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Haruki Murakami as Cultural Mediator - After Dark

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Abstract: This paper approaches the pop culture references (brands, celebrities, and media) found in Haruki Murakami's 2004 novel After Dark (Afutā dāku). The aim of the research undertaken is to illustrate Murakami's capacity to cater to international audiences with minimal knowledge of Japanese culture and media by utilizing widely known references to non-Japanese elements and to argue that this is also not alienating the Japanese audience. The terms pertaining to these categories are extracted from the text and sorted into terms referencing Japanese and non-Japanese brands, celebrities, and media, followed by a short analysis of paratextual elements (titles and covers).

Keywords: After Dark, Afutā dāku, Haruki Murakami, Japanese literature, pop culture references

1. Introduction

In this article, the pop culture references in the 2004 Japanese novel *Afutā dāku* by Haruki Murakami are identified and explored, using the 2008 English translation by Jay Rubin alongside the original text. Though the writer's tendency to integrate references associated with the English-speaking world has been widely discussed, *After Dark* has yet to be used as the corpus to analyze this particularity of his writing. Previous works in the research literature focused on analyzing Murakami's more famous novels, such as *1Q84*, *A Wind-Up Bird Chronicle* and *Kafka on the Shore*, with other works receiving less attention.

By extracting the references of brands, celebrities, and media found in the novel, the goal of this article is to produce more data to be used in further research, filling an existing gap in the exploration of cultural terms in Murakami's novels, and to further emphasize the writer's ability to cater to English-speaking audiences as well as Japanese-speaking audiences while not alienating either of them.

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The prolific Japanese writer Oe Kenzaburo (1991, 109) once stated "Murakami Haruki writes in Japanese, but his writing is not really Japanese. If you translate it into American English, it can be read very naturally in New York. I suspect that this sort of style is not really Japanese literature, nor is it really English literature". This stance is also supported by others such as Numano (2013, 154) who highlights the fact that "Murakami is very conscious of the English-speaking world as his potential market and even seems to prefer translation of his works from English, rather than from the original Japanese."

There is no doubt that the use of non-Japanese cultural references permeates the writer's work, as Beale (1991) further emphasizes "There are no kimonos, bonsai plants or tatami mats in Murakami's novels. His work ... is shot through with a reverence for Western culture, particularly American pop culture of the 1950s and 1960s. Except for references to place names and certain foods, Murakami's protagonists might as well be living in Santa Monica."

Certain researchers, however, argue that Murakami is merely representing the modern Japanese experience, with American culture permeating everyday life. The Americanization of Japan, following the defeat in World War II and the subsequent US occupation should not be overlooked. As Yoshimi and Buist state (2003, 439) "Numerous powerful cultural influences — jazz, fashion, sexual culture — spread out from the American bases and took root very soon after the beginning of the occupation."

The average young resident of Tokyo, in this case, is increasingly exposed to foreign elements and less so to what is generally perceived as Japanese culture. As Murakami writes in contemporary times, perhaps the references present in his writing are merely a sign of globalization. Thus, it would be unfair to compare his texts to those of Yukio Mishima or Yasunari Kawabata, authors of the 20th century, a time vastly different from modern Japan with its ever-rising accessibility to other cultures, products and media.

Regardless of the point of view employed, it cannot be denied that Murakami is, as Rebbeca Suter (2008, 1) writes, "a cultural mediator between Japan and the United States", both due to his novels, as well as his work as a translator of important writers such as F. Scott Fitzgerald and J. D. Salinger.

Overall, the fact that Japanese culture-specific elements intermingle with elements anchored in cultures that are less opaque for an international readership, like the American culture is, renders the novel under scrutiny easier to understand and deal with by translators, too. Their role as "the readers' guides through an unfamiliar culture", "bridges between two cultures", "conduits" or "caravanners who carries spices, silk and jewelry to faraway countries" (Pungă 2022, 2023), as cultural mediators generally speaking, not only between Japan and the United States, but also between these two and other cultures in the world becomes much less difficult to handle.

