

# Resurgences of Women's Language in Japanese TV News: Shirabete Mitara and the Representation of Foreign Women

Francesco Vitucci

*Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna*

**Abstract** This study examines the representation of women's language in *Shirabete Mitara*, a television segment aired by the Japanese broadcaster Fuji TV. Drawing on audiovisual translation research and recent developments in Japanese sociolinguistics and media studies, it explores the inter-indexical relations between the Japanese voice-over and interlingual subtitles used to translate the speech of foreign female speakers, and the ideological portrayals of femininity they construct. The analysis of interview segments reveals not only the discrepancy between the non-native speakers' speech and that adopted by Japanese voice actresses, but also a process of hyperfeminization that indexes the metapragmatic stereotypes around which the so-called Japanese Women's Language (*joseigo*) has crystallized. The study further shows how the speakers' iconic bodies are instrumentalized as semiotic resources to convey specific ideologies of femininity, ultimately reinforcing gender-based discrimination deeply rooted in contemporary Japanese society.

**Keywords** language ideology; voice-over; interlingual subtitling; women's language; audiovisual translation.

## 1. Women's Language at the Intersection of Society and Translation

This study investigates the use of Women's Language (WL) in contemporary Japanese audiovisual television, with a focus on the *Shirabete Mitara* segment broadcast by Fuji TV. It examines the voice-over and subtitling of foreign women interviewed in Japan in order to analyze the types of femininity constructed through WL in translation. Drawing on ethnographic and anthropolinguistic research (Agha 2007; Duranti 2021; Irvine & Gal 2000, 2019; Miyazaki 2023; Spitzmüller 2022) and sociolinguistic studies (Abe 2010; Itō, Muta & Maruyama 2025; Iwata, Shigemitsu & Murata 2022; Mashiko 2017; Nakamura 2024, 2025; Okamoto 2025; Okamoto & Shibamoto-Smith 2004; Sanada 2020; Yamashita 2022), the gendered linguistic landscape in Japan emerges as multifaceted, shaped by the meanings language acquires across

varied contexts. Conversely, the persisting diagenetic bias in Japanese media, especially in audiovisual translation, often neglects the dynamic and regenerative aspects of language – processes through which communities of practice reshape linguistic forms. While recognizing the contributions of constructivist approaches to gender – especially in audiovisual translation (De Marco 2006, 2009, 2016; Konstantinovskaia 2020; Ranzato 2012; Vitucci 2020, 2023, 2024a, 2024b, 2025), Japanese gendered translation (Abe 2010; Furukawa 2009, 2024; Hiramoto 2009; Kobayashi 2024; Lämsä 2019; Nakamura 2020a, 2022, 2023; Nohara 2018; Ohara 2019; Saitō 2018; SturtzSreetharan 2006, 2009, 2017, Yukawa & Saitō 2004), and role language (Johnstone 2017; Kinsui 2003, 2007, 2017; Yasui 2024) this study moves beyond conceiving audiovisual translation as a purely technical operation. Instead, it foregrounds the role of linguistic ideologies in shaping translation practices, projecting specific social imaginaries that are internalized by viewers as naturalized realities. In particular, it underscores how female speech styles in Japanese audiovisual translations tend to reinforce gender ideologies by re-naturalizing women's roles within a patriarchal and heteronormative framework – one that is intimately bound up with the idealization of femininity. (Katō 2017; Konstantinovskaia 2020; Mandujano-Salazar 2016; Starr 2015).<sup>1</sup>

From a linguistic standpoint, numerous Japanese scholars – including Jugaku Akiko, Endō Orii, Tanaka Kazuko, and more recently Nakamura Momoko and Okamoto Shigeko – have demonstrated how discourse on WL has historically promoted a form of linguistic essentialism. This, in turn, has contributed to the reinforcement of hegemonic social and political structures, often at the expense of gender equality. Yet, gendered stereotypes about women persist in Japanese media. As Furukawa (2024) notes, such biases are found even in literary translation, including cases where the translators are women. Likewise, Mashiko (2017: 137) argues that when feminine sentence-final particles (SFPs) are normalized as markers of 'femininity' in character portrayals in TV dramas or novels, this reflects gender-based discrimination.

---

<sup>1</sup> The ideological framework in question is firmly tied to broader historical and socio-economic shifts. As Mandujano-Salazar (2024: 61) observes, Japan's economic downturn in the 1990s and early 2000s triggered major changes in the social fabric, including population aging, declining birth rates, and growing distrust in state institutions. Notably, this period also saw rising social criticism of women, especially regarding their perceived reluctance to marry and have children.

Accordingly, what merits empirical inquiry is the gap between these representations and women's actual linguistic practices in daily life.

In voice-over and dubbing, the alteration of women's speech is shaped by two key processes central to this study: one multisemiotic, the other interlinguistic. These are: (1) the use of the iconic bodies of foreign actresses aligned with the concept of 'bodies of otherness', emphasizing the disjunction between visual presence and vocal rendering (Inoue 2003; Vitucci 2023, 2024a); and (2) the adoption of genderlects encoding specific inter-indexical relations, enabled by the interlingual translation strategy known as 'transduction' – the discretionary assignment of specific gendered speech styles to these characters based on preconceived cultural and ideological templates (Hiramoto 2009; Okamoto 2025; Nakamura 2012, 2013, 2020b, 2023). For audiences, this is striking: viewers are led to reconcile a pseudo-natural speech – rendered as native to foreign actresses – with a visual illusion of congruence, suggesting gendered language norms exist even in non-Japanese contexts. Naturally, this reinforces the belief in the universality of a genderlect resembling Japanese WL.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Japanese WL is rooted in ideologically constructed assumptions derived from enduring stereotypes about female speech in Japan. As Okamoto (2016) and Shibamoto-Smith (2004) note, WL is typically associated with: (1) greater use of honorifics, indirect speech acts, interjections, and exclamatory expressions; (2) higher vocal pitch; (3) exclusive use of sentence-final particles like *-wa* with rising intonation; and (4) avoidance of the copula *-da* and emphatic particles such as *-zo* and *-ze*. In line with prior studies (Abe 2010; Ishiguro 2013; Okamoto 2016; Vitucci 2020, 2024a), other WL-linked features include honorific prefixes like *o-* and *go-* (e.g., *obentō*, *ocha*, *okaban*), avoidance of imperative/negative verb forms (*tabero!*, *taberu na!*), and refraining from masculine or profane vocabulary. Instead, WL favors first-person pronouns with feminine or neutral nuance (*watashi*, *atashi*, *atai*, *uchi*) and second-person forms like *anata* (used in intimate settings). Feminine SFPs (*-kashira*, *-wa*, *-wane*, *-wayo*), and stereotypically feminine interjections (*maa*, *arama*, *araa*, *kyaa*) are also common. Moreover, WL speakers often omit the copula *-da* after *-na* adjectives and nouns, using *ne* instead (*gomen ne!*), or replace *-no desu* / *-ndayo* with the feminine *-noyo* (Abe 2010; Nakamura 2013; Vitucci 2020, 2024a). Crucially, these features are embedded within a broader ideological framework that ties them to idealized notions of 'femininity' in Japanese culture (Konstantinovskaia 2020). As Nakamura (2025) notes, *-wa* is often interpreted as an index of 'softness' (*yawarakasa*), ideologically linked to the category of 'women'.

