Developing and Testing a Methodology for Identifying Ideologically Motivated Phenomena in Non-Fiction English-to-Japanese Translation

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ABSTRACT

Translators can, and do, manipulate translation processes for ideologically motivated reasons (Fawcett & Munday, 2011, pp. 137-141). Ideologically motivated "rewriting" (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1992, p. xi) in translation into Japanese of non-fiction texts about Japan can, at least when it takes the form of omission of ST passages, have a misleading impact on the way Japanese people believe people in other countries see them (Cherry, 1987, p. 14). This article proposes and tests a methodology for swift, simple identification and analysis of such rewriting-even in lengthy texts, e.g., books. The methodology draws on Barnard's intensity-analysis technique (Barnard, 2000) and his concept of an "ideological filter" (Barnard, 2002, p. 149). The test source text (ST) is the opening chapter of the English-language book *Princess Masako: Prisoner of the Chrysanthemum Throne* (Hills, 2006). The test target text (TT) is the corresponding chapter of an unpublished Japanese translation (in the form of printer's proofs) of the book by a Japanese publisher (Hills, 2007).

The methodology proved effective for highlighting patterns of possibly ideologically motivated ST-TT semantic divergence. For instance, the results reveal systematic omission of ST content that undermines the image of the imperial family. Applying Barnard's concept of an "ideological filter" (Barnard, 2002, p. 149) appears to be straightforward. The methodology offers great promise in enabling instances of apparently ideologically motivated rewriting in translation into Japanese of non-fiction English-language to be identified, tabulated, and further analysed. One of its chief merits is that it semi-automates the process of identification and tabulation.

Keywords: *Translation, Ideology, Rewriting, Analysis, Japanese, Semi-Automate*

1. Introduction

Translators can, and do, manipulate translation processes for ideologically motivated reasons (Fawcett & Munday, 2011, pp. 137-141). Behind this phenomenon, we can see that "evaluation is present behind every utterance" (Munday 2012, p. 155) that translation is "a constant evaluative process" (Munday 2012, p. 155), and that the choices made by a translator potentially indicate an ideological and axiological position (Munday 2012, p. 155).

The focus of this article is a proposed methodology for swift, simple identification and analysis of ideologically motivated manipulation (a phenomenon that can be seen as "rewriting" (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1992, p. xi)) in translation into Japanese of lengthy (e.g., book-length) non-fiction (informative) English-language texts about Japan. This focus is meaningful for three interrelated reasons.

First, ideologically motivated "rewriting" (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1992, p. xi) in translation into Japanese of non-fiction texts can, at least when it takes the form of outright omission of ST passages, have a misleading impact on the way Japanese people believe people in other countries see them. As Cherry (1987, p. 14) points out, "most Japanese believe they are reading the unadulterated ideas of foreign authors [...] and end up thinking foreigners have a comfortingly idealized view of Japan." Such a misleading impact could, one can logically infer, also affect the way Japanese people seek to interact with people in other countries.

Second, Japan is "highly monolingual" (Smakman, 2018, p. 74). A generally low

level of foreign-language ability can be logically inferred to limit Japanese people's ability to evaluate translations of English source texts (STs) into Japanese target texts (TTs) and, by extension, their ability to spot possibly ideologically motivated "rewriting" (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1992, p. xi) in such translations. (The likelihood that most readers of translations, Japanese or otherwise, would even be sensitive to the possibility of such a phenomenon is arguably small given that "for the average TT reader, the translator's words are the unmediated words and values of the ST" (Munday, 2012, p. 159).) Given that Japanese people necessarily receive much (perhaps most) of their informational input from the rest of the world through translation, another factor that likely plays a role is that they have (by some measures, at least) a relatively high level of trust in print media; a summary (Maita, 2015) in *Nyūzuwīku Nihonban* (the Japanese edition of *Newsweek*) of World Values Survey data suggests that 73.8% of Japanese adults trust newspapers and magazines. (The same summary suggests that the corresponding figure for Americans is 22.8%.)