In order to explore the mixed cultural aspect of his writing, the paper focuses on the cultural elements present in Haruki Murakami's novel *After Dark*. A

qualitative analysis is employed, focusing on interpretation of the data, showcasing the potential ties between these references and the Japanese audiences, followed by a quantitative approach, seeking to identify what percentage of the identified terms are non-Japanese and Japanese, respectively. To this end, the mentions of celebrities, brands and media present in this work have been extracted and categorized. Attention has been paid to each term, as they have been individually researched to establish how they may form a bridge between audiences based on their presence in Japan, the United States, England or even internationally. To ascertain this, the official websites are used, when available, looking at the history of the companies or brands, alongside the film database IMDb for the films category, online stores, YouTube and Wikipedia in some cases. For readability purposes, the links have not been inserted in the text of the article, but may be found under References.

Following this analysis of terms found in the text itself, the article approaches paratextual elements in the form of title and cover, the first contact that the audience has with the novel.

The title is meant to not only represent the novel and its contents but also grab the attention of potential readers (or mere buyers). Therefore, it is important to analyze this structure while having in mind both customers unfamiliar with the contents, as well as readers who may interpret it differently after reading the novel.

Additionally, the way in which *After Dark* is marketed both in Japan as well as in the United States of America and England is explored, with a focus on the covers the novel bears. Though this aspect of the book, as well as the title, may not entirely be the author's choice, with publishing houses playing a big role in presentation and marketing, it is nonetheless an important element in connecting with the readers. The means used to portray the novel may also be an indicator of how it may be perceived by audiences at first glance.

Underneath the paratextual elements mentioned, we find the usual Murakami formula, with surreal elements and an ending left up to the interpretation of the readers. Though the author often references cultural elements in his novel, *After Dark* was chosen due to its abundance of terms. The plot of *After Dark* follows Mari Asai, a 19-year-old student seeking to spend the night in Tokyo's amusement district during the course of one night, timeframe hinted at in the title. Throughout the novel, Mari encounters various characters such as Tetsuya Takahashi, a university student who also happens to be a musician, as well as Kaoru, a hotel manager and her employees, who ask for her help in interpreting from Japanese into Chinese. In parallel with Mari's story, the readers are also able to peer into two other interconnected storylines, one happening in Eri Asai's room, Mari's sister, who has been sleeping for a very long time and another following Shirakawa, the assailant of one of the hotel's clients. Most of the characters in the novel are young adults and the references identified below are either present in their speech or used by the omniscient narrator, acting as a camera for the audience.

2. Pop culture reference

2.1. Locations

"We are inside a Denny's" (Murakami 2008, 4) reads the beginning of the novel. The story starts in the American table service diner-style restaurant chain, known both in Japan (using Google Maps as reference the franchise has over 50 locations just in Tokyo), as well as in its place of origin, the United States of America. The beginning of the novel offers no hints as to the country in which this Denny's is located, the interior being "anonymous and interchangeable" (Murakami 2008, 4) therefore the readers may feel as though they are in a familiar place, this simple statement catering to a wider audience, not just Japanese. Denny's is not a staple just for the American community, nor is it merely a fast-food chain widely recognized by foreign audiences, it is also present in Japanese modern culture, with the franchise being a very popular 24-hour budget-friendly option, ranked #4 according to a NetLab Research (2022) Kanto-area family restaurant survey.

Another restaurant, the Skylark, is mentioned in the novel, however the atmosphere is similar to the one inside the Denny's, with no sign of traditional elements, whether it be food, music, or decor. Skylark Holdings is a Japanese corporation that owns restaurants in Japan, Taiwan, Malaysia and the United States, as can be seen from the business locations list taken from their official website [1], thus this reference will likely be unfamiliar to readers in European countries.

Another location that appears in the novel is Showa Shell, a Japanese gas station available throughout the country. Though Showa Shell was a Japanese business, it was part of the international corporation Shell (their website is inactive but information retrieved in 2012 is available on Wikipedia [2]) which continues to export oil products globally. This reference would therefore be easy to grasp by both English and Japanese-speaking audiences.