## 2. Data set and methodology

The dataset for this study consists of three episodes of the television segment *Shirabete Mitara* (しらべてみたら), a regular feature of the news program *Live News It!* (Live News イット!), aired by Fuji TV between February and May 2025, with a total runtime of approximately 73 minutes. Known for its investigative and accessible tone, the segment covers topics ranging from consumer behavior and cultural trends to inbound tourism and public safety. Content is made widely comprehensible through on-site interviews and statistical insights. In translation, interviews with foreign speakers are rendered via voice-over and interlingual subtitles, except when speakers are fluent in Japanese. Episodes are accessible through the broadcaster's website ([fujitv.co.jp](http://fujitv.co.jp)), *TVer* (a free streaming service), *FOD* (Fuji TV's official platform), and *YouTube* (Fuji TV's official channel). For this analysis of WL, only voice-over and subtitles from female speakers were considered. Male speakers, women who spoke in Japanese, and female participants with fewer than three utterances were excluded from the dataset.<sup>2</sup>

The topics covered in the three episodes, presented in chronological order, are as follows: 1. Shopping by foreign tourists in Japan, broadcast in February 2025; 2. Japan as photographed by foreign tourists, broadcast in March 2025; 3. Shopping by foreign tourists in Japan (2), broadcast in May 2025. In particular, the speech of the following speakers, as recorded in the interviews conducted within the program, will be analyzed in chronological order:

---

<sup>2</sup> The sample of six speakers covers three different geographical areas (Europe, the U.S., and South America) and was selected based on the presence of more than three utterances. It is worth noting, however, that each of the three videos also includes additional female speakers of different nationalities whose speech features tokens associated with WL. These latter speakers were not included in the analysis, as they each produced no more than two utterances translated into Japanese. The United States were selected twice due to the high frequency of American citizens interviewed.

| Speaker's reference | Nationality     | Approximate Age (where not indicated) | Japanese register in translation | Episode       |
|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| S1                  | Venezuela       | 20-30                                 | Informal                         | February 2025 |
| S2                  | U.S.A.          | 20-30                                 | Informal                         | February 2025 |
| S3                  | Switzerland     | 20-30                                 | Informal                         | March 2025    |
| S4                  | The Netherlands | 30-40                                 | Informal                         | March 2025    |
| S5                  | U.S.A.          | 20-30                                 | Informal                         | May 2025      |
| S6                  | Chile           | 40-50                                 | Formal                           | May 2025      |

Figure 1: Profile of the examined sample.

The study pursues three main objectives: (1) to explore possible correlations between speakers' age, nationality, and their use of WL; (2) to examine the relationship between diaphasic variation (polite vs. informal register) and Japanese WL; and (3) to identify the ideological framework underlying WL usage among the selected speakers. To calculate the proportion of WL employed in the three analyzed videos – that is, the extent to which each speaker activated features from the WL repertoire – Figure 2 presents the resulting percentages. These were obtained by dividing the number of WL tokens actually used by the total number of possible tokens in the full repertoire, which includes: *-no*; the variant *-noyo*; *-wa*; the variant *-wane*; *-kashira*; noun/adverb + *-yo*; adjective + *-yo*; verb + *-yo*; and noun + *-ne*.<sup>3</sup> Once the WL percentages have been established for each speaker, a quantitative and qualitative analysis of their speech will follow, cross-referencing the variables of nationality, age, and diaphasic register in order to identify the models of femininity evoked through the use of WL.

## 2.1 Quantitative Dataset Analysis

Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of WL features across the six speakers selected for this study (S1–S6) distinguishing between the two translation modalities: voice-over and subtitles.

<sup>3</sup> Due to constraints inherent to the nature of the contribution, paralinguistic features of language and personal pronouns will not be taken into consideration.

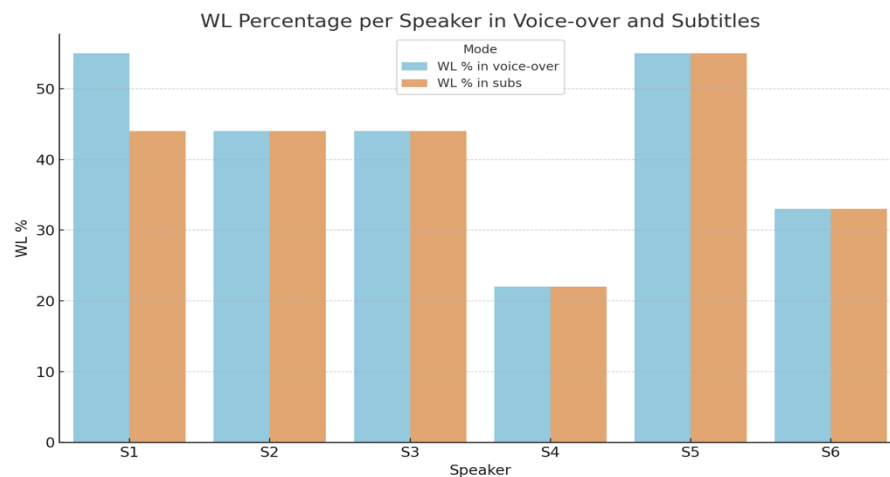


Figure 2: WL Percentage per Speaker in Voice-over and Subtitles.

The vertical axis indicates the percentage of WL features relative to the total number of target tokens, while the horizontal axis lists each speaker. Two key trends emerge. First, the distribution of WL percentages appears to be nearly symmetrical across modalities for five of the six speakers (S2–S6), indicating a high degree of translational consistency. The sole exception is S1, whose voice-over registers a significantly higher WL percentage (55.5%) compared to her subtitles (44.4%), suggesting a more overtly gendered and performative stylization in the voice-over rendering. Second, the chart points to a general tendency toward standardization in subtitles: three speakers (S1, S2, S3) display identical WL rates of 44.4% in the subtitled version, likely reflecting the spatial and syntactic constraints inherent in this modality. By contrast, the voice-over format appears to allow for greater expressive latitude and ideological mediation, particularly in more stylized speaker profiles such as S1.