Third, there appears to be a lack of techniques for swiftly and easily spotting and tabulating instances of (possibly) ideologically motivated rewriting in translation of English into Japanese for the purpose of analysis (for instance, for the purpose of spotting "patterns of shifts" (Munday, 2012, p. 18)). One apparent factor is the language pair. English and Japanese are so "typologically diverse" (Philippi, 1989, p. 680) that they have few of the structural similarities that English and certain other Indo-European languages (e.g., Spanish) have. ST-TT comparison techniques that depend heavily on formal and syntactic similarity between the source and target languages (e.g., Munday's comparisons of word counts and comparisons of type-to-token ratios (Munday, 2002, pp. 76-92)) do not appear to be practically usable. Another factor is text volume. Comparison-and-analysis approaches that have been taken with non-fiction English-to-Japanese translation samples (e.g., the systemic-functional approach taken by Inaba (2009) to study refractions of communicative functions and meanings in an English-to-Japanese translation of a newspaper article about a member of the Japanese imperial family) are noteworthy in that they yield richly detailed results. However, they do not appear well suited to relatively long texts (e.g., books) or to large volumes of relatively short texts. The results would likely be so voluminous that extraction and tabulation of phenomena for tabulation, comparison, and further analysis would be complex and time-consuming. This observation dovetails with Munday's point (2002, p. 80) that detailed analysis of a long text is logistically difficult and his observation (2002, pp. 79-80) that this logistical problem is the main reason for "a shortage of systematic studies of *complete* published translations (rather than short and isolated passages)". It underscores a need for techniques for spotting and tabulating instances of (possibly) ideologically motivated rewriting swiftly and easily. This need is all the greater given the efficiency (in terms of speed and volume) with which today's media can disseminate informative content in translation. Indeed, "technology offers increasingly sophisticated and efficient mechanisms for communicating [...] historical and current events, disseminating ideological agendas, and censoring and manipulating ideas in translation" (McLaughlin & Muñoz-Basols, 2016, p. 2).

Any methodology for swift, simple identification and tabulation of instances of ideologically motivated manipulation in translation into Japanese of non-fiction (informative) English-language textual material about Japan is, then, potentially valuable. The authors' proposed methodology is described later in this article. To give this methodology a test, the authors applied it to the first chapter of a book translation that the writer of the ST had criticized for what he apparently saw as ideologically motivated manipulation. The authors chose this material because the ST writer's criticism suggested that it would contain relevant phenomena for the methodology to identify.

At this point, let us briefly examine the book translation's background and the accusations that the ST author levelled against it. The ST is the English-language book *Princess Masako: Prisoner of the Chrysanthemum Throne* (Hills, 2006). Crown Princess Masako is, at the time of writing (March 2019), the wife of Japan's Crown Prince Naruhito, who is due to ascend to the throne at the beginning of May 2019 (Harding, 2017) upon Emperor Akihito's planned abdication. The TT is an unpublished Japanese translation (in the form of printer's proofs) (Hills, 2007) produced by one of Japan's biggest

publishers, Kodansha. (The ST author, Ben Hills, made the study possible by granting access to his copy of the TT.) The ST and TT are valuable as a means for testing the proposed methodology. They also have topical value in light of Crown Princess Masako's impending rise to empress consort and because they sparked disputes (specifically, a dispute between Hills and the Japanese government and a related dispute between Hills and Kodansha) that attracted international media attention.

The ST has 10 chapters. It is, in broad terms, a biography of Crown Princess Masako. It touches on a range of issues related to the Japanese imperial family-issues that had not been publicly raised in Japan owing, at least in part, to the fact that the country has a "cultural taboo against publicly criticizing the imperial household" (Gamble & Watanabe, 2004, p. 22). These issues include the marital relationship between Prince Naruhito and Princess Masako and Hills's assertions (Hills, n.d.a) that Princess Masako "is unable to adjust to the pressures of living in Japan's ancient imperial court", that she "is suffering from deep depression", and that "the imperial system is in crisis".

The ST was published in December 2006 by Random House Australia. Kodansha then announced that it was producing a Japanese translation for release on March 12, 2007 (Noda, 2007, p. 5). The first of the aforementioned disputes began on February 12, 2007, when Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs lodged protests with Hills and Random House Australia. The ministry criticized the ST for containing "disrespectful descriptions, distortions of facts and judgmental assertions with audacious conjectures and coarse logic" (Watanabe, 2007). It demanded an apology (Watanabe, 2007). Hills refused to apologize. He insisted that the ST contained just "a few minor errors" (McCurry, 2007). The second of the aforementioned disputes began on February 16, 2007, when Kodansha announced that it had dropped its plan to publish the TT (Noda, 2007, pp. 5-6). The company said that it had corrected ST factual errors during the translation process and that it had dropped its plan to publish the TT because Hills's refusal to apologize had made it impossible to maintain a relationship of trust with him (Noda, 2007, p. 6). Hills asserted that Kodansha had been pressured by the Japanese government (McMillan, 2007). He

specifically asserted that Kodansha had made changes "in consultation with [...] the Imperial Household Agency" (Hills, n.d.b, para. 5). (The Imperial Household Agency is the Japanese government body that administers the affairs of the imperial family.) Hills (n.d.b, para. 8) described Kodansha's "bowdlerizing" of the ST. He described the treatment of his book as "censorship by stealth" (Hills, n.d.b, para. 1) and said he had discovered "alterations and omissions" (Hills, n.d.b, para. 7) to passages reflecting "opinions and facts which the bureaucrats do not want the Japanese people to know about" (Hills, n.d.b, para. 7). Hills (n.d.b, para. 6) highlighted omissions of ST content by stating, for instance, that "all references to Princess Masako's giving birth to an IVF baby have been removed—in spite of the fact that, since the London Times broke the story four years ago, this has been reported in nearly every country in the world except Japan". He also (Hills, n.d.b, para. 6) highlighted what appeared to be deintensification, i.e., toning down, of ST content by suggesting, for instance, that Kodansha had changed ST references to Princess Masako's "depression" to TT references to "adjustment disorder".