The international retail franchise Tower Records, based in the United States, mostly specializes in music and videos. Stores were opened in Japan beginning with 1979, and, in present times they are independent, having split off from the main chain, information being available on the history section of their website [3]. Therefore, both American readers and Japanese readers would be familiar with these stores. This is an important mention, as music, for Murakami, "occupies a central position in his life and work" (Rubin 2002, 1), often also referencing songs in his titles (such as *Afutā Dāku/After Dark* (2004) – "Five Spot After Dark"; *Kokkyō no Minami, Taiyō no Nishi/South of the Border, West of the Sun* (1992) – "South of the Border"; *Noruwei no mori/Norwegian Wood* (1987) – Norwegian Wood).

2.2. Music

As we may notice from the following paragraphs, references to music are strongly tied to Takahashi, a character who plays the trombone and therefore has a powerful connection to this form of art. Other mentions are made by the narrator in order to set the scene, in locations such as Denny's, The Skylark and Shirakawa's office, the latter one being mainly concerned with classical music.

The song "Go Away Little Girl" by Percy Faith and his Orchestra is playing in the restaurant as the narrator paints the picture of Mari being the only female in the Denny's restaurant. On the one hand ominous through its title, the reference is not out of place, as Percy Faith has received recognition in Japan, having held a concert tour documented on the Percy Faith website [4]. Percy Faith, being a Canadian-American composer would also be familiar to English-speaking audiences outside of Japan.

As Takahashi explains that the spotlight does not suit him, he compares himself to a Wham! backup singer. The duo was on a world tour in 1985, also concerting in Japan at the time (with online recorded evidence and CDs of the performances available [5]), therefore this would not be a foreign element to the Japanese population, while also catering to English audiences. In passing, he mentions another group, Tower of Power, an American R&B and funk-based band and horn section, in relation to his trombone playing. Mari does not understand this reference though it would be familiar to American audiences and the band has concerted in Nagoya in 1994 (according to recordings available on YouTube [6]).

The artists Mick Jagger, Eric Clapton, Jimi Hendrix, and Pete Townshend are all mentioned by Takahashi in *After Dark* who claims that they never would have reached the fame they currently have for smashing trombones rather than guitars on stage. Mick Jagger, Eric Clapton and Pete Townshend are English musicians of renown who have toured Japan before [7] [8], with Pete Townshend even celebrating The Who's first visit to Japan with a guitar smash (Pratt 2014). However, Jimi Hendrix is an American musician who has seemingly never held a concert in the country. As Takahashi is a musician himself and Mari claims to be interested in music, it does not come as a surprise that they are familiar with the international rock scene, despite this reference perhaps being foreign to a wider Japanese audience.

Takahashi goes on to describe the reasons he started playing the trombone, citing the album "Blues-ette", specifically the song "Five Spot After Dark" played by Curtis Fuller. A Japanese release of this album is available [9], therefore Japanese audiences are potentially familiar with the LP in question. The song of choice is also present in the title, albeit only partially, reference touched upon in the following chapter regarding paratextual elements.

Other references are made to jazz music with Japanese album releases, such as Ben Webster, an American tenor saxophonist [10] and "Sonnymoon for Two" by the American saxophonist Sonny Rollins [11].

As Takahashi leaves the Denny's, the song "The April Fools" by Burt Bacharach plays. This American composer and songwriter has indeed visited Japan in 1971, even releasing an LP of the live concert [12]. Inside the fast-food restaurant, another song plays, this time it is "More" by the American composer Martin Denny's. Another one of Denny's songs, "Firecracker" is known in Japan as a version of it served as Yellow Magic Orchestra's first single (Lewis 2008), therefore audiences there may be familiar with his name and work. His discography was also partially released in the country [13].

