (Konomi 1999, 11:99, 15:16).

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[6] For clarity, I will cite the translated manga as (VIZ volume: page) and the original Japanese version as (Konomi volume: page).

Due to this perpetual shifting of address, the reader is constantly reminded that “Eiji” is not Kikumaru's family name, and that the Seigaku students are referring to him in a more casual manner. The fact that nearly every other character is most commonly addressed by their family name also makes the peculiarity of this casual address extremely obvious. Though Kikumaru's free use of his given name does not coincide with conventional address norms, his breaking of said norms serves to highlight the traditional forms of address used by other characters. In the English version, however, every character is referred to by their given name, in accordance with Western address structure, and so Eiji's uniqueness in allowing such casual addresses from his kōhai is lost. There is no longer any variation in forms of address: teammates, outsiders, and teachers all address Kikumaru exactly the same. Consequently, the cultural context tied to use of given name, and the various levels of address and intimacy related to them again vanish, and the culture of address presented is completely Americanized.

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[7] For example, “kun” or “san” are commonly used among peers with an address of given name; some of the first-year students refer to Echizen as “Ryoma-kun” (Konomi 1999, 2:121).

A third year student, Inui Sadaharu, exhibits the exact opposite address habits of Kikumaru by unfailingly calling all of his teammates by their family names, and thus keeping them at a subtle but distinct distance (Konomi 1999, 3:41-42) Despite the abundance of evidence that Kikumaru and Momoshiro prefer to go by their given name or a nickname, Inui does not use these informal addresses, and no one on the team uses other informal addresses with him. Though this address by family name is not inherently formal, as previously mentioned to not shift to use of an informal address in situations where permission to do so has been given creates distance between the participants of the relationship. Inui calling Eiji “Kikumaru” when the rest of the team calls him “Eiji” or “Eiji-senpai” sets Inui apart from his teammates: though they are close, they are close to a certain point and no further.

It also contributes to the expected shock when after two hundred chapters of formal addresses, Inui steps onto a tennis court and calls his opponent by his given name, and is called "Sadaharu" in return (Konomi 1999, 24:149). A flashback reveals that they were childhood friends, calling each other by given names even then, interspersed with the nicknames "Hakase" and "Kyōjou." Then the other boy's family moved, and Inui has not heard from him since (Konomi 1999, 24:167-172). The appearance of a character whom Inui addresses familiarly, despite a four year cease of contact, throws his relationship with his teammates into stark contrast. Since Inui addresses this new character so differently, the depth of their relationship is instantly clear, and the distance Inui places between himself and the rest of his team is even more apparent. Inui one of only a few characters in the series to have a close, non-familial relationship with someone outside of his team, which is explicitly demonstrated through his choice of terms of address.

In the translation, however, the differences between Inui's relationships are lost. When Yanagi is introduced in the translated manga, there is nothing remarkable about Inui addressing him as "Renji", because Seigaku's members have been calling their opponents by their given names for the whole tournament (VIZ 2004, 24:82). Moreover, even before this encounter Inui has been calling all of Seigaku by their given names for the entire series, and so the implied distance in his relationship with them is gone. With the original Japanese, as soon as Inui calls Yanagi "Renji" it is blindingly obvious that their relationship is, or was, different from what Inui now shares with his teammates at Seigaku, and provides a classic example of the traditional practice of only using given names in long-standing or exceptionally close relationships. In translation, it is only the surrounding explanation that classifies Inui and Yanagi as childhood friends, and the differing degrees of closeness in of Inui's relationships have disappeared, along with the cultural cues indicating those differences.

On one of the opposing teams, Hyōtei, the address forms used between one of the doubles pairs also powerfully details the way the closeness of a relationship is expressed in forms of address. Shishido Ryō, a third year student, and Ohtori Chōtarō, a second year student, are paired together as a doubles team for both the regional and national tournament games against Seigaku. Unlike Inui and Yanagi, there is no flashback to their being childhood friends, or any indication they were especially close prior to Shishido asking Ohtori to train him after he lost his spot on the regular team, and even during the training flashback, their interactions are not casual, or particularly friendly.[8] Shishido gives curt orders in response to Ohtori's polite request to stop, and the overall tone is that of Shishido using Ohtori for his own advancement on the team.

Despite this, during the regional game Shishido calls Ohtori "Chōtarō", and Ohtori refers to Shishido as "Shishido-san," (Konomi 1999, 15:97, 135). Shishido's use of Ohtori's given name without the familial relation or long-standing friendship that is the usual preclude is unusual, and indicative of just how close their relationship became in what can only be assumed was a very short time. When combined with Ohtori's dismissal of the traditional "senpai" suffix for the less hierarchical "san", the two are essentially addressing each other as equals, in spite of their differences in rank. This is in direct contrast to the rest of Hyōtei's addressing Ohtori by his family name, Shishido calling the other second years on the team by their family names, and Shishido being called "senpai" by other second-years (15:103, 139, 18:83, 28:89). Again the variation in depth of relationships between the characters is demonstrated via the terms of address used between them. However, just as with Inui and Yanagi, this context is not present in the translation, where both Ohtori and Shishido are called by their given names by all characters.