Hills's assertions are lent credence by Sharp's observation (2011, para. 2) that "The heavy hand of the Imperial Household Agency ensures that salaried journalists self-censor reports to portray an airbrushed view of the Emperor and the Imperial Family." Even so, the authors wish to make clear that they neither agree nor disagree with any observations, critical or otherwise, made about the Japanese imperial family, the Japanese Imperial Household Agency, or any other person or entity in the book *Princess Masako: Prisoner of the Chrysanthemum Throne* (Hills, 2006).

2. Overview of Related Literature

It has long been recognized that translation is "not a neutral activity" (Hatim & Mason, 1997, p. 145). Bassnett and Lefevere (1992, p. xi) enable us to see ideologically motivated effects in translation as manifestations of rewriting. They state that translation is "a rewriting of an original text", that rewriting is "manipulation", and that studying "the manipulative processes of literature as exemplified by translation can help us towards a greater awareness of the world in which we live."

The notion of *idéologie* was introduced by the French scholar Antoine Destutt de Tracy at the beginning of the 19th

century as the science of ideas (Van Dijk, 1998, cited by Al-Mohannadi, 2008, p. 529). The term "ideology" was originally "neutral" (Munday, 2007, p. 196), but "this neutral use soon gave way to the (Napoleonic) negative, political sense and to the (Marxian) sense of false consciousness" (Munday, 2007, p. 196). The term came to be "often associated with theoreticians who were out of touch with reality and fixed in their own dogmatic views" (Rojo & Ramos, 2014, p. 249). The term "nowadays has a generally negative connotation of distortion, manipulation, or concealment" (Munday, 2007, p. 196). At the same time, Van Dijk (1998, cited by Munday, 2007, p. 196) "broadens the notion of ideology away from a purely political sense to encompass the knowledge, beliefs and value systems and the individual and the society in which he or she operates". Van Dijk (1998, cited by Munday, 2007, p. 196) proposes a multidisciplinary theory of ideology that encompasses three main elements: (i) cognition (thought and belief which go together to create ideas); (ii) society (group interests, power and dominance); and (iii) discourse (language use which expresses ideologies in society, often involving concealment and manipulation).

Translation scholars have defined ideology in ways that are broadly congruous with Van Dijk's (1998) emphasis on its social and cognitive aspects. They acknowledge the sociocultural influences (attitudes, etc.) that act upon a translator and the potential for a translator's own stance (attitudes, etc.) to manifest itself in translations. For instance, Lefevere (1998, p. 48) describes ideology as "the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time and through which readers and translators approach texts". In a similar vein, Hatim and Mason (1997, p. 218) define ideology as "a body of assumptions which reflects the beliefs and interests of an individual, a group of individuals, a societal institution, etc., and which ultimately finds expression in language". Al-Mohannadi (2008, p. 530) agrees that Hatim and Mason's definition "corresponds with Van Dijk's model of ideology" and offers the following summary, which highlights the fact that ideologically driven phenomena in language use have knock-on effects in that they can influence the thinking of receivers:

In a nutshell, ideology is a worldview that people acquire from the surrounding circumstances. It helps people to determine what is good or bad, to categorize others, to realize men and women's role in life; it controls peoples' beliefs about the world (as in religious ideologies) and determines priorities in life. [...] One of the crucial social practices influenced by ideologies is language use and discourse, which in turn also influences how to acquire, learn or change ideologies.

Ideologically motivated phenomena in translation can influence receivers without being noticed. As Munday (2007, pp. 196-197) points out, "translation [...] will most commonly be read as if it were written in the target language. It is "potentially influential" for precisely the reason that it will commonly pass as an unmediated work." Munday (2007, p. 197) goes on to tell us that "any obvious textual alterations will pass unnoticed unless and until a translation studies analyst or other critic takes the unusual trouble to compare source and target texts and identifies any shifts that have occurred". Munday (2007, p. 197) further emphasizes that "the main difficulty in any close analysis" is "the extent and form of the translator's ideological mediation or intervention […] in the target text, which may be very subtle and which remains concealed until the ST and TT are confronted."