The following songs are played throughout the book in The Skylark, hinting at the fact that, at least in-universe, they may have had airtime on the radio: "Sophisticated Lady" by Duke Ellington, who is an important figure and has even been awarded the title of Honorary Citizen of Niigata Prefecture following charitable concerts he held after the 1964 Earthquake (helballka 2021), with a mention of Harry Carney's bass clarinet who played in Tokyo in 1966 [14], both artists from America, "Jealousy" by the English duo The Pet Shop Boys, who have released albums in Japan [15], and finally Hall and Oates' "I Can't Go for That", an American pop duo that performed that specific song in Japan in 1994 [16].

"Bomb Juice" by Shikao Suga, a Japanese musician and singer-songwriter, plays in the 7-Eleven described in the novel. Though Suga is credited for several anime openings which may have reached the international audience [17], he is bound to be more familiar to Japanese readers. Similarly, an unnamed song by Southern All Stars is playing inside a store in the novel. They are a Japanese rock band popular inside the country [18] who has seemingly had no contact with the international scene, neither in concerts or music releases, therefore this reference only caters to Japanese audiences.

In a chapter revolving around Shirakawa's office activities, a CD of one of Bach's English Suites is playing, specifically a rendition by Ivo Pogorelich who has performed live in Japan before [19], therefore audiences may recognize his name. As for the German composer Johann Sebastian Bach, his work has certainly reached the Japanese audience as there is even a Collegium specializing in Baroque music, named Bach Collegium Japan, founded in 1990 [20]. In the same chapter, Brian Asawa, a Japanese-American opera singer is playing on another CD a cantata by the Italian composer Domenico Scarlatti. The CD in question was released in the year 2000 and is available for purchase in Japan's Tower Records online store [21].

In terms of other musicians, the composer Francis Lai is also mentioned in relation to the film *Love Story* further described in the section below.

2.3. Films

The first reference to cinematography comes in the form of *Alphaville* by Jean-Luc Godard, with a hotel from the novel named after it. The French film was released to the public in Japan on May 30, 1970 [22]. The mention is immediately followed up by a reference to *Star Wars*, when Kaoru asks whether they are similar, both being science-fiction films. The American epic space opera gave rise to a franchise of international renown, the films being released in Japan shortly after their release in the United States of America, in 1978 [23]. Therefore, it is natural to assume the reference would be familiar to both audiences.

The famous film *Blade Runner*, based on Philip K. Dick's novel *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep*, is mentioned in the novel in relation to watching surveillance tapes in order to identify a culprit. In Japan, the film was released in 1982 [24], and, additionally, it is claimed that landscapes from it were even inspired by Shinjuku, Tokyo (Warwick 2017).

The final mention is of *Love Story*, an American romance film released in 1970 in the USA and a year later in Japan [25]. This is brought up by Takahashi who briefly explains the plot as Mari had not heard of it. In this synopsis, the actors Ryan O'Neal, and Ali MacGraw are also mentioned by the character in relation to the film, which, both audiences may be familiar with as the film was made available in both countries.

2.4. Literature, Other Arts and Media

Other forms of art and media are present in the novel, alongside the multitude of music and film references, in the form of literature, paintings, even news sources.

A piece of calligraphy by Mitsuo Aida is the first reference of Japanese origin that is encountered in the novel. He was a modern Japanese poet and calligrapher. Outside of Japan, Mitsuo Aida's poems can be accessed online, with translations being available on various blogs (drsenbei 2009) (Fighting Non Stop 2007), as well as through books about his life and works, such as *The Here and Now: The Art, Ideas and Poetry of Mitsuo Aida* (1996) by Tim Jensen.

Eri Asai is compared to Snow White several times for her delicate manner, the German fairytale character. Snow White is widely known globally, with the Disney film version even being credited with having influenced Japanese animation (Kaczorowski 2017). One time she is also compared to Sleeping Beauty, another well-known character, with a Disney adaptation, thus familiar to English-speaking audiences. Japanese readers may have come into contact with Sleeping Beauty through the 1960 and 1995 dub [26].

