1. Introduction

The story of manga in America is one of translation. Manga – Japanese comic books – have developed a different style compared to their Western counterparts (McCloud 1993:44), with a unique visual language and a “complex semiotic structure” (Jüngst 2008:50) that “make their translation a particularly interesting enterprise” (Jüngst 2004:85), and the strategies employed in localizing or translating these texts for Western audiences have shifted over time (Jüngst 2008:51).

As a medium, manga and western comics alike are multimodal, multimedia texts which draw on “a number of different sign systems” (Zanettin 2008a:12), from maximally iconic (drawings) and symbolic (language) systems (Saussure 1916; Peirce 1885; McCloud 1993) to various semiotic systems in-between, situated “at various points along a continuum of communication practices” (Saraceni 2003:13-35, cited in Zanettin 2008a:13; McCloud 1993).

The issues surrounding the semiotics of comics are compounded in translation. Eco and Nergaard (1998:221, cited in Zanettin 2008a:12) talk about translation as a process involving texts, rather than languages: “it does not involve comparing a language (or any other semiotic system) with another semiotic system; it involves passing from a text ‘a’, elaborated according to a semiotic system ‘A’, into a text ‘b’, elaborated according to a semiotic system ‘B’”. The complicating factor of comics' multimodal nature is readily apparent, with more than one semiotic system elaborating the text on both sides. Noting the different semiotic systems of comic books working in tandem, Celotti (2008:47) characterizes the translator of comics as “a semiotic investigator faced with a multimodal text with two meaning-making resources”, while Zanettin (2008:12) reminds us that “Language is only one of the systems … involved in the translation of comics, which both as 'originals' and 'translations' simultaneously draw on a number of different sign systems”.

While translation practices for comics vary immensely, two approaches from translation theory have been particularly important in characterizing the transcultural translation of comics since at least the second half of the twentieth century: formal vs. dynamic equivalence (Nida 1964), and domesticating vs. foreignizing strategies (Venuti 1995). Nida (1964:159, cited in Jüngst 2008:51) explains the difference between formal and dynamic equivalence in translation as follows:

“Formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content … A gloss translation of this type is designed to permit the reader to identify himself as fully as possible with a person in the source-language context, and to understand as much as he can of the customs, manner of thought, and means of expression.

A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behavior relevant within the context of his own culture; it does not insist that he understand the cultural patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message”

Venuti (1995:20) draws a similar contrast between 'domesticating' and 'foreignizing' translation, where domestication represents “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target language cultural values”, and foreignization “a process that allows the original work to resist integration and to maintain its features” (Rota 2008:84).

Since – with few exceptions – nearly all of the considerable amount of manga consumed today
in the United States originated in Japan and in Japanese, both these axes of translation have been central to the situation of manga in America. As translation practices have shifted over time – in accordance with increasing popularity of Japanese manga in the United States – so too has the constitution of the sociocultural construct (Vygotsky 1986; Duranti 1985; Lantolf & Thorne 2007) of foreignness in these translated texts, a concept inextricably linked with manga in America.

Well into the 1990's, conventional wisdom held that Japanese cultural products such as anime and manga needed to undergo complete localization – via cultural as well as linguistic translation – in order to appeal to an American audience (Allison 1999; Schodt 2011; Wong 2006). However, with the rise of “Cool Japan” (McGray 2002) as a global soft power at the turn of the millennium, the expanding manga readership in the United States began to show a demand for translations which retained as much of the original Japanese format and culture as possible (Schodt 2011), and the result has been a large-scale shift in the construction of foreignness in translated manga.

A striking example of this shift can be seen in the two English translations of Naoto Takeuchi’s (1992) seminal manga *Bishojo Senshi Sailor Moon* for the US market, released 13 years apart: the 1998 Mixx/TokyoPop translation and the 2011 Kodansha Comics translation. This paper examines the linguistic practices used to construct foreignness in both of these translated texts, and finds that each version broadly employs a different translation strategy – the prior exemplifying dynamic equivalence and domesticating techniques, and the latter formal equivalence and foreignizing strategies – to either erase or highlight the concept of 'foreignness' within the text. Further, these linguistic practices and translation strategies exemplify the different ways in which American manga readers engaged with each translated text at the time of its publication.