The role of ideologically motivated rewriting in shaping translations of informative, non-fiction, English-language texts into other Indo-European languages such as Spanish and Italian has been documented in considerable detail. For instance, Valdeón (2007, pp. 231-243) presents case studies of political and sexist bias in Spanish translations of English-language news reports and highlights "transformations, such the [sic] re-organization of the news events (including the order of the paragraphs) as well as additions, omissions, and substitutions" (Valdeón, 2007, p. 240) as strategies used by the translators to "imbue the final product with their own ideological stance" (Valdeón, 2007, p. 240). (In terms of subject matter, other studies have focused on, inter alia, Spanish translations of English texts on alternative medicines (Albarrán Martín, 2015); Spanish translations by BBC Mundo of English news reports (Valdeón, 2005); English translations of "speeches and other political writings and interviews with revolutionary leaders in Latin America" (Munday, 2007); and Italian translations of English-language news features (Manfredi, 2018).) However, scholars—at least in the

Anglosphere—appear to offer few detailed accounts of ideologically motivated rewriting in shaping translations of informative, non-fiction, English-language texts into Japanese. Cherry (1987, pp. 14-16) gives a broad overview of the phenomenon with reference mainly to Japanese translations of non-fiction English-language books (e.g., *The Cinderella Complex* (1981) by Colette Dowling) and makes two key observations on its effects: 1) that Japanese readers' appetites for book translations "remain enormous at least partly because foreign manuscripts are made more palatable by adaptation and even censorship" (Cherry, 1987, p. 14); and 2) that "Censorship becomes especially insidious when combined with translation because most Japanese believe they are reading the unadulterated ideas of foreign authors" (Cherry, 1987, p. 14) and "end up thinking foreigners have a comfortingly idealized view of Japan, and that even the wildest goings-on overseas are not threatening" (Cherry, 1987, p. 14). (Cherry appears to use the term "censorship" for ideologically motivated rewriting whereby ST passages are completely omitted from the TT.)

The few detailed accounts of ideologically motivated rewriting in translation of informative, non-fiction, English-language texts about Japan into Japanese are as follows: 1) Inaba's study (Inaba, 2009) of apparently ideologically motivated rewriting in an English-to-Japanese translation of an excerpt of a 12 February 2006 leader article in *The Japan Times* (a daily English-language newspaper) about the pregnancy of Japan's Princess Kiko (Princess Masako's sister-in-law); 2) Barnard's study (Barnard, 2000) of apparently ideologically motivated rewriting in the English-to-Japanese translation of a *Newsweek* report on the 1999 Tokaimura nuclear accident (Japan's worst nuclear accident prior to the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station disaster of 2011) by the company that publishes the magazine's Japanese edition, *Nyūzuwīku Nihonban* (hereafter "Japanese *Newsweek*"); and (3) Barnard's study (Barnard, 2002) of apparently ideologically motivated rewriting in the English-to-Japanese translation of a selection of other Japan-related articles in *Newsweek* by the company that publishes Japanese *Newsweek*.

Inaba's study (Inaba, 2009) is relevant to the present study as, inter alia, 1) the subject of the ST and TT (Princess Kiko's pregnancy) is closely related to that of Hills's book (Hills, 2006) and is presumably subject to the same "cultural taboo against publicly criticizing the imperial household" (Gamble & Watanabe, 2004, p. 22); 2) a key purpose of the TT is to form an "*accurate* or *equivalent* translation [...] to assist comprehension of the original English text" (Inaba, 2009, para. 7) by learners of English as a foreign language (a purpose that arguably corresponds with Hills's expectations of Kodansha's translation of his book); 3) Inaba (2009) uses a systemic-functional approach to identify refractions of communicative functions and meanings; and 4) Inaba highlights a refraction that apparently reflects the translator's ideology.

Inaba (2009, para. 11-14) gives an analysis of an instance of apparently ideologically motivated nominalization:

ST: *No wonder the Crown Princess gets depressed*

TT: *Kotaishihino soutsu jotai wa murimonai*

Back-translation: The Crown Princess' depression is understandable

As Inaba points out (2009, para. 12):

Although the Process of the ST ("gets depressed") is initiated by Crown Princess Masako and expresses a certain extent of responsibility on the Crown Princess' part [...], the state of her depression becomes the Carrier followed by the Relational Process ("is") and the Attribute ("understandable") in the TT. The verbal group of the ST expresses a process [...] and is accompanied by the Agent which carries a certain responsibility or dynamic involvement of the Agent, thereby denoting a certain level of *activeness*—a higher degree of agency [...]. On the other hand, the TT changes the function of the [...] Process and represents it as part of the nominal group [...]. While the ST places stress [...] on the princess as the initiator of her depression, the TT simply depicts the state of her illness. Therefore, the TT is *downgraded* or *downplayed* through rank-shifting. By this, the *activeness* implied in the ST is lost.