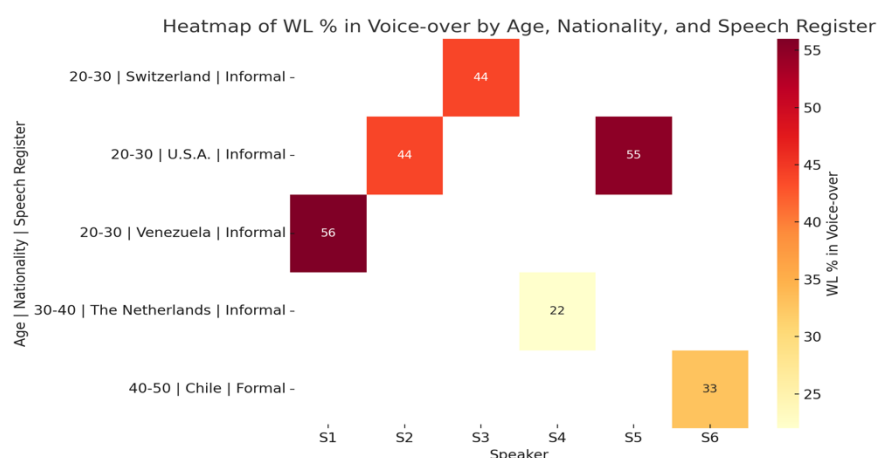


Figure 3: Heatmap of WL % in Voice-over by Age, Nationality and Speech Register.



Figure 3 presents a heatmap visualizing the percentage of WL features used in voice-over translations, cross-referenced by speaker metadata including age group, nationality, and speech register. The most salient feature of the heatmap is the marked contrast across age and speech register. All speakers in the 20–30 age group, using informal Japanese, exhibit higher WL percentages, with S1 (20–30 | Venezuela | Informal) and S5 (20–30 | U.S.A. | Informal) both registering the highest value (55.5%). This peak would suggest that informal speech, particularly among younger women, is more likely to incorporate indexical features of femininity. By contrast, the lowest WL percentage (22.2%) is recorded for S4 (30–40 | The Netherlands | Informal), indicating that informal register alone does not guarantee high WL usage. This suggests that other variables – such as speaker identity, cultural background, and genre context – may mediate the deployment or suppression of WL forms. The only speaker employing a formal register is S6 (40–50 | Chile | Formal), whose voice-over contains 33.3% WL. While this is higher than S4, it remains lower than all informal speakers in the 20–30 cohort. Interestingly, S2 and S3, both from the 20–30 age group and using informal Japanese, show identical WL percentages (44.4%), despite differing nationalities (U.S.A. and Switzerland). This suggests that, within this demographic, register and age may exert a stronger influence than nationality on WL representation in translation.

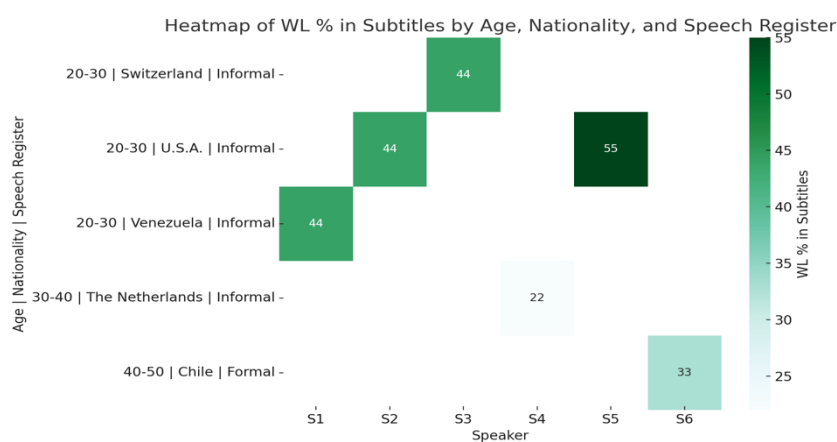


Figure 4: Heatmap of WL % in Subtitles by Age, Nationality and Speech Register.

In contrast, Figure 4 visualizes the distribution of WL features in subtitled Japanese translations, cross-referenced by age group, nationality, and speech register. One of the most notable observations is the limited variation across speaker profiles. The majority of participants – specifically S1, S2, and S3 –

register an identical WL percentage of 44.4%, despite differences in both nationality and age. Notably, age and register seem to exert less influence in subtitles than in voice-over translations, where a broader range of variation is evident (as shown in Figure 3). The lack of differentiation across nationalities – such as the United States, Venezuela, and Switzerland, all converging at 44.4% (with the exception of S5) – further supports the hypothesis that subtitling conventions tend to favor uniformity over indexical nuance. Taken together, the comparison between Figures 3 and 4 indicates that, while register and age play a slightly greater role in influencing WL usage in voice-over translations – particularly among younger speakers employing informal speech – such effects are notably less pronounced in subtitles. Overall, the figures underscore modality-specific translational tendencies: voice-over allows for a higher degree of ideological and indexical stylization, whereas subtitles tend to prioritize standardization, thereby reducing sociolinguistic nuance.

## 2.2 Qualitative Dataset Analysis

This section presents a qualitative discourse analysis of the speech of the six female interviewees, aiming to identify potential models of femininity shaped through the two translation modalities examined. Structurally, the *Shirabete Mitara* segment alternates interviews with foreign female speakers and commentary by a Japanese female speaker, along with native Japanese interlocutors (e.g., shopkeepers). The voice-over is handled by native-speaking voice actresses, distinct from the main narrator. Notably, these actresses seem selected primarily based on the interviewee’s age rather than appearance or nationality.

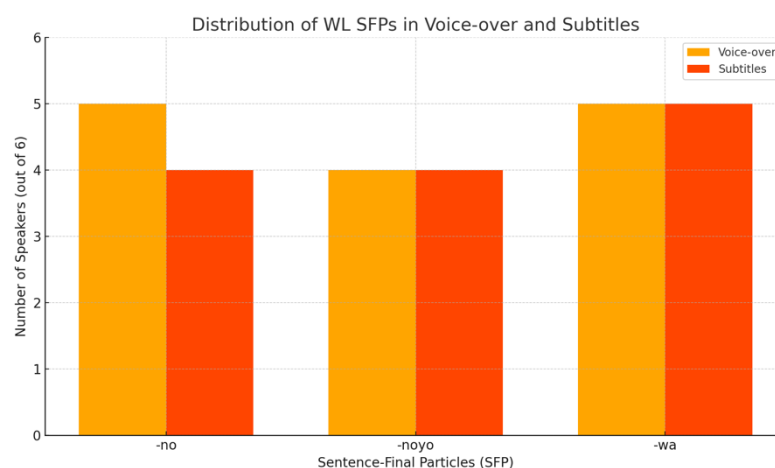


Figure 5: Distribution of WL SFPs in Voice-over and Subtitling.



Regarding WL occurrence, all SFPs analyzed were present in the six interviews. Some particles occurred more frequently, as shown in Figure 5, while others appeared only one to three times but still represented the rest of the dataset. We attribute this lower frequency not to intentional omission but to the program's editing style, which presents short interviews with multiple speakers. To clarify the choices made by dialogue writers and subtitlers, a brief overview of the female interviewees – following their order of appearance across the three episodes – is provided below.