2. Translational Stance

In order to examine the differences in translation strategies employed by each translated text in framing the sociocultural construct of foreignness, this paper uses the framework of the stance triangle (Du Bois 2007), whereby each of these two translations, and the translation strategies they employ, constitutes a 'stance' on the original Japanese text – the 'shared stance object' (Du Bois 2007) – as in the diagram below:

Mixx/TokyoPop translation (1998)

Original Japanese text

Kodansha translation (2011)

(美少女戦士セーラームーン) (1992)

The textual examples which highlight the relationship between the original text and each of these two stances are presented in the form of diagraphs (Du Bois 2014). While diagraphs are usually employed within the framework of dialogic syntax (Du Bois 2014) for examining dialogic interactions in spoken or written language, here they serve to highlight resonance (Du Bois 2007, 2014) between texts, instead of utterances. The diagraph is a particularly helpful convention for examining multiple translations of a single text, as it allows for the simultaneous juxtaposition of each translation with both the original text and the alternative translated stance. This juxtaposition allows for the comparison of inter- and intratextual resonance within and across texts, and highlights the addition and removal of material from each translation – what Klaus Kaindl (1999) calls *adiectio* and *deletio*, respectively. The horizontal dimension of the diagraph indicates the iconic sequential alignment of language in each text, while
vertical alignment indicates resonance between two or more texts, whether by formal or dynamic equivalence.

3. Linguistic Practices

In both the Mixx and Kodansha translations, the sociocultural concept of foreignness is constructed through the use of four linguistic practices: loanwords and cultural affordances, honorifics, onomatopoeia, and iconicity.

3.1 Loanwords and cultural affordances

One of the most immediately obvious ways in which language is used to constitute foreignness and emphasize Japanese-ness in the Kodansha translation is through the use of untranslated Japanese words, and the cultural affordances (Costall 1995; Gibson 1979; Greeno 1994; Kaufmann & Clément 2007) which they activate and require. The example below comes early on in the text, when the main character of the manga – named Bunny in the Mixx translation and Usagi Tsukino in the Kodansha translation – introduces one of her classmates:

(K11)

OG;
KOITSU-WA OTAKU-NO UMINO
this.guy-TOP otaku-ADJ Umino

MX; Here's our
class nerd,

KS; This guy's
{an otaku}³⁴ Umino,⁵

While the Mixx translation renders the Japanese otaku as “class nerd”, the Kodansha translation leaves the word in Japanese, romanized but unglossed. The most obvious consequence of retaining an untranslated Japanese 'loanword' like otaku in the text is that it foreignizes the text; it presents a formally equivalent (in sound if not in visual representation) rendition that indexes “a kind of exoticism” (Jüngst 2008:68). Equally significant is the fact that there is no explanatory footnote or gloss, meaning that in order to understand the text, a reader must necessarily have a certain familiarity with both Japanese vocabulary and Japanese culture. Beyond the simple dictionary definition, in order to access the cultural affordances of the word otaku, a reader would need to be aware of the cultural connotations surrounding the word: its relatively recent metalinguistic coinage stemming from the hypercorrect misuse of the homophonous honorific second-person pronoun by “nerdy social outcasts”⁶ (Azuma 2009:xxv), the subcultures of obsessive, hyper-knowledgable enthusiasts described as “Japan’s database animals” (Azuma 2009) to which it refers today, and its generally pejorative use in Japan, until very recently “associated with those with anti-social and perverted personality traits” (Azuma 2009:4) – as opposed to the neutral or positive usage of the English borrowing “otaku”, a self-designation by American and Western manga and anime fans (Jüngst 2004:99).

---

1 For a full discussion of diagraph conventions, see Du Bois (2014).
2 Example numbers refer to the page number on which they appear in the Kodansha translation.
3 In these examples, 'OG' represents the original Japanese text, 'MX' the Mixx translation, and 'KS' the Kodansha translation. A romanization and morpheme-by-morpheme gloss appear below the Japanese tier. A full list of abbreviations used is provided in Appendix A.
4 The use of braces (i.e. '{word}') indicates that the enclosed word or phrase has been moved from its original sequential position within the text in order to highlight resonance within the limitations of the diagraph notation, following Du Bois (2014). In these cases, the original text is given in footnotes.
5 Original sequence: “This guy's Umino, an otaku.”
6 See Bucholtz 2001 for an interesting parallel with hypercorrect speech in American nerd culture.
Another instance of untranslated Japanese in the Kodansha translation can be seen in the following example, where Usagi/Bunny has just met the keeper of a shinto shrine:

(K94a)
OG;  
働きately
miko  
shrine.maiden
MX;  How cool...  a priestess
KS;  So she's  a miko?