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[8] Shishido lost his game in the city tournament, which nearly cost Hyōtei a chance in the regional tournaments and resulted in his being dropped from the regular team. In defiance of team policy, he trained with Ohtori for two weeks, then challenged and defeated one of the other regular members to gain back his place, after which he was assigned as Ohtori's doubles partner. He previously played singles.

Finally, characters' interaction with their families over the course of the series demonstrates the Japanese system of kinship addresses between siblings. Unfortunately, the majority of the series takes place in either a school or tournament setting, so family interactions, particularly sibling interactions, are somewhat rare. Also, most of the characters' siblings are either old enough or young enough to not be in the same school as them, and so do not appear. An exception to this is the Fuji family, where brothers Shūsuke and Yūta are only a grade apart, and their elder sister Yumiko is addressed and spoken of several times.

Shūsuke and Yūta attend different schools, Shūsuke at Seigaku, Yūta at St. Rudolph, but their familial relationship is a crucial part of the plot during their schools' match in the city tournament. Shūsuke is older than Yūta, and even though they do not exactly get along, their addresses nevertheless reflect their familial standing: Shūsuke calls Yūta by his given name, while Yūta calls Shūsuke “Aniki”, one of the more formal terms for “older brother” (Konomi 1999, 9:115, 170). Shūsuke's interactions with Yumiko also follow the traditional addresses: he calls her “Nee-san” or “Yumiko-nee-san”, and she calls him “Shūsuke” (6:118, 9:170). Thus, centered on Shūsuke, there is a clear distinction that the older sibling is addressed by kinship terms, and the younger by their given name. The series also shows a brief glimpse into Momoshiro's home, during which his younger sister is shown calling him “Onii-chan”, a more affectionate term for “older brother,” which is yet another example of the varying levels of formality inherent in Japanese address forms, as well as the older sibling addressed by kinship term dynamic (14:143, 144).

In translation, there is some attempt at preserving the use of kinship addresses in the Fuji family, in that Shūsuke most often calls Yumiko “sis.” However, Yūta's addresses of “Aniki” is generally changed to Shūsuke's given name, except for a few places where Yūta calls him “Brother” or “Big Brother” (VIZ 2004, 6:118, 9:31, 94, 115, 170). For the scene with Momoshiro's sister, however, her casual address of “Onii-chan” is changed to Momoshiro's given name, Takeshi, making Shūsuke and Yūta's use of kin terms with their siblings an anomaly instead of a regular address (VIZ 2004, 9:143, 144). It also makes part of the conversation unclear, as the initial panel shows an outside view of Momoshiro's house with floating speech bubbles, a setup in which the reader does not actually see who is talking. In the original Japanese, with the use of “Onii-chan” it is instantly apparent that the speaker is one of Momoshiro's younger siblings. By replacing the kinship address with the Western given-name usage, that distinction is no longer apparent, and it is not until the comic on the following page that the speaker is shown to be his younger sister.

As seen above, in the English translation of the series, the names of the characters were not changed, but rather addresses were switched to the Western format of predominantly given names, and all suffixes were erased. The reason for the change is uncertain, but it is likely that it was a marketing decision in an attempt to better align the series with an American audience by using the forms of address the audience would be accustomed to seeing.

There would be little issue with the change, except that even in translation, the series maintains a pointedly Japanese setting. There are mentions of the “Japanese tennis community”, or other references to Echizen's father's past as a professional player for Japan (VIZ 2004, 1:64). Yen is used consistently in place of dollars, with small asterisks and notes denoting the equivalent dollar amount, and in several chapters the characters are seen either studying English in class, or discussing Echizen's fluency in English in tones of wonder and jealousy (1:68, 6:119, 13:84-85). This disjoint between setting and forms of address is extremely misleading, as it gives the impression that Japanese personal relationships are structured and verbally expressed in the same way as Western relationships. The characters are noted as Japanese, and the setting is clearly Japan, but the societal structure presented is completely Americanized, resulting in an melding of cultures that only serves to give readers conflicting messages and reenforce the misconception that other cultures function within the same sets of social structures as Western cultures.

Conclusion:

Lack of cultural knowledge can and is leading to misunderstandings and other difficulties in America's international interactions. For example, the following conversation between two businessmen, one American (Andrew Richardson), and one Chinese (Chu Hon-fai) as they make their way to Hong Kong. Though they have met by chance, they are involved in companies that may yet do business with each other and so it is very fortuitous for them to have made this connection. However, as soon as the two go to make their introductions, the situation deteriorates.