In the February episode, two speakers are featured: S1, a fashion-conscious model from Venezuela who came to Japan for work and expresses a strong interest in shopping for clothing items; and S2, a young American woman with a fuller body type who shows particular enthusiasm for shopping for Japanese knives. Both are portrayed as being especially drawn to consumer goods available in Japan, to the extent that S1 even markets them online via her social media channels. Introduced as the winner of the “Miss International 2023” contest, S1 enthusiastically showcases the items she has purchased in Japan and expresses herself as follows<sup>4</sup>:

01 *Nedan mo yasui shi, hinshitsu mo subarashii wa!*

(Eng. Not only are the prices low, but the quality is also excellent!)

02 *Nihon no toppu no mise yo!*

(Eng. This is one of Japan's top stores!)

03 *Sētā o katta ndakedo...*

(Eng. I bought a sweater, but...)

04 *A! Watashino baggu mo sō*

(Eng. Oh! My bag is the same)

05 *Kono ryukkusakku mo Yunikuro noyo*

(Eng. This backpack is from Uniqlo as well)

In our view, the use of informal register (*futsūtai*), combined with the occurrence of the two sentence-final particles *-wa* (line 1) and *-noyo* (line 5) by S1, contributes to indexicalizing a rather ‘casual’ model of femininity (Nakamura 2020), if not one that borders on the ‘infantile’ – a perception reinforced by the extremely high-pitched voice of the Japanese voice actress which closely draws on the vocal repertoire of the so-called ‘sweet voice’ (Starr 2015). Indeed, when considering the topic of the interview itself (shopping in

---

<sup>4</sup> In this section, the voice-over and subtitle texts are identical.

Japan) and the age group to which S1 belongs, it seems likely that the stereotype conveyed through translation is intended to index a form of ‘coquettishness’ (*iropposa*) that would position the speaker as a self-styled expert in Japanese shopping culture, speaking in a performatively feminine manner toward the interviewer. Not coincidentally, in the images that follow, the program includes clips of S1 taken from her social media accounts, in which she showcases the items she purchased in Japan and demonstrates how to wear them.

Similarly, S2 is portrayed as an enthusiast of both shopping and Japanese culture. Encountered on the street in Asakusa and taken to a traditional Japanese knife shop, the young woman expresses herself as follows:

06 *Nihon ni kite kara, hobo mainichi kaimono shiteiru wa*

(Eng. Ever since I arrived in Japan, I’ve been going shopping nearly every day, you know.)

07 *Konnani nagai hōchō de nani o kiru no kashira?*

(Eng. I wonder what one would cut with such a long knife?)

08 *Amerika niwa konna takusan no hōchō nai wa*

(Eng. You don’t find this many knives in America)

09 *Kore o kau wa*

(Eng. I’ll buy this)

10 *Nigitta toki no kanshoku ga yokute, sugoku karukatta no!*

(Eng. It felt really good when I held it, and it was incredibly light!)

11 *Ha ni tsuiteta moyō mo sugoku suteki datta shi*

(Eng. The pattern on the blade was also really beautiful, and...)

12 *Tottemo kagayaiteiru wa. Kagayaiteru no ga suki*

(Eng. It’s shining so brightly. I really like things that shine)

In this case, S2 – like S1 – makes use of the informal register (*futsūtai*), incorporating not only SFPs such as *-wa* (lines 6, 8, 9,12) and *-no* (line 10), but also extending her repertoire to include *-kashira* (line 7). Unlike S1, however, the tone of the voice actress voicing S2 is noticeably deeper, likely in order to render the character multisemiotically more credible (especially given that S2 is physically less striking than S1). Still, while S2’s WL retains a certain degree of ‘casualness’ in her performance of femininity, it appears to place greater emphasis on the affective dimension of speech. Notably, she seems overly excited not only at the prospect of purchasing such expensive knives (a point also emphasized by the narrator, who comments on their exorbitant price), but also at the idea of possibly living in Japan in the near future – an idea she herself introduces shortly thereafter. Unlike S1, then, S2 employs *-wa* to express

‘excitement’ (*kōfun*) – both for her unique personal experience and, more specifically, for the ‘distinctiveness’ (*omoshirosa*) of her purchasing choices. This contributes to reinforcing the stereotypical portrayal of foreign consumers in Japan as prone to making quirky or unpredictable choices (after all, why would a young American woman travel to Japan to buy vegetable knives?). At the same time, her reaction helps underscore the presumed superiority of Japanese craftsmanship over foreign-made goods. Needless to say, this mode of representing alterity serves the broader agenda of the program itself, which aims to present the Japanese audience with the hidden charms and positive aspects of their own country.

The March episode features S3, a young tourist from Switzerland with an interest in smoking regulations in Japan, and S4, an older participant from the Netherlands, who expresses interest in the prizes obtainable from crane games (UFO catchers). In the case of S3, it is noteworthy that the most representative WL tokens in both translational modalities are still *-wa* (lines 14, 17), *-no* (line 13), and *-noyo* (line 16), occurring in equal proportions. What stands out in her case is the use of a lower-pitched and more ‘mature’ voice in the Japanese voice-over compared to the original, especially given that the interview takes on a more socially-oriented dimension (i.e., smoking in designated public spaces in Japan). Notably, S3 expresses great surprise at the fact that it is possible to smoke in areas that, while officially designated, are extremely crowded and potentially harmful to health<sup>5</sup>. As she herself states:

13 *Kondeiru tokoro ni tatte tabako o suu no ga omoishiroi to omotta* **no**

(Eng. I thought it was fun to stand in a crowded place and smoke)

14 *Watashi kara suru to arienai* **wa!**

(Eng. I just can’t believe anyone would do that!)

15 *Suisu da to dokodemo tabako o sueru kara ne*

(Eng. You know, in Switzerland you can smoke wherever you want)

16 *Hitogomi no naka de tabako o sutta* **noyo!**

(Eng. They were smoking right in the middle of a crowd!)

17 *Nihon de tabako wa tanoshimenai* **wa!**

(Eng. You just can’t enjoy smoking in Japan!)

If one were to investigate the indexical meanings of the WL features in S3’s speech – similarly to what was done in the case of S2 – it could be hypothesized

---

<sup>5</sup> According to S3, in Switzerland, for instance, smoking is allowed anywhere.

that the SFPs she employs serve to signal both a sense of ‘astonishment’ (*odoroki*) and of ‘distinctiveness’ (*omoshirosa*). However, unlike the previous episode, this one appears to convey a subtly critical tone on the part of the producers, positioning S3’s home country (Switzerland) as more ‘advanced’ than Japan in this regard. For this reason, S3’s speech style (she also makes use of the informal register), in contrast to that of S2, seems intentionally more ‘affected’ (*kidotta hanashikata*) and ‘didactic’ (*kyōikuteki*). The resulting image, then, is that of a thoughtful woman intent on offering helpful advice to her Japanese audience.