As with *otaku* in the first example, the Mixx translation renders the Japanese as “priestess”, whereas the Kodansha translation leaves *miko* – a term which refers specifically to shinto shrine maidens – in romanized Japanese without translation or a supplemental gloss. The fact that *miko* is left untranslated emphasizes the foreignness of the shinto temple and the shrine maiden, and means that readers must again be familiar with the Japanese term and its cultural affordances in order to access both the basic meaning of the text and wider implications, such as the temple's status as a shinto – as opposed to Buddhist or Judeo-Christian – place of worship.

While the average American reader may not have a command of the cultural and linguistic vocabulary necessary to understand both the literal meaning and affordances of Japanese words like *otaku* and *miko*, it is entirely possible that the target audience of the Kodansha translation does. Learning Japanese, or at least beginning to learn Japanese, is becoming a part of modern manga fandom in Western countries, to the point that “In letters directed at manga magazines, Japanese loanwords mark the author as insider. Konnichiwa or ohayó (good morning) have become the standard greetings” (Jüngst 2008:74).

Whereas the foreignness of Japanese words in the Kodansha translation above constitutes part of the text's appeal for American manga readers in 2011 (Schodt 2011), when the Mixx translation was published in 1998, translation practices tended towards dynamic equivalency and domestication strategies, which worked to integrate the translation to the target culture and minimize the feeling of foreignness in the reading experience. Cultural affordances, including references to prior texts (Bakhtin 1934; Becker 1995), play a large part in this process, as in the examples below, where Japanese cultural affordances are erased or replaced with American equivalents:

(K42)
OG;  まるで 怪盗 ルパン  
marude kai-tou Rupan  
just.like mysterious-thief Lupin
MX;  What a mysterious guy... like a Count or something.
KS;  He's just like... the famous thief Lupin...

In this example, in which Sailor Moon is speaking of Tuxedo Mask, the original Japanese text refers to the “mysterious thief Lupin” – ostensibly a reference to Arsène Lupin, the gentleman-thief hero of Maurice Leblanc's detective-fiction novels, but actually an affordance which was made accessible to the original Japanese audience via the prior text of Kazuhiko Kato's immensely popular manga *Lupin III* (Flanagan 2011:238) and its eponymous “jet-setting gentleman-thief, womanizer, and master of disguise”, “Japanese grandson of French burglar Arsène Lupin” (Gravett 2004:102). *Lupin III* would not see an English translation until 2003, and so this aspect of Japanese popular culture would have been considered a foreign affordance in 1998, and is thus absent from the Mixx translation, replaced in a dynamic equivalence with the hedged phrase “a Count or something”. The 2011 Kodansha translation
retains the reference to Lupin, creating an affordance for resonance with two prior texts, in both the Japanese Lupin III manga and its English translation.

In addition to altering foreign affordances from the original Japanese text, the Mixx translation is notable for adding in American affordances even when no specifically foreign affordances are present in the original text, as in the following example:

(K13)
OG; 要チェックですよ {ニュース}?
yō chekku-des-yo nyuusu
must check-COP-EMP news
MX; the news is more action-packed than a Schwarzenegger movie.
KS; … stay on top of the news!

Here, Umino/Melvin (the otaku) is talking to Usagi/Bunny about the recent crime wave hitting the city. In the Japanese original, he tells her “You have to check out the news”, a straightforward statement echoed in the Kodansha translation. The Mixx translation, however, adds in a specifically American cultural affordance with an adiectio – “linguistic or pictorial material which was not there in the original” (Kaindl 1999:40) – comparing the “action-packed” news to Arnold Schwarzenegger's movies, referencing a prior text (Schwarzenegger’s action films) which was not present in the Japanese original, and likely would not resonate with Japanese audiences. The addition of a domestic prior text is a prime example of a domesticating translation strategy, aligning the source text as closely as possible with target language cultural values, and minimizing foreignness within the resulting translation.

One interesting potential reversal of the trend for the Mixx translation to erase foreignness through affordances can be seen in the example below, where the miko/priestess mentioned above casts a spell on Usagi/Bunny, thinking her to be an evil spirit:

(K93)
OG; 悪霊 たいさーんっつ
aku-ryō taisan
evil-spirit disperse
MX; AKURYO TAI SAN!!*
KS; Evil spirit, be exorcised!