Mr. Richardson gives Mr. Chu his card and invites him to call him by his nickname, “Andy”, in accordance with the Western cultural model of fostering camaraderie through more intimate addresses (Scollon and Scollon 2001, 135; Okamura 2009, 362). Mr. Chu responds with his own card, but introduces himself as “David Chu”, using an adopted Western given name. He also calls the American “Mr. Richardson”, declining the request to call Mr. Richardson by his nickname. Mr. Richardson reiterates his wish to be called “Andy”, and then reads Mr. Chu's business card, which is printed with Mr. Chu's full Chinese name. In his next sentence Mr. Richardson addresses Mr. Chu by his Chinese given name, “Hon-fai”, and suggests a time for them to contact one another. Mr. Chu smiles, and agrees (Scollon and Scollon 2001, 135).

The two men leave this encounter with very different impressions of what just occurred. Mr. Richardson is rather pleased – he made it clear Mr. Chu is welcome to address him intimately, which he believes will help form a close and friendly relationship, and he was even respectful of Mr. Chu's Chinese background by calling him by his Chinese name, instead of the Western one, to which Mr. Chu responded with a smile, so it must have gone over well. Mr. Chu, on the other hand, is of the opinion that Mr. Richardson will be difficult to do business with. As with Japanese, Chinese forms of address, especially in business, are generally kept more formal, and so Mr. Chu would be most comfortable if the two men continued to address each other by their family names, which Mr. Richardson insisted he not continue to do. However, because Mr. Chu has done business in the West before, he is also aware that Westerners are usually uncomfortable calling business partners by formal addresses for extended periods of time, and so he adopted a Western given name to use in just this sort of situation. In fact, China has “a rather complex structure of names which depends on situations and relationships, which includes school names, intimate and family baby names, and even Western names, each of which is used just by the people with whom one has a certain relationship” (Scollon and Scollon 2001, 136). Mr. Richardson's use of Mr. Chu's given name was surprising and made him uncomfortable, so he smiled, which is a culturally-specific response similar to Western nervous laughter (136). The two businessmen have managed to misunderstand each other almost entirely, even though both were attempting to be culturally sensitive as best they knew how.

The greatest issue with cross-cultural interaction is that when either party lacks knowledge of the other culture, the default response is to “project their own cultural frame of reference on to the foreign culture. That is, they interpret and evaluate foreign behavior in accordance with their own cultural rules of conduct, and act according to the behavior patterns of their own culture” (Witte 1994, 71). When the cultures involved differ greatly in responses or mannerisms, these misconceptions can be lead to inadvertent insults or other greater difficulties that can develop into hindrances both in the business and diplomatic spheres. Cultural understanding is becoming more and more crucial as the development of the internet leads to greater international contact and interaction, so these hindrances are not only becoming more apparent, but a greater issue.

Manga, visually and linguistically has the capability to be an excellent source of cultural information. Its influence is widespread, and already profoundly changing American pop culture and people's impressions of Japan; manga written and produced by Westerners is slowly appearing, more manga are getting translated and put in stores and online, and manga and anime fans are filling Japanese language and culture classes around the country. Manga is already a source of Japanese culture information to those that know if it, so steps should being taken to ensure that the culture being represented is accurate, not a misleading gloss or altered rewrite.

It has been proven that exposure to cross cultural literature increases understanding of other cultures, and the more people learn of other cultures, the less likely they are to turn to their own culture as a frame of reference. “Instead, [they] will be increasingly more able to use the foreign culture as a frame of reference, that is, perceive and interpret it in terms of itself" (Witte 1994, 71). Cross-cultural literature is advocated as an essential part of increasing cultural understanding and tolerance in a globally-focused curriculum for exactly this reason. However, America's importation of foreign literature is among the lowest in the world, only three percent of all books published in a year, and as a result we are "not privy to the conversations – literary, philosophical, political and spiritual – taking place in much of the world" leading to lack of knowledge that is not only isolating, but potentially dangerous when applied to international policies and interactions (von Flotow 2007, 191).

Without a full understanding of another country's culture, actions or statements could have unintended and long-lasting consequences, and with advances of the internet and increasing global interaction, America's lack of understanding of foreign cultures will only serve to hinder our diplomatic and international relations in the future. Increasing contact with other cultures, not only by way of facts and history in textbooks but through visceral, emotional transportations through cross-cultural literature will allow for the development of greater understanding and tolerance. "Translation lies at the heart of any cultural diplomacy initiative; some misunderstandings between peoples may be resolved through engagement with each other's literary and intellectual traditions; the poverty of insight displayed by American policy makers and pundits in their view of other lands may. . .be mediated by contact, in translation, with thinkers from abroad" (191). With a new generation reading and being raised on accurately-translated manga and anime, America may be able move into a more internationally aware society, and mistakes such as those made by the two businessmen can be avoided.

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