Unlike S3, S4 displays a sense of ‘excitement’ (*kōfun*) and ‘surprise’ (*odoroki*) upon discovering that consumable goods (in her case, boxes of white grapes and donuts) can be obtained as prizes from UFO catcher machines.

18 *Kikai o tsukatte shōhin o te ni irerareru nante*

(Eng. I can’t believe you can actually get stuff just by using a machine)

19 *Totemo mezurashii wa!*

(Eng. That’s really unusual!)

20 *Hajimete yatta yo!*

(Eng. I did it for the first time!)

21 *Tabeta kedo watashino kuchi ni awanakatta wa*

(Eng. I tried it, but it just wasn’t to my taste)

Although older than S3, S4 also adopts an informal register, even though both characters share the same Japanese voice actress. Despite the interview being frequently interspersed with the narrator’s voice, S4 – albeit with fewer occurrences – also employs WL, particularly through the use of the SFP *-wa* (lines 19 and 21). In this case, however, if the first instance of *-wa* (line 19) may index a sense of ‘excitement’ (*kōfun*) and ‘surprise’ (*odoroki*), the second occurrence (line 21) appears to convey a form of ‘coquettishness’ (*iropposa*) – possibly suggesting that S4 is trying to imply she is used to consuming higher-quality food than what she encountered in Japanese game arcades. Moreover, it is worth noting that S4 appears alongside her male partner during the interview, a circumstance that may partially account for the presence of WL features in her speech. From a strictly social perspective, as with S2, what emerges is a clear interest on the part of adult foreigners in aspects of Japanese society that are typically geared toward the tastes and expectations of local teenagers. All the more ‘peculiar’, then, is the fact that an adult woman would comment – with a touch of ‘pretentiousness’ – that she did not enjoy the products she won from a UFO catcher (as a matter of fact, how many of her

Japanese peers would ever visit an arcade to try and win donuts?). In our opinion, it is highly likely that the producers' intent is precisely to represent alterity through a series of behaviors that the Japanese audience may perceive as 'eccentric'.

In the most recent episode of *Shirabete Mitara* considered here (May 2025), the featured speakers are S5, a young American woman visiting Japan with her partner, and S6, a Chilean woman aged between 40 and 50, also travelling in Japan with a friend. From a linguistic perspective, S5 – who also speaks using an informal register (*futsūgo*) – displays high percentages of WL across both translation modes, primarily through the use of the SFPs *-no* (lines 22, 25, 26), *-noyo* (line 28), and *-wa* (line 29).

22 *Rosanzersu kara kita* **no**

(Eng. I came from Los Angeles)

23 *Kekkon shitate de hanemūnchū* **nano**

(Eng. We just got married and we're on our honeymoon!)

24 *Yūjin ga Kappabashi shōten*

(Eng. My friend told me)

25 *de kicchinyōin o kau koto o susumete kureta* **no**

(Eng. I should check out Kappabashi for kitchenware)

26 *Kare<sup>6</sup> wa ookii kara kyabetsu no tegiri o takusan taberu* **no**

(Eng. He's a big guy, so he eats a lot of hand-cut cabbage)

27 *Watashi ga kiru supīdo ja oitsukanai kara*

(Eng. I can't cut fast enough to keep up)

28 *Suraisā no hō ga hayaku dekite yoi* **noyo**

(Eng. Using a slicer is just faster and easier!)

29 *Koko nara kitto mitsukaru to omotteta* **wa!**

(Eng. I just knew I'd find it here!)

In the case of S5, it is evident that the SFP *-wa* partially performs the same functions as in S2, who employed *-wa* to express 'excitement' (*kōfun*) and 'distinctiveness' (*omoshirosa*), or in S4, who similarly conveyed a sense of 'surprise' (*odoroki*) in relation to her purchasing choices. Notably, in line 29, S5 appears pleased that her intuition – namely, finding a slicer in the district she had been recommended – has been confirmed. Moreover, S5 repeatedly employs *-no* in an explanatory fashion (see lines 22, 25, 26) to convey a similar sense of 'excitement', once again adopting a tone that borders on the 'childlike', as previously observed in S1. An additional element that emerges more

<sup>6</sup> In this instance, S5 is referring to her husband.

prominently in this case is the presence of S5's husband, who – similarly to S4's partner – significantly shapes the translators' perception of her identity. The fact that she explicitly mentions, for instance, that she is the one who cooks for him suggests that, once again, S5's use of WL may index a feminine ideal closely aligned with a patriarchal view of society (Mandujano-Salazar 2016; Vitucci 2024b).

The final speaker in the third video is S6 who, as the eldest participant, adopts a formal register (*teineigo*) in both translation modes under examination, thereby minimizing the use of WL to the greatest extent. It is significant to observe that, while explaining how she manages to save money during her trip to Japan, S6 shifts from the polite register (*teineigo*) to the plain form (*futsūgo*), incorporating in this transition features typically associated with WL, such as *-noyo* (line 33) and *-wane* (line 34), each serving distinct pragmatic functions. The particle *-noyo*, as in the case of S5 (line 28), is employed in an explanatory manner, aimed at emotionally engaging the interviewer. Conversely, *-wane* (line 34) appears to be used to express an opinion that could be framed as 'common sense' (*jōshiki*). It is also worth noting that, in reaching this point in the conversation, S6 – while not producing fully formed sentences in Japanese – nonetheless incorporates several Japanese lexical items into her speech, such as *shokupan* (square loaf bread), *hamu* (ham), *gyūniku* (beef), and *kōhī* (coffee). From an ideological perspective, the use of WL in this instance clearly reproduces the 'classical' image of a woman skilled in domestic matters, attentive to saving money, and capable of offering useful advice to that end. The overall impression is that S6 momentarily shifts from being a Chilean tourist in Japan to embodying a stereotypical twentieth-century Japanese housewife.

30 *Zenkai no nihonryokō wa zenbu de 70man'en kurai deshita*

(Eng. My last trip to Japan cost me around 700,000 yen in total)

31 *Tokuni furaito ga takai kara*

(Eng. Especially because flights are so expensive)

32 *Sūpā de asagohan o katte*

(Eng. I buy my breakfast at the supermarket)

33 *Yorugohan wa kombini de kau **noyo***

(Eng. I get my dinner at the convenience store)

34 *Yasui basho wa ii **wane!***

(Eng. Cheap place is good!)



### 3. Discussions and Perspectives

The ideological underpinnings of Japanese WL have been critically examined in the last years by several scholars whose work has shown how it has often been framed in essentialist terms, reinforcing rigid conceptions of gender difference that align with broader hegemonic structures (DiBello Takeuchi 2023; Duranti 2021; Nakamura 2023). Despite widespread critique, such essentialist portrayals continue to permeate Japanese media, where linguistic forms tied to traditional femininity are frequently recycled. As Mashiko (2017) argues, the normalization of feminine SFPs in scripted media can perpetuate discriminatory gender norms under the guise of authenticity or character realism.