The Mixx translation retains the original Japanese – romanized but untranslated – while the Kodansha translates the incantation. Taken on its own, this seems to show a positive construction of foreignness in the Mixx translation, against the general trend towards Americanization. However, unlike the otaku and miko examples from the Kodansha translation above, the Mixx translation here also includes a footnote explaining the words' meaning: “*This is a Japanese phrase used to exorcise demons”. This explanatory footnote is an example of an adiecto which “supplement[s] the source material” (Kaindl 1999:40, cited in Jüngst 2004:96) as a foreignizing translation practice – a strategy employed in manga primarily “if Japanese words are merely transferred in order to stress the 'Japaneseness' of the story” (Jüngst 2004:96).

At face value, the above example appears to be a translation strategy in line with the Kodansha stance, stressing the foreignness of the text. However, the next page provides further context which reveals the full indexical function of the untranslated Japanese and explanatory footnote. After the

7 Original sequence: 《ニュースも要チェックですよ》
miko/priestess apologizes, Usagi/Bunny thinks to herself:

(K94b)
OG;  キレイ
kirei
prety
MX;  She's so exotic and pretty...
KS;  When it's a pretty girl...

By adding the word “exotic” (an adjiectio not present in the original Japanese) to this description of the miko/priestess, the Mixx translation takes the stance that her Japaneseness – as evidenced by her use of the Japanese phrase on the previous page – is equivalent to foreignness. The use of “exotic” serves to otherize the miko/priestess on the basis of her speaking Japanese – implying that the rest of the characters are not Japanese, do not speak Japanese, and do not live in Japan. In using the untranslated Japanese and the word “exotic” to emphasize the foreignness of this single character, the Mixx translation portrays the rest of the story's world as non-foreign by comparison – an example of the Saussurean (1916) principle of opposition.

3.2 Honorifics

Another way in which the two translations take different stances on foreignness is in their treatment of the honorific suffixes of the original Japanese text. Japanese has a rich and deeply indexical system of honorific address terms, including the honorific suffixes often employed by characters in Bishojo Senshi Sailor Moon. This system of address suffixes indexes “the hierarchical characterization of relationships as higher and lower with regard to age, sex and role … (with) power semantics as its most fundamental property” (Ishikawa et al. 1981:139, cited in Loveday 1986:6), and are employed “on the basis of age (-kun/-chan), sex (-kun, -san, no suffix) and superiority/inferiority (-kun, -san, -sama) features, all of which are fundamental themes of Japanese social organization” (Loveday 1986:7). In the following examples, four different characters address Usagi/Bunny in four different ways, as indexed in the original Japanese and the Kodansha translation by honorific suffixes (or the lack thereof):

(K11a – Teacher addressing student)
OG;  月野さんっ
Tsukino-san
Tsukino-AHON
MX;  Bunny!
KS;  Tsukino-san!

(K11b – Male student addressing female student deferentially)
OG;  うさぎさん テストどうでしたか?
Usagi-san tesuto dou deshita?
Usagi-AHON test how COP.PST
MX;  Hey Bunny How'd you do on the quiz?
KS;  Usagi-san {How did you do on the test?}8

---

8 Original sequence: “How'd you do on the test, Usagi-san?”
By including the untranslated Japanese address suffixes in the English text, the Kodansha translation allows for the indexation of these four specific relationships between characters in the above examples.

The inclusion of these honorifics in English is significant because, in the text as in spoken discourse, they constitute – rather than simply reflect – the above relationships. Japanese honorific suffixes are an example of a linguistic unit with “indexical creativity”, creating the different categories of participation in the represented speech event: “under these circumstances, the indexical token in speech performs its greatest apparent work, seeming to be the very medium through which the relevant aspect of the context is made to 'exist'” (Silverstein 1976:34). Crucially, the relationships indexed by these honorifics are specifically Japanese sociocultural constructs, rather than American; not only do the untranslated honorifics create a linguistic barrier of entry which necessitates familiarity with Japanese, they also create particular relationships among the characters which are foreign from an American perspective. This can be seen in the fact that even relatively high competence in the Japanese language ability does not necessarily imply a mastery of the specific relationships indexed by these honorific suffixes: a 2003 study of L2 learners of Japanese by Takenoya found that even advanced-level learners “had difficulty using the address term system appropriately. They mastered second person pronouns and honorific titles but could not identify the speaker when the address terms were embedded in conversations” (Takenoya 2003, cited in Taguchi 2008:560). In other words, even though these L2 learners had “mastered” the use of the system grammatically, they lacked the cultural affordances necessary for accurately characterizing the Japanese relationships indexed by the suffixes in discourse.