Inaba (2009, para. 14) suggests that this refraction "may be due to the translator's own ideology or sentiments about the Crown Princess' situation", i.e., the translator's sympathy for the Crown Princess, and points out that the translator rewrote the ST "to elevate the image of the Crown Princess". Inaba's analysis (2009, para. 11-14) highlights the value of a systemic-functional approach. However, the depth and detail of Inaba's findings from a short newspaper article suggest that a similar methodology is unsuited to ST-TT

comparison of a lengthy translation such as a book and, by the same token, to a large volume of shorter translations as it would produce results that were too long and complex to be systematically and swiftly tabulated and synthesized.

The two aforementioned studies by Barnard (Barnard, 2000, and Barnard, 2002) also highlight the value of taking an approach that is informed by systemic functional linguistics when critically analyzing ideological influences on translation of informative, non-fiction, English-language texts into Japanese. They also offer other guidance on methodology that appears more suited to ST-TT analysis of a lengthy translation. The latter study (Barnard, 2002) shows a method for presenting parallel ST-TT passages such that omissions of ST content can be pinpointed at a glance. The former study (Barnard, 2000) shows how instances of semantic deviation in parallel ST-TT passages can be subjected to an intensity analysis. And both studies (Barnard, 2000, and Barnard, 2002) illustrate how instances of apparently ideologically motivated rewriting can be categorized for synthesis and/or analysis.

Barnard's approach to critical analysis is exemplified by his highlighting of omissions of ST content from the TT. With respect to content about finance and politics in Japan, for example, he notes the omission from Japanese *Newsweek* of the bold segment of the following ST (Kattoulas, 1999, p. 18C, cited by Barnard, 2002, p. 153):

In November, the FSA forcibly nationalized Nippon Credit Bank-**reputedly a major underwriter of Finance Minister Kiichi Miyazawa's political faction-**for failing to put its balance sheet in order.

This omission leaves Japanese readers unaware of the ST author's allusion to collusive ties between bankers and politicians in their country. (The use of bold text to highlight the omitted ST content enables the reader not only to pinpoint the omission at a glance but also to easily read the TT passage with and without it.) Barnard's approach to critical analysis is also exemplified by his highlighting of TT lexical choices (as opposed to outright omissions) that distort the ST author's message by downplaying certain elements. For instance, Barnard shows that a disapproving ST reference to the postwar role of Japan's banks as having been "essentially to dole out policy loans" (Kattoulas, 1999, p. 18C, cited by Barnard,

2002, p. 154) was transformed in the TT into a neutral-sounding reference to Japan's banks' having "played the role of supplier of financing to key industries" (Barnard's back-translation) (Barnard, 2002, p. 154).

Barnard's intensity analysis (Barnard, 2000, pp. 291-292) shows how the individual and cumulative effects of instances of semantic deviation in parallel ST-TT passages can be ascertained by the simple expedient of placing the ST passage and TT passage (plus a fairly literal back-translation of the TT passage) on either side of a mathematical greater-than sign ("$>$") with the passage that suggests greater force or intensity on the greater side. By way of example, a few lines from Barnard's intensity analysis are as follows:

panic $>$ *odoroita* (surprised)

fled $>$ *hinan-shita* (evacuated)

inept reaction $>$ no equivalent expression in *Nyūzuwīku*

Barnard's use of the term "intensity" may call to mind Munday's reference to "intensifiers of evaluation" (Munday, 2012, p. 65) in the context of "graduation" (Munday, 2012, p. 65). However, Barnard appears to use the term "intensity" in a broader sense in that he does not appear to limit his focus to degrees of evaluation using interpersonal resources. It is also important to note that Barnard uses the mathematical greater-than sign ("$>$") for only the aforementioned purpose, whereas Munday uses it for various purposes such as to tabulate a translator's own translation revisions (e.g., Munday, 2012, p. 124). Barnard's intensity-analysis methodology depends heavily on the analyst's intuition and on the literalness of his/her back-translation. Also, it is limited in that it yields only binary results that obscure the extents of difference in intensity between one pair of items and another. Barnard admits that he conducted his analysis "rather informally" (2000, p. 291). Nevertheless, his methodology is of key value to the present study as, notwithstanding the potential coarseness of the results, it appears to have the potential to enable analysts to spot "patterns of shifts" (Munday, 2012, p. 18) swiftly.

With regard to analysis, Barnard also offers the concept of an "ideological filter" (2002, p. 149). Barnard claims (2002, pp. 149-150) that an ideological filter is in operation if I can (a) identify consistent differences, both in content and grammar, between English *Newsweek* and Japanese *Newsweek*, and (b) show that these

differences potentially serve the interests of particular sections of society and, as a corollary, are likely to work against the interests of other sections of society.