In Shirakawa's office, the narrator compares the scene that is being described to an Edward Hopper painting titled Loneliness. Several exhibitions of the artist's paintings have been held in Japan, with a painting having "appeared in 1955 in an international art exhibition held at the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum" (Levin 2001), making it a familiar name to Japanese audiences, as well as international ones. Another renowned painter mentioned in the novel is Vincent Van Gogh, a renowned Dutch artist with an interest in Japanese printmaking, whose work "after his death (...) achieved considerable popularity in Japan in the 1920s" (Pulver 2019).

In terms of writers, George Orwell is mentioned by Takahashi as a joke related to the Denny's chicken and the potential process of it being injected with growth hormones, akin to a dystopia. George Orwell's novels have also been translated into Japanese (with *Nineteen Eighty-Four* being translated as early as the 1950s [27]), making him an accessible reference to both the source audience as well as international target audiences. Immanuel Kant is also briefly mentioned, author who "has been received and studied extensively in East Asia since the late nineteenth century" (Kim 2021).

The name Yomiuri, referring to the leading national newspaper, is present in the text. English-speaking readers might be familiar with this reference as Yomiuri Shimbun also has a daily English-language newspaper, NHK World-Japan, founded in 1955 [28].

2.5. Brands

Brand names make frequent appearances in the novel, for example the fashion names Prada, Gucci, Adidas and Swatch are mentioned. Products by them can be found in Japan, as indicated on their official website domains [29] [30] [31] [32].

Cars and motorcycles are also recurring references in the novel, namely the Japanese Honda alongside the British Jaguar, German Mercedes-Benz, and Swedish Volvo, all with Japanese websites available, therefore not unknown to the audience [33] [34] [35] [36].

In terms of food, the dairy manufacturer Takanashi Milk Products is mentioned several times in the book for its low-fat milk. The company headquartered in Yokohama would only be familiar to Japanese readers as it only operates within the country according to its official website [37]. The Takanashi Milk bought in the novel is found in a 7-Eleven, an American convenience store chain headquartered in Texas with stores available worldwide, which happens to be "the most popular convenience store among Japanese consumers, as revealed in a survey conducted in February 2024" (Statista Research Department 2024). The final mention of food comes in the form of Perrier bottle, a French brand of carbonated water distributed internationally, including in Japan, information available on their official website [38] which reveals yet another reference accessible to both audiences.

There are several references to technology brands that appear in the paragraphs describing Shirakawa, an office worker, such as Microsoft and Intel. Both of these technology companies are American but present in Japanese life, as "Microsoft Japan was established in February 1986" (Hirano 2016) and "Intel entered the Japanese market in the 1970s" (Quevedo 2024).

Other brand references are present in the novel in the form of items possessed by the characters. In a paragraph related to smoking, Camel Filters make an appearance, alongside a BiC lighter. Camel is an American brand of cigarettes owned and manufactured by JTI (Japan Tobacco International) outside the United States [39], therefore familiar to both audiences. BiC, a French manufacturer is present in Japan as BiC Japan with its own website [40]. The brands Vaseline and Band-Aid also appear in the text, and though they can be seen as generic terms for petroleum jelly and adhesive bandages, being recognized by readers from most English-speaking countries as well as in Japan, the trademark brands themselves are present in Japan, proven by the existing website domains [41] [42].

2.6. Other References

The Boston Red Sox cap worn by the main character, Mari, is a recurrent element in the novel. Though the team itself is American, this choice being perhaps perceived as odd, in Japan baseball is "the country's most popular participatory and spectator sport" (Clarke, 2021). Therefore, American, as well as Japanese readers may see this as a familiar element.