In addition to contributing to the construction of foreignness in the Kodansha translation by the relationships which they index, the presence of Japanese honorific suffixes in the otherwise English text represents “a kind of exoticism” (Jüngst 2008:68), in that they introduce an element of a foreign grammar into the English discourse. The result is similar to the effect of travel writers using “non-native English forms to convey the idea that their interlocutors are speaking a foreign language” (Cronin 2000:42, cited in Maher 2012:131), and also to the concept of a 'mock' or 'pseudo' language, as in Jane Hill's (1998) Mock Spanish. Just as the -o and -a endings of Spanish morphology form a part of the 'sound' of Mock Spanish (Hill 1998:682), Japanese honorific suffixes sound “very Japanese to the Western ear” (Jüngst 2008:68), having been associated with Japanese in the popular American consciousness especially through film (Jüngst 2008:68); and just as the use of Mock Spanish by non-Spanish speaking White Americans directly indexes a “cosmopolitan” or “regionally authentic” identity (Hill 1998:683), the usage of Japanese honorifics in the English text indexes the reader's command over the particular variety of psuedo-Japanese that modern American manga readers have come to
appreciate and desire. As Jüngst (2008:60) points out, “Manga fans are conscious of the fact that they are reading translations... they expect the translations to give them something which as much like the original as possible”.

In contrast to the Kodansha's attempt at formal equivalence, the Mixx translation takes a domesticating approach to honorifics by removing them entirely, reducing them to the English 'zero' in dynamic equivalence. In the four examples above, all of Usagi/Bunny's distinct appellations in the Japanese original are leveled to the single “Bunny”, and the reader is left with no recourse to access the Japanese relationships created by the honorifics in the original text. The foreignness of the speaker-addressee relationships indexed by the honorifics is erased – an example of Kaindl's deletio (1999:277) – leaving the reader to assume the unmarked American equivalents.

3.3 Onomatopoeia

The translation practices surrounding onomatopoeic language in comics are rich and varied (Zanettin 2008a; Valero Garcés 2008; Jüngst 2004, 2008), and this is especially true in translated manga, as Japanese is “particularly rich” in onomatopoeia (Jüngst 2008:67; Fukuda 1993:7). In the original Japanese text of Bishojo Senshi Sailor Moon, onomatopoeia is almost always rendered in katakana, one of Japanese's two syllabic scripts, commonly used for emphasis, loanwords, and sound-symbolism such as onomatopoeia. In contrast with the calligraphic curves of hiragana – the other Japanese syllabic script used throughout Bishojo Senshi Sailor Moon – katakana indexes an “edgier” look (Jüngst 2008:61) with its sharp angles and straight lines. The indexical value of these writing systems is important in translation because, as Zanettin (2008:13) points out, words in comic books “do not only have a purely 'verbal' meaning but are also embodied with a visual, almost physical force. Words have graphic substance, forms, colours, or layouts which make them 'part of the picture’” – a statement echoed by Eisner (1985) and McCloud (1993) – and this applies to different writing systems as much as to different typefaces. The translation strategies employed for onomatopoeia by the Mixx and Kodansha translations reflect and reinforce the constructions of foreignness in each text, as in the following example:

(K8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OG;</th>
<th>MX;</th>
<th>KS;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>バリバリッ</td>
<td>BASH BASH</td>
<td>バリバリッ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>イタタタッ</td>
<td>Stop!!</td>
<td>イタタタッ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Onomatopoeia
The original Japanese panel features the onomatopoeia バリバリ (bari bari, indicating tearing, ripping or scratching). The Mixx translation applies a dynamic equivalence translation strategy, translating the expression into an (near-)equivalent affordance for American audiences with “BASH BASH”. By domesticating the onomatopoeia, the foreignness of the original Japanese is erased from two separate semiotic systems in the Mixx translation: language (where “BASH BASH” is a native English onomatopoeic expression, and bari bari is not) and the iconic significance of the (foreign) katakana syllabary, here replaced by the Roman alphabet. In the Kodansha translation, however, the katakana is maintained as an iconic reference to the foreignness of the original text, alongside an English translation (“SCRATCH SCRATCH”, incidentally closer to the original meaning of バリバリ). This 'hybrid' solution provides a dual foreignizing function: the presence of an English equivalent allows the text to “give readers an idea of the richness of Japanese onomatopoeia” (Jüngst 2004:94) in the source material, and, as with the “exotic” affordances added to the miko above, serves as an adiectio which “stresses the 'Japaneseness' of the story” (Jüngst 2004:96), while the (untransliterated) katakana retains the formal equivalence of the Japanese text, providing a direct index of the foreign writing system of the original text (Valero Garcés 2008:239). By leaving the Japanese onomatopoeic syllables in katakana instead of presenting them in a romanized form, the Kodansha translation imbues them with “a function which is more visual than verbal, as though they had become drawings like wall graffiti or advertising billboards … they serve as a reminder of the story's setting” (Celotti 2008:41).