Barnard asserts that Japanese *Newsweek* operates such a filter through "consistent adjustments of the message such that the translation produces meanings that bolsters up individuals and groups who occupy positions of power in Japan" (Barnard, 2002, p. 149). His concept and methodology appear to be applicable to the present study.

3. Methodology

In line with Barnard's approach and with Hatim's observation (2001, p. 231) that informative text "should be handled through semantic equivalence in translation", the methodology for the present study involves comparing the TT with the ST in an exploration for instances of apparent semantic divergence in four broad categories: omission, addition, intensification, and deintensification. From this point, the term "ST" refers to the opening chapter (consisting of 29 text-only pages) of the English-language book *Princess Masako: Prisoner of the Chrysanthemum Throne* (Hills, 2006) and the term "TT" to the corresponding chapter of Kodansha's unpublished Japanese translation (Hills, 2007).

A lack of access to Kodansha's translator and to the inner workings of Kodansha meant that it was not possible to ascertain which instances of semantic divergence (if any) reflected the translator's ideology, which (if any) were introduced by Kodansha, and what (if any) "power play" (Fawcett, 1995, p. 177) took place between Kodansha and the translator. For the purposes of this study, therefore, the two parties are conflated as "Kodansha".

The findings take the form of a table with the following columns:
- ST passage
- ST page number
- TT passage (with either (a) a fairly literal back-translation and comments for later reference; or (b) the word "Omitted" if the ST passage was omitted in its entirety)
- TT page number
- Broadly defined category: omission (leaving no reflection of the ST passage in terms of form and/or force); addition (creating a TT passage that has no counterpart in the ST in terms of form

and/or force); deintensification; intensification; or other changes)

This system of tabulation facilitates, inter alia, side-by-side comparison of ST-TT pairs and classification of incidences of ST-TT semantic divergence into categories that are (a) broad enough to accommodate diverse ST-TT semantic divergences and (b) few enough in number to facilitate comparison of the number of incidences of ST-TT semantic divergence in one category with that in another. A sample of the actual tabulation is shown below.

Table 1: Sample of tabulation of instances of ST-TT semantic divergence in chapter 1

No.	ST passage	ST page	TT passage	TT page	Key
1	**Nor have the weather gods smiled**—the tsuyu season, the 'plum rains' which coincide with the ripening of the fruit, has arrived the earliest anyone can remember this summer.	1	Omitted.	9	O
2	Nor have the weather gods smiled—the tsuyu season, **the 'plum rains' which coincide with the ripening of the fruit,** has arrived the earliest anyone can remember this summer.	1	Omitted. [The translator presumably made this omission in the belief that TT readers already knew, and did not need to be told, what the tsuyu season is.]	9	O
3	Nor have the weather gods smiled—the tsuyu season, the 'plum rains' which coincide with the ripening of the fruit, has arrived **the earliest anyone can remember** this summer.	1	この年、梅雨の到来は**異常に早かった**。 [lit. abnormally/unnaturally early] [I cannot ascertain whether the translator made this change for factual accuracy or for some other reason(s).]	9	C
4	Nor have the weather gods smiled—the tsuyu season, the 'plum rains' which coincide with the ripening of the fruit, has arrived the earliest anyone can remember **this summer**.	1	**この年**、梅雨の到来は異常に早かった。 [lit. this year]	9	C

It became apparent that some instances of ST-TT semantic deviation straddled the broadly defined categories. For instance, Kodansha added honorific suffixes to the names of members of the imperial family, e.g., changing "Masako" in the ST to 「雅子妃」 [lit. Princess Masako] in the TT. (Backtranslations and literal translations are by the first author.) The addition of an honorific suffix to a person's name is an addition in terms of form. And since it reflects a higher level of respect toward the named person, it is an intensification in terms of force. In the table, each instance of semantic deviation was placed in the category that most strongly characterizes it on the basis of its effect on the force of the ST passage.

It also became apparent that the TT reflects a number of omissions that did not appear to have been ideologically motivated as the affected ST passages describe

phenomena "belonging to the target language culture" (Aixelà, 1996, p. 69) whose description would arguably have been superfluous for Japanese readers. One such omission, for instance, is an ST passage (Hills, 2006, pp. 9-10) on the complexities of bowing in Japan. Such omissions are included in the tabulation for informational purposes and are omitted from consideration of possible ideological motivation.