Drawing on the literary corpus presented herein, this study set out to explore the interaction between sociolinguistic variables – specifically age, nationality, and register – and the representation of Japanese WL across two translation modalities (voice-over and subtitles) in the television program *Shirabete Mitara* (Fuji TV). Through a mixed-methods approach combining quantitative percentages and qualitative discourse analysis, several key patterns emerged that speak directly to the three guiding research questions:

**1. Correlation between Age, Nationality, and WL Use.** The analysis reveals a clear correlation between age and the frequency of WL features, particularly in the voice-over translations. Younger speakers (S1, S2, S3, S5), all aged between 20 and 30, consistently exhibit higher percentages of WL, with S1 and S5 reaching a peak of 55.5%. In contrast, older speakers – S4 (30–40) and S6 (40–50) – demonstrate markedly lower WL frequencies (22.2% and 33.3%, respectively), suggesting that age acts as a limiting factor in the stylization of gendered speech. The variable of nationality, while less statistically determinant, contributes significantly to the qualitative construction of identity. For instance, Latin American participants (S1 from Venezuela and S6 from Chile) illustrate two opposite ends of the femininity spectrum: one hyper-feminized and performative (S1), the other pragmatic and domestically oriented (S6). European speakers (S3 from Switzerland and S4 from the Netherlands) tend toward either critical or eccentric femininities, often distanced from the normative local models. North American speakers (S2 and S5), meanwhile, are characterized by emotionality and relational positioning. These national backgrounds appear to inform not the quantity but the pragmatic function and ideological framing of WL, suggesting that cultural expectations around gender roles are indexed through localized appropriations of Japanese speech styles.

**2. Relationship Between Register and WL.** A second major finding concerns the diaphasic variation between polite (*teineigo*) and informal (*futsūtai*) registers. All speakers but one (S6) employ the informal register during their interviews. This consistent informality correlates with higher WL usage, indicating that WL – despite its historical ties to refinement a politeness – is now more closely aligned with affective and performative registers. S6, the only speaker who begins with polite speech, registers a lower WL percentage (33.3%), supporting the hypothesis that politeness constrains the use of WL, possibly due to its association with more regulated and socially neutral communication styles. Moreover, the pragmatic flexibility of WL emerges clearly across cases. While S1 and S2 use SFPs such as *-wa*, *-no*, and *-noyo* to express excitement, cuteness, or consumer enthusiasm, S3 and S4 use the same features to convey critique or affected superiority. On the contrary, S5's childlike use of WL affirms her role as a nurturer in a traditional heterosexual family unit, whereas S6 deploys WL only within a functional, economizing narrative. These patterns reinforce the notion that WL is not a monolithic linguistic variety, but a **multi-indexical resource** capable of expressing affect, identity, and ideology depending on the speaker's stance and interactional goals.

**3. Ideological Functions of WL in Translation.** The third axis of investigation – the ideological function of WL as mediated through translation modality – reveals differences between voice-over and subtitles. This is most evident in the case of S1, whose voice-over modality emerges as an ideological site of performative femininity, particularly effective in projecting traits like coquettishness (*iropposa*), emotionality (*kōfun*), or childlike innocence. In contrast, subtitling exhibits a flattening effect, with most WL percentages converging around 44.4% across diverse speaker profiles.

By contrast, when considering the intersection of sociolinguistic and ideological variables, it becomes possible to group the six speakers into a structured typology of foreign femininities (Figure 6):

| Speaker | Age Group   | Register          | WL Features        | Indexed Femininity       | Symbolic Role                           |
|---------|-------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|---|
| S1      | Young       | Informal          | -wa, -noyo         | Coquettish, infantilized | Fashionable influencer                  |
| S2      | Young       | Informal          | -wa, -no, -kashira | Affective, enthusiastic  | Exotic and emotionally engaged consumer |
| S3      | Young adult | Informal          | -wa, -no, -noyo    | Affected, didactic       | Cultural critic and observer            |
| S4      | Older adult | Informal          | -wa                | Eccentric, pretentious   | Outsider in youth-oriented settings     |
| S5      | Young adult | Informal          | -no, -noyo, -wa    | Childlike, nurturing     | Traditional wife and caretaker          |
| S6      | Middle-aged | Formal > Informal | -noyo, -wane       | Frugal, domestic         | Economically wise housewife figure      |

Figure 6: Typology of Foreign Femininities in *Shirabete Mitara*.

**Group 1 (pink): Performative and Consumer-Oriented Femininity** (S1 and S2) – Characterized by affective language, informal register, and overt enthusiasm for Japanese culture and goods. Their WL use contributes to constructing a hyperfeminine, commodified persona.

**Group 2 (green): Eccentric and Critically Distanced Femininity** (S3 and S4) – Defined by speech styles that index either critique (S3) or ironic detachment (S4), often through WL features repurposed for didactic or pretentious effects.

**Group 3 (blue): Pragmatic and Domestic Femininity** (S5 and S6) – Aligned with household tasks, care, and frugality. WL in these cases is used to express domestic competence and traditional gender roles, particularly through the lens of economic efficiency or marital responsibility.

This typology illustrates how *Shirabete Mitara* leverages WL to construct stylized, ideologically charged representations of foreign women. By combining register, translation modality, and the speaker's sociolinguistic background, the program constructs different models of femininity that feel both recognizable and exotic. This dual portrayal strengthens Japan's cultural authority (Mandujano-Salazar 2016, 2024), while making foreign women understandable through gender norms familiar to Japanese audiences (Nakamura 2013, 2014, 2023). In our opinion, despite their differences, the three profiles emerging from the above-mentioned investigation reaffirm images of 'femininity' that are indirectly embedded in the essentialist framework of the patriarchal tradition (Konstantinovskaia 2020; Zi 2024), whereby women are predominantly confined to the domestic sphere (Group 3: caretaking of the household and management of domestic economy), cast as expert buyers<sup>7</sup> (Group 1), or portrayed in the act of raising awareness for educational purposes (Group 2).

<sup>7</sup> It should not be overlooked that, within the patriarchal model of the heterosexual family prevalent throughout the twentieth century in Japan, it was always women who were responsible for managing the household economy.

These inter-indexical relations – linguistically conveyed through the use of WL – are further corroborated by a professional voice actress in an email interview conducted in February 2025 with the author of this study. When asked about the use of WL in dubbing and voice-over, Yūko<sup>8</sup> confirmed that, despite a slight decline in recent years, scriptwriters still tend to insert it as a defining feature of female speech. According to her, the rationale behind this choice lies partly in the Japanese education system, which subconsciously shapes the linguistic imaginary of female speech in both men and women, and partly in the voice acting industry and acting schools, which continue to emphasize this type of linguistic characterization (*yakuwarigo*, to use a term coined by Kinsui in his research). Following this rationale, the interviewee suggests that a more pronounced linguistic stylization would enable Japanese audiences to better identify female characters on screen, thereby facilitating a deeper immersion in the narratives being told.