Another example of the two translations’ different approaches to onomatopoeia and to the construction of foreignness can be seen in the following line of dialogue, in which an unnamed woman is praying for her missing daughter's return at a shinto shrine:

(K95)
OG; うちの みいが 帰ってきますようにパンパン uchi-no Mii-ga katteki-masu-yōni panpan
MX; Lord, please bring 1PL-POSS Mii-OBJ return-COP,AHON-wish.for panpan
KS; Please, guide my daughter Mii back to me! amen

Pun KLAP Pun KLAP

In the Japanese original, the woman's prayer is accompanied by the onomatopoeia パンパン (panpan, representing a clapping sound). Clapping twice and bowing after a prayer is part of shinto shrine etiquette. The Mixx translation replaces this onomatopoeia entirely with the dynamically equivalent exclamation "amen"12, indicating a Judeo-Christian prayer, and prefaces the woman's request with “Lord”, an adiectio which essentially turns the (foreign) shinto shrine into a (non-foreign) temple or church.

In contrast, the Kodansha translation leaves the Japanese katakana intact along with an additional gloss (“KLAP KLAP”), a semi-dynamically equivalent translation representing the English onomatopoeia for clapping, but one which still represents an affordance which requires familiarity with Japanese religious culture to understand. In comparison with “SCRATCH SCRATCH” above, however, this gloss is notable for its non-standard spelling – a feature which serves to further emphasize the foreignness of the affordance. Interestingly, while this spelling indexes 'foreignness' in its use of 'k' instead of 'c' in “clap”, the sequence “KL” does not actually appear in native rōmaji (romanized Japanese). In other words, by serving as a sort of “eye dialect” (Krapp 1971), the non-standard spelling helps to foreignize and otherize the text (c.f. Berthele 2000) without any specific recourse to the Japanese source – an example of translation strategy going beyond even formal equivalency in an

12 This dynamic equivalence provides an excellent example of the complications of multimodality in translating manga: while “amen” may not actually be an onomatopoeic expression in English, it becomes equated with one in the text by virtue of its placement on the page, situated diagonally within the panel but outside of a speech bubble, and rendered in the same bold, italic typeface as the onomatopoeic expressions “thump” and “flash” in surrounding panels.
attempt “to look more Japanese than the original” (Jüngst 2008:74). With this non-standard spelling, foreignness is not only highlighted, but actively constructed in the translation process, pointing towards its importance in the aesthetic value of the translated text.

3.4 Iconicity

As noted previously, comics are multimodal texts, with meaning expressed through multiple sets of semiotic systems, including the visual representation of words and pictures on the page (McCloud 1993). In addition to these words and pictures, the actual, iconic arrangement of the pages themselves represents another way in which language is used to construct the idea of foreignness in these two translations.

The original Japanese text of Bishojo Senshi Sailor Moon, like most Japanese manga and literature in general, reads from right to left. The right to left page order acts as an iconic representation of the Japanese writing system, traditionally oriented vertically and read from top to bottom, right to left. The Mixx translation is presented in mirror image, with the artwork flipped, and pages, panels, and dialogue are all read from left to right, as in American comic books and Western literature in general. The Kodansha translation, however, retains the original page and panel format of the Japanese text, with the artwork unaltered, so that pages and panels are scanned from right to left, even as the English text in speech bubbles within those panels is read from left to right.