The "other changes" category has two purposes. One purpose is to accommodate the possibility of ST-TT semantic divergence that could be interpreted as unintended (caused, for example, by what Baker (1992, p. 54) calls the "engrossing effect of the source text patterning"). The other purpose is to accommodate the possibility of ST-TT semantic divergence resulting from intervention made by Kodansha to correct factual errors in the ST. Regardless of whether a given instance of ST-TT semantic divergence appears to result from a correction of an ST factual error, it is treated-broadly in line with Barnard's concept of an "ideological filter" (Barnard, 2002, p. 149)-as possibly ideologically motivated if the semantic divergence appears to dovetail with any instance(s) of arguably motivated omission, addition, intensification, or deintensification elsewhere.

Below the ST-TT comparison table, there is a table (reproduced as Table 2 in this paper) showing the number of instances of each kind of rewriting (based on the aforementioned broadly defined categories) to facilitate numerical comparisons between categories. This ST-TT comparison took about 30 hours (spread over three days). A lack of similar studies means a lack of comparable timescales and thus makes any discussion of swiftness subjective. However, as the ST-TT comparison proceeded, application of the methodology came to feel semi-automatic and quicker.

4. Findings and Discussion

Chapter 1 of the ST is entitled "The Men in Black". It is, in broad terms, an account of the day of the wedding of Masako Owada (as Princess Masako was named before marriage) and Prince Naruhito. A numerical summary of instances of ST-TT semantic divergence is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of instances of ST-TT semantic divergence in chapter 1

Omissions (resulting in no formal reflection of ST)	88
Additions (resulting in TT that has no formal reflection in ST)	13
Deintensification/toning down	15
Intensification/toning up	38
Other changes (including those possibly made for factual accuracy and those that appear to result from the translator's misinterpretation of the ST)	43
Total	197

The 88 omissions constitute the largest category in terms of number of instances of ST-TT semantic divergence. Nineteen omissions are of ST passages about phenomena "belonging to the target language culture" (Aixelà, 1996, p. 69), whose description would arguably have been superfluous for TT readers. They include the information that *waka* is "an antique verse form of 31 syllables" (Hills, 2006, p. 10). Twelve omissions are of ST passages that constitute sarcastic or otherwise derisive digs against Japanese phenomena (e.g., a comparison (Hills, 2006, p. 1) of palace chamberlains' arrival at Masako's home to a state funeral). The other omissions encompass a variety of subject matter, e.g., two assertions (Hills, 2006, p. 2 and p. 17) that Masako had been reluctant to marry Prince Naruhito and two references (Hills, 2006, p. 25 and Hills, 2006, pp. 25-26) to the sexual relationship between Masako and Prince Naruhito. It is not possible to ascertain whether Kodansha made these other omissions for factual accuracy or for some other reason(s). Nonetheless, they have a common effect: They leave TT readers ignorant of ST passages that arguably undermine the dignity and/or public image of the imperial family.

The 13 additions include three insertions of specificity. Whereas, for example, the ST refers to a "June morning" (Hills, 2006, p. 2), the TT (Hills, 2007, p. 9) identifies the exact day in June. They also include four TT-only subheads. One of the 13 additions arguably has a particularly great impact on the dignity and/or public image of the imperial family. It relates to an ST passage describing Prince Akishino (Prince Naruhito's younger brother) as a "playboy" (Hills, 2006, p. 14). The TT for this passage backtranslates as "...rumored to be a "playboy" in foreign reports..." (Hills, 2007, p. 20). Kodansha's addition of quotation marks and attribution of the quote

to foreign media reduce "playboy" to foreign hearsay.

Among the 15 instances of deintensification/toning down, the most impactful with respect to the dignity and/or public image of the imperial family relate to two ST allusions to the post-wedding Masako's freedom (or lack of freedom) to speak publicly: Kodansha rendered an ST reference to "the last time Masako would be allowed to speak" (Hills, 2006, p. 21) using a phrase (Hills, 2007, p. 25) that backtranslates as "become unable to speak". And it rendered the ST "The *Kunaicho* put the gag on." (Hills, 2006, p. 21) using a phrase (Hills, 2007, p. 25) that backtranslates as "free expression was not allowed". (*Kunaicho* is a romanization of the Japanese name of the Imperial Household Agency.) The TT obscures the ST assertion that the Imperial Household Agency prevented Masako from speaking in public.