Nevertheless, from an ideological standpoint, this type of intervention can only reinforce the reiteration of an iconization process (Irvine & Gal 2000, 2019), aimed at associating a specific group of speakers with particular speech styles, regardless of whether such associations reflect the complexity of the multiple female identities present in contemporary language use. What thus emerges as a central question is whether those working in audiovisual translation in Japan acknowledge the ethical responsibility inherent in translation and the social repercussions of their translated texts. As several studies in translation studies and sociolinguistics have already emphasized, once shared with target audiences, translated dialogues permeate the social fabric, shaping audience perceptions and influencing both their thought and linguistic experience. As Furukawa (2017) also reminds us, when audiences remain unaware of the ideological dimension conveyed through WL and fail to recognize that such language merely reflects the subordinate position of women in society, ideology finds fertile ground, operating invisibly as a shaper of gender ideology and inequality. In other words, these linguistic representations mirror the gender ideology of what women *should* be, rather than what they truly are. Moreover, from a multisemiotic perspective, the ‘bodies of otherness’ once again serve as valuable instruments within this ideological framework (Inoue 2003) and this persistence calls for sustained critical engagement with Japanese media production, especially in light of recent developments in artificial intelligence that may further entrench these representational patterns.

---

<sup>8</sup> For privacy reasons, we shall refer to her as Yūko.

At this historical juncture, AI technologies – such as automatic subtitling systems or the female voices commonly used in car navigation devices – are actively reproducing and amplifying this narrative across the multimodal texts we consume (Iwata, Shigemitsu & Murata 2022). In effect, both WL and men’s language continue to shape our perceptions by offering linguistic patterns that gradually solidify into models of power.

## References

- Abe, Hideko. 2010. *Queer Japanese – Gender and Sexual Identity through Linguistic Practices*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Agha, Asif. 2007. *Language and Social Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De Marco, Marcella. 2006. “Audiovisual translation from a gender perspective.” *Jostrans* 6, 1–10.
- De Marco, Marcella. 2009. “Gender portrayal in dubbed and subtitled comedies.” In Jorge Díaz Cintas (ed.), *New trends in audiovisual translation*, 176–194. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- De Marco, Marcella. 2016. “The engendering approach in audiovisual translation.” *Target* 28(2), 314–325. <https://doi.org/10.1075/target.28.2.11dem>
- DiBello Takeuchi, Jae. 2023. *Language Ideologies and L2 Speaker Legitimacy – Native Speaker Bias in Japan*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Duranti, Alessandro. 2021. *Antropologia del linguaggio*. Milano: Meltemi.
- Furukawa, Hiroko. 2009. “Bridget Jones’s Femininity Constructed by Language: A comparison between the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones’s Diary*, and the Japanese subtitles of the film.” *On-line Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Poetics and Linguistics Association (PALA)*. <https://www.pala.ac.uk/uploads/2/5/1/0/25105678/furukawa2009.pdf> [last accessed 10 May 2025].
- Furukawa, Hiroko. 2017. “De-feminizing Translation. To Make Women Visible in Japanese Translation.” In Luise von Flotow & Farzaneh Farahzd (eds.), *Translating Women. Different Voices and New Horizons*, 76–88. New York, London: Routledge.
- Furukawa, Hiroko. 2024. *Honyaku o gendā suru (Gendering translation)*. Tokyo: Chikuma Primā Shinsho.



Hiramoto, Mie. 2009. "Slaves speak pseudo-Tohoku-ben: The representation of minorities in the Japanese translation of *Gone with the wind*." *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 13(2), 249–263.

Inoue, Miyako. 2003. "Speech Without a Speaking Body: Japanese Women's Language in Translation." *Language and Communication* 23, 315–330.

Irvine, Judith & Susan Gal. 2000. "Language ideology and linguistic differentiation." In Paul Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics and identities*, 35–83. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2002.29.1.176>

Irvine, Judith & Susan Gal. 2019. *Signs of difference: Language and ideology in social life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108649209>

Ishiguro, Kei. 2013. *Nihongo wa kūki ga kimeru – shakaigengogaku nyūmon* (Japanese Determined by Social Atmosphere: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics). Tokyo: Kōbunsha shinsho.

Itō, Kimio, Kazue Muta & Satomi Maruyama (eds), 2025. *Jendā de manabu shakaigaku* (Learning Sociology through Gender). Tokyo: Sekaishisōsha.

Iwata, Yuko, Yuka Shigemitsu & Yasumi Murata. 2022. *Shakaigengogaku: kihon kara disukōsu bunseki made* (Sociolinguistics: From Fundamentals to Discourse Analysis). Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobō.

Johnstone, Barbara. 2017. "Characterological figures and expressive style in the enregisterment of linguistic variety." In Chris Montgomery & Emma Moore (eds.), *Language and a sense of place*, 283–300. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316162477>

Katō, Shūichi. 2017. *Hajimete no jendāron. Introduction to Gender and Sexuality Studies*. Tokyo: Yuhikaku Studia.

Kinsui, Satoshi. 2003. *Bācharu Nihongo. Yakuwarigo no nazo* (Virtual Japanese: The Enigma of Role Language). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Kinsui, Satoshi (ed.). 2007. *Yakuwarigokenkyū no chihei* (The Horizons of Role Language Research). Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.

Kinsui, Satoshi. 2017. *Virtual Japanese: Enigmas of role language*. Ōsaka: Ōsaka University Press.



Kobayashi, Mieko. 2024. "Otokokotoba to jendā ishiki" (Men's Language and Gender Awareness). *Nihongogaku*, 43(1), 76–83.

Konstantinovskaia, Natalia. 2020. *The Language of Feminine Beauty in Russian and Japanese Societies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Länsisalmi, Rikka. 2019. "The study of Japanese language speakers." In Patrick Heinrich & Yumiko Ohara (eds.), *Routledge handbook of Japanese sociolinguistics*, 420–440. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315213378>

Mandujano-Salazar, Y. Ysela. 2016. "Gender Stereotyping for the Re-naturalization of Discourses on Male and Female Traditional Ideals in Japanese Media: The Case of Samurai Blue and Nadeshiko Japan." *The Scientific Journal of Humanistic Studies* 8(14), 1–10.

Mandujano-Salazar, Y. Ysela. 2024. *Beyond the Male Idol Factory. The Construction of Gender and National Ideologies in Japan through Johnny's Jimusho*. London: Bloomsbury.

Mashiko, Hidenori. 2017. *Gengogenshō no chishikishakaigaku (A Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Linguistic Phenomena)*. Tokyo: Sangensha.