These two distinct approaches to the iconic representation of text in translation represent two stances on the foreignness of the original Japanese work. In the Mixx translation, the right to left iconicity which recalls the Japanese orthography is reversed completely, minimizing the foreignness of the reading experience. In the Kodansha translation, however, the right to left page orientation takes on a wholly iconic significance. By organizing individual speech bubbles of left to right text in panels and pages read from right to left, the Kodansha translation adds the iconic representation of the foreign Japanese writing system to the non-foreign, left-to-right English text, allowing readers to feel they are consuming the manga in “as ‘original’ a format as possible (without, of course, having to learn Japanese)” (Schodt 2011:358). Even though the result is “hybrid” reading experience “entirely different” from both Japanese and traditional English reading processes (Schodt 2011:359; Rota 2008; Zanettin 2008a), the presumed foreignness of the right to left iconicity is actively marketed as “authentic” to American manga readers today, as in the back of the Kodansha Sailor Moon translation: “Authentic manga is read the traditional Japanese way – from right to left, exactly the opposite of how American books are read” (Takeuchi 2011). This particular reading practice – where pages are scanned from right to left, and text is read from left to right – is unique to the community of Western manga fans, and has become insider knowledge, to the point where “only adults who did not know any better would open the manga the wrong way round” (Jüngst 2008:59). Just as with the ‘pseudo-Japanese’ hybrid created by the addition of honorific suffixes to English text, the hybrid, mixed-direction reading experience – which requires a “new reading competence” (Jüngst 2004:101) – indexes foreignness in the text from the point of view of the English reader, appreciated by fans who “consider the novelty as part of the cultural experience of diversity made possible by reading a Japanese comic book” (D’Arcangelo 2008:144).

Finally, iconicity and foreignness intersect with another issue of translation practice – proper names – in a feature of language specific to manga: dialogue markers. These small, stylized portraits of different characters are intratextually cohesive “visual metaphors” (Zanettin 2008a:18) used to identify the speaker for a certain line of dialogue when that speaker does not appear in the panel – when they are “out of sight”, so to speak. These are iconic (or secondarily iconic) representations of the character.

13 For a visual representation of the different reading conventions discussed here, see Appendix B: Reading Direction.
(McCloud 1993:43), so that when Luna (a talking cat) speaks in a panel in which she is not depicted, for instance, a small picture of a cat face accompanies the text. The dialogue markers are present in the Japanese original and in both the Mixx and the Kodansha translations, as shown in the examples below, in which Luna and Usagi/Bunny both speak:

(K64)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OG;</th>
<th>MX;</th>
<th>KS;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In the Mixx translation, the secondary iconicity of the main character's dialogue marker is readily apparent precisely because of the domesticating translation stance which preserves the meaning of her name but not the form – her name is Bunny (from the Japanese *usagi*, meaning 'rabbit'), and a picture of a rabbit represents her speech. The Kodansha translation, however, employs a foreignizing translation strategy for proper names, so that her name is romanized but otherwise left untranslated. This preserves the form but not the meaning of the name, so that accessing the secondarily iconic meaning of her dialog marker (icon of a rabbit → rabbit → *usagi* → Usagi) requires a certain amount of Japanese linguistic ability. It's important to note that even without knowing the meaning of “Usagi”, an association between the main character and the rabbit dialogue marker remains intact in the Kodansha translation – dialogue markers are “conventionally stylized representations” (Zanettin 2008a:18) and readers could infer the connection from the rabbit marker's presence in Usagi's introduction – but the nature of that relationship changes. Unless readers are familiar enough with Japanese to know that “Usagi” means “rabbit”, the link between the character and the specific pictorial representation of a rabbit in this dialogue marker becomes an arbitrary one, which could easily be replaced by a star or a heart – in Peircean terms, it becomes symbolic, rather than (secondarily) iconic (Peirce 1885). Thus a recourse to foreign (Japanese) vocabulary is necessary to fully understand the full significance of the dialogue marker.

4. Conclusions

This analysis of two English translations of *Bishojo Senshi Sailor Moon* shows that the linguistic practices of loanwords and cultural affordances, honorifics, onomatopoeia, and iconicity are all mobilized in the construction of foreignness in these two translations, which represent not only two different approaches to translating manga (characterized broadly as domesticating/dynamic equivalence and foreignizing/formal equivalence), but also two different stances on the original Japanese text. The Mixx translation takes the evaluative stance that the foreignness in the original Japanese text is an undesirable element, something to be erased in translation, while the Kodansha translation takes the
evaluative stance that foreignness is a desirable component of the original text which, when preserved and even accentuated in translation, contributes positively to the aesthetic value of the translated text. To that end, while the Mixx translation Americanizes the setting, culture, and characters in the story, the Kodansha translation instead emphasizes the 'Japaneseness' of each of these elements.