The 38 instances of intensification/toning up relate to names for members of the imperial family. In 19 instances, Kodansha rendered the ST "Masako" using the honorific title 「雅子妃」 [lit. Princess Masako] regardless of whether the ST referred to Masako before her marriage or to Masako after she became a princess. In one instance, Kodansha handled a pronominal reference to the pre-marriage Masako in the same way. In eight instances, Kodansha rendered the ST "Naruhito" using the honorific title 「皇太子」 [lit. Crown Prince]. In one instance, Kodansha handled a reference to "Her doting husband-to-be" (Hills, 2006, p. 10) in the same way. In three instances, Kodansha treated "Masako and Naruhito" as 「皇太子夫妻」 [lit. Crown Prince couple]. Kodansha rendered one reference to "Akishino" as 「秋篠宮（文仁親王）」 [lit. Prince Akishino (Prince Fumihito)], one reference to "Sayako" as 「清子内親王」 [lit. Princess Sayako], one reference to "Michiko" as 「美智子皇后」 [lit. Empress Michiko], one reference to "the in-laws" as 「天皇・皇后」 [lit. (the) Emperor and Empress], one reference to "Akihito" as 「今上天皇」 [lit. (the) present Emperor], and one reference to "Hirohito" as 「天皇」 [lit. (the) Emperor]. All of the aforementioned instances of intensification/toning up cause the TT to reflect greater respect and/or honour than the ST toward the named people. Kodansha's handling of "Akihito" and "Hirohito"

additionally meets a need for coherence (to enable TT readers to identify the people in question) as the names typically used in the Anglosphere for Japanese emperors are unlikely to be widely known in Japan.

Four of the 43 instances of ST-TT semantic divergence in the "other changes" category are conversions of ST dollar amounts to TT yen amounts. The other 39 encompass diverse subject matter but have a common characteristic in that the TT contains information not present in the ST-information suggesting that Kodansha may have found factual errors in the ST and used information from more authoritative sources. An example is Kodansha's rendering (Hills, 2007, p. 22) of an ST passage (Hills, 2006, p. 17) about a wedding ritual. Information that the bride and groom bow to an altar exists only in the TT.

5. Conclusion

The results of the ST-TT comparison using the developed methodology reveal that the main rewriting techniques used by Kodansha are omission and intensification. They also suggest that Kodansha omitted ST content that undermines the public image of the imperial family and used intensification to make the TT reflect greater honour toward it.

One impression that can be gained from the results is that individual instances of ST-TT semantic divergence introduced by Kodansha (for instance, the addition of honorific suffixes to the names of members of the imperial family) made subsequent, similar or identical instances necessary to preclude inconsistency within the TT. In other words, individual instances of ST-TT semantic divergence appear to have led to patterns that became marbled through the TT.

The methodology appears, then, to be an effective tool for highlighting patterns of possibly ideologically motivated ST-TT semantic divergence. A possible future study using the same methodology might examine whether the revealed patterns are also evident in the translation of the ST's subsequent chapters as these chapters are different in terms of subject matter.

A future study might also test whether the methodology can reveal the extent to which rewriting in translation creates two different bodies of knowledge and ideas. Such a study might make further use of the same English-language book (Hills, 2006) and Japanese translation (Hills, 2007). One logical inference at this stage is that such a

study should exclude any omissions of passages about phenomena "belonging to the target language culture" (Aixelà, 1996, p. 69) as they can, in broad terms, be seen as giving ST readers and TT readers the same knowledge of Japanese and non-Japanese sociolinguistic phenomena.

A large proportion of Kodansha's rewriting in the TT pertains to ST passages that arguably undermine the dignity and/or public image of the imperial family, so it seems reasonable to say that the TT for chapter 1 reflects what Barnard calls an "ideological filter" (Barnard, 2002, p. 149). With the results gained using the developed methodology, applying Barnard's concept of an "ideological filter" (Barnard, 2002, p. 149) appears to be straightforward. That said, Barnard's concept of an "ideological filter" (Barnard, 2002, p. 149) may have scope for refinement. Barnard's stated conditions for deciding that an "ideological filter" (Barnard, 2002, p. 149) is in operation include "consistent differences, both in content and grammar" (Barnard, 2002, pp. 149-150) between ST and TT. However, it seems reasonable to postulate that an "ideological filter" (Barnard, 2002, p. 149) might be considered to be in operation even if consistent differences between ST and TT were evident only, for instance, in terms of factual/propositional content (as indicated by lexis). A possible future study could thus include an attempt to conceptualize an "ideological filter" (Barnard, 2002, p. 149) more precisely.

Further, the analysis reveals that the study was limited in that it yields only binary results that obscure the extents of difference in intensity between one pair of items and another. As Hatim and Mason tell us (1997, p. 147), "degrees of mediation" can be seen in "the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text". A possible future study might thus examine how to position results gained using the methodology on a cline of "degrees of mediation" (Hatim & Mason, 1997, p. 147). Points on such a cline might conceivably include "partial mediation" (Hatim & Mason, 1997, pp. 159-161), "minimal mediation" (Hatim & Mason, 1997, pp. 148-152), and "maximal mediation" (Hatim & Mason, 1997, pp. 153-159).

In conclusion, the developed methodology offers great promise for use with non-fiction English-to-Japanese translations, even of lengthy texts such as books. In addition, the results of the study suggest several potentially fruitful lines of future research.

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