Miyazaki, Ayumi. 2023. "Masculine pronouns are not only for boys: Japanese girls breaking traditional relationships between gender and language in a school context." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 284, 131–157. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2022-0093>

Nakamura, Momoko. 2012. *Onnakotoba to nihongo (Women's language and Japanese)*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho.

Nakamura, Momoko. 2013. *Honyaku ga tsukuru nihongo (The Japanese Language Constructed by Translation)*. Tokyo: Hatakusha.

Nakamura, Momoko. 2014. *Gender, Language and Ideology*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins P.C.

Nakamura, Momoko. 2020a. *Shinkeigo – Maji yabaissu (New Politeness Forms – This Is Seriously Intense!)*. Tokyo: Hatakusha.

Nakamura, Momoko. 2020b. "The Formation of a Sociolinguistic Style in Translation: Cool and Informal Non-Japanese Masculinity." *Gender and Language* 14(3), 244–262.

Nakamura, Momoko. 2022. "Easy-going masculinity: Persona creation, reindexicalization, and the regimentation of sociolinguistic styles." *Keiei kyōyō ronshū*, 51–67.

Nakamura, Momoko. 2023. "The regimentation of femininities in the world: The translated speech of non-Japanese women in a Japanese TV documentary series." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 284, 107–130. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2022-0081>

Nakamura, Momoko. 2024. *Kotoba ga kawareba shakai ga kawaru* (When language changes, society changes accordingly). Tokyo: Chikuma Primā Shinsho.

Nakamura, Momoko. 2025. "Sekai no danseisei o tōsei suru nihon no hon'yaku – terebi dokyumentarī bangumi ni miru" (Controlling Global Masculinities through Japanese Translation, Television, and Documentary Programming). *Kantōgakuindaigaku Keizaikeieikenkyūjōnenpō* 47(3), 11–29.

Nohara, Kayoko. 2018. *Translating Popular Fiction: Embracing Otherness in Japanese Translations*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Ohara, Yumiko. 2019. "Gendered speech." In Patrick Heinrich & Yumiko Ohara (eds.), *Routledge handbook of Japanese sociolinguistics*, 279–295. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315213378>

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

Okamoto, Shigeko. 2025. "Hidden ideologies in styling in the Japanese translation of dialogs in English novels." *Kantō Gakuin Daigaku – Keiei Kyōyō ronshū* 5(6), 23–42.

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

Ranzato, Irene. 2012. "Gayspeak and gay subjects in audiovisual translation: Strategies in Italian dubbing." *Meta*, 57(2), 369–384. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1013951ar>

Saitō, Junko. 2018. "'Sarariiman' and the performance of masculinities at work: an analysis of interactions at business meetings at a multinational corporation in Japan." In Haruko Minegishi Cook and Janet S. Shibatomo-Smith (eds.), *Japanese at work: politeness, power, and personae in Japanese workplace discourse*, 97–121. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-63549-1>

Sanada, Shinji. 2020. *Shakai gengogaku no tenbō*. (*Perspectives on Sociolinguistics*). Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.

Spitzmüller, Jürgen. 2022. Ideologies of communication: The social link between actors, signs and practices. In Judith Purkarthofer and Mi-cha Flubacher (eds.), *Speaking subjects in multilingualism research: Biographical and speaker-centred approaches*, 248–269. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Starr, Rebecca. 2015. “Sweet voice: The role of voice quality in a Japanese feminine style.” *Language in Society* 44, 1–34. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404514000724>

SturtzSreetharan, Cindi. 2006. “Gentlemanly gender? Japanese men’s use of clause-final politeness in casual conversations.” *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 10(1), 70–92. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1360-6441.2006.00318.x>

SturtzSreetharan, Cindi. 2009. “Ore and omae: Japanese men’s use of first- and second-person pronouns.” *Pragmatics*, 19(2), 253–278.

SturtzSreetharan, Cindi. 2017. “Academy of devotion: Performing status, hierarchy, and masculinity on reality TV.” *Gender and Language*, 11, 176–203. <https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.21361>

Squires, Lauren. 2014. “From TV Personality to Fans and Beyond: Indexical Bleaching and the Diffusion of a Media Innovation.” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 24(1), 42–62.

Vitucci, Francesco. 2020. “Ideological Manipulation in Interlingual Subtitling. The Japanese-Italian Translation of a *nyūhafu* Genderlect in the Movie *Close-Knit* by Ogigami Naoko.” In Giuseppe Pappalardo and Patrick Heinrich (eds.), *European Approaches to Japanese Language and Linguistics*, 115–139. Venezia: Edizioni Ca’ Foscari.

Vitucci, Francesco. 2023. “Representation of masculine speech in the Japanese dub of the American series *Never Have I Ever* (2020): Fictional idiolects or linguistic experimentation?” *Status Quaestionis*, 24, 329–352. <https://doi.org/10.13133/2239-1983/18397>

Vitucci, Francesco. 2024a. “Catherine Earnshaw in Japan: An analysis of women’s language in the subtitled and dubbed versions of William Wyler’s and Mary Soan – Peter Kosminsky’s feature movies.” In Irene Ranzato and Luca Valleriani (eds.), *English classics in audiovisual translation*, 233–253. New York & London: Routledge.

Vitucci, Francesco. 2024b. “Representations of masculine speech in the Japanese dub of the movie *Call me by your name*: Virtual spaces and bodies of otherness.” *Parallèles* 36(2), 20–34. <https://dx.doi.org/10.17462/para.2024.02.02>

Vitucci, Francesco. 2025. “Language Ideologies and Gender Stereotypes: Representation of Adult Masculine Speech in the Japanese Dub of the American Series *Never Have I Ever*.” In Patrick Heinrich, Florian Grosser & Saana Santalahti (eds.), *Ideologies of Communication in Japan – Speakers, Interaction and the Creation of Difference*, 143–158. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Von Flotow, Luise, and Josephy-Hernández Daniel. 2018. “Gender in audiovisual translation studies – Advocating for gender awareness.” In Luis Pérez-González (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook on Audiovisual Translation*, 296–311. London/New York: Routledge.

Yamashita, Sayoko. 2022. “Kotoba no seisa” In Inoue Fumio & Kazuko Tanabe (eds.), *Shakai gengogaku no shikumi (The Structure of Sociolinguistics)*, 85–103. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.

Yasui, Kazue. 2024. “Kyarakutāgengo ni miru jendā ishiki.” (Gender Awareness as Reflected in Character Language) *Nihongogaku* 43(1), 46–52.

Yukawa, Sumiyuki & Masami Saitō. 2004. “Cultural Ideologies in Japanese Language and Gender Studies.” In Shigeko Okamoto & Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith (eds.), *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology: Cultural Models and Real People*, 23–37. New York: Oxford University Press.

Zi, Chunmei. 2024. “Gendered Language in Different Cultural and Media Contexts.” *Transaction on Social Science, Education and Humanities Research* 11, 648–655.