The shift in translation practices and stance between these two translations is particularly important in that it represents a shift in the affordances available for manga fans to draw on as they engage with *Sailor Moon* as an aesthetic object, and constitute their community of practice. In other words, it can be thought of as a change in what it means to be a manga reader.

Before the rise of Cool Japan in the early 2000's, manga readers were primarily comic book readers “looking for something different from the superhero genre that so dominates American comics” (Schodt 2011:313). As noted above, manga like *Sailor Moon* have a distinct visual language, with a greater focus on subject-to-subject and aspect-to-aspect panel transitions (McCloud 1993:78) which sets them apart from American comics, and Takeuchi’s art style and the aesthetic qualities of *Bishojo Senshi Sailor Moon* stand out even further from mainstream American fantasy and comic book art. Further, the story’s main character combines aspects which are most often kept separate in American comic books: as a “warrior who retains, rather than revokes or transcends, her femaleness”, Usagi/Bunny/Sailor Moon embodies both “the masculinity of a fighter and the femininity of a romantic” (Allison 1999:273), and as a “sex icon as well as a superhero” both named for and clad in the standard uniform of Japanese high school girls (the sailor suit), she appeals to broad spectrum of readers, from young girls, as a “positive, new role model”, to older males, as an infantilized sex object (Allison 1999:269-274; Prough 2011:115). In this context then, at the time of the Mixx translation’s publication, readers engaged with *Sailor Moon* as a text which was already different from American comic books in a myriad of ways, even when translated with the domesticating, dynamically equivalent strategies outlined above. For these readers, the appeal of engaging with the text was due to its unique visual qualities and storytelling, rather than any particular 'Japaneseness' present in the original text, and a domesticated translation served this purpose well.

By the time the Kodansha translation was released in 2011, however, American readers' engagement with manga had shifted. Today, instead of comic book fans turning to manga for a different kind of storytelling or visual style, manga readers are increasingly engaging specifically with the Japaneseness of these these texts. As seen above, manga fans constitute their community identity through in-group practices such as learning rudimentary Japanese, including honorific suffixes and *katakana*, familiarizing themselves with certain aspects and affordances of Japanese culture, and being “respectful to the original work” (Rota 2008:94) by mastering the “Authentic Manga” reading direction, distinguishing themselves from those adults who “don't know any better” in the process. Unlike the engagement of earlier manga readers at the time of the Mixx translation, all of these practices require affordances made available by the foreignizing translation strategies seen in the Kodansha translation.

It's interesting to note that within the specific sub-culture of modern American manga fans, the translation strategies which have been referred to as “foreignizing” here and in other studies of comics in translation (Celotti 2008; Rota 2008; Zanettin 2008b) may in fact be fulfilling a function closer to Venuti’s (1995:20) definition of domestication, “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target language cultural values”. Certainly if the target audience is the mainstream American reading public, practices such as untranslated Japanese words (*otaku*, *miko*), unexplained honorific suffixes, untransliterated *katakana*, and unfamiliar reading conventions create a barrier of entry which fits the prototypical definitions of foreignizing translation strategies and formal equivalence. If, however, the readership of the Kodansha translation is primarily composed of dedicated American manga fans – “ultra-otaku”, in the American sense of “anime and manga fan” – as Schodt (2011:358) suggests, then Japanese loanwords, honorifics, *katakana*, and a right-to-left reading direction are all in line with the “cultural values” of the community, and these strategies can be thought of as 'domesticating' the text for
consumption in this particular community of practice.

The shift in translation strategies and in the stance taken towards foreignness between these two translations of Sailor Moon, then, is indicative of more than simple idiosyncratic differences between translators or publishers. It represents a change in the way American manga readers consume and engage with these translated texts, from a preference for a culturally adapted, domesticated reading experience to a desire for formal equivalence, where translated manga retain as much of their 'Japaneseness' as possible.
### Appendix A: List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>adjectivizing suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHON</td>
<td>addressee honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMP</td>
<td>emphatic particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCLAM</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Reading Direction

In the following diagrams, the larger red arrow represents the direction in which pages are read, the smaller yellow arrow represents the direction in which panels on a page are read, and the smallest blue arrows represent the direction in which the text itself is read, while the numbers next to the blue arrows indicate the order in which speech bubbles are read within a panel.

Original text (Bishojo Senshi Sailor Moon):

Mixx translation (Sailor Moon):
References:

**Primary sources:**


**Secondary sources:**