2.7. Findings

Out of the 71 references to brands, media and celebrities identified in the novel *After Dark*, only 10 of them (14%) are of Japanese origin, namely the broadcasting company NHK and the newspaper Yomiuri, the brands Honda, Skylark, Showa Shell and Takanashi, the song "Bomb Juice" and the artists Mitsuo Aida, Shikao Suga together with the band Southern All-Stars. Of these mentions, only four of them (5.5% of the total terms in the novel) namely the company Takanashi, the celebrity Shikao Suga and thus also his song "Bomb Juice", alongside the band Southern All-Stars have not had contact with the English-speaking world as far as is known. The other 8.5% of brands, people and companies have appeared internationally in one way or another, meaning the readers may have had the opportunity to come into contact with them and therefore not perceive them as foreign or tied exclusively to Japanese culture.

Haruki Murakami's *After Dark* therefore contains 61 non-Japanese references (86% of the total terms identified) which would be easily understood by English audiences. The low percentage of references that may be inaccessible to readers outside of Japan may contribute to the appeal of the novel, making it an easy read without prior knowledge of the culture. Lacking in other Japanese cultural elements or realia, being set in modern-day Tokyo with young protagonists, the novel poses few issues in translation from this point of view, making for a natural-sounding text in English.

However, the presence of Japanese elements which may not be understood by other audiences, though few in number, could point to the fact that the text was not written for an American audience at the expense of the Japanese one.

3. Paratextual Elements

3.1. Cover

The original cover of Murakami's *After Dark* [43] is a blurry, blue-hued picture of a Tanagra figurine, a Greek terracotta sculpture of a woman sitting on a block, image searches leading to a statue in the Altes Museum, Berlin [44]. The woman glances over her shoulder at the reader against a gloomy grey background. The color scheme, lighting and fuzzy character of the image give it a dreamlike appearance, matching the tone and contents of the novel, however, it offers no clear indication as to where the story might take place. Audiences familiar with Tanagra figurines may recognize it as such and erroneously link the story to Greece.

As for the English-language covers of the book, there are several editions available. Two editions, one by Hodder Headline Limited [45] and one by Vintage International [46], feature a woman with Asian features on the cover, hinting at the characters the novel revolves around and their potential nationality. Another edition, this time by Knopf [47], uses a photo of a *pachinko* parlor, a type of Japanese gambling, though the picture is seen through a privacy screen, potentially making it difficult for most readers to discern what it is meant to showcase. The photographer

has, however, explained in interviews his intent behind the cover used for the novel by saying he "wanted that sense of mystery and disorientation" (Shapiro, 2018).

Alongside these are a few illustrative covers, one edition by Penguin Books [48] bearing a drawing of many eyes against a dark background, a second one by Vintage [49] depicting the silhouette of a person against the background of a city. The final cover analyzed, by Vintage International [50], is abstract, using a mix of colors and lines, with no immediate relation to the plot of the story.

The original Japanese cover offers no hint that the story is set in Tokyo or that the characters are Japanese, similarly to three English covers (half of the ones identified) which also maintain the vagueness. The other half hints at potentially Japanese content by using photography depicting elements such as people or places.

3.2. Title

Though the covers may be what initially catches the audience's eye, the title is just as important, representing the book. Though usually a short structure, its conciseness hiding additional meaning is also what makes it difficult to translate, potentially generating differences between the perception of the source and target audiences.

In this case, the original title of the novel reads *Afutā Dāku* in the *katakana* script, a Japanese syllabary used for the transcription of foreign words and the writing of loan words. For Japanese readers, the title may be identified as non-Japanese due to its writing, being a transcription of the words "after dark". The use of *katakana* might lead the audience to wonder about the reason behind choosing transliteration rather than translating "after dark" into Japanese. For readers of the original who are familiar with Murakami and his penchant for using music references in his titles (with nods to songs such as "Norwegian Wood" and "South of the Border"), this might lead them to immediately understand that it is a reference to "Five Spot After Dark", reference also present in the novel itself.

The English translation, consistent across all editions, however, possesses no indication that the title would be a reference. *After Dark* could merely be perceived as the time of day the plot is set in. The impact therefore is different for the two audiences, with readers of the translation potentially being able to grasp the reference only after browsing the contents, whereas the Japanese audience would have access to the subtext earlier.

4. Conclusion

After exploring how each reference present in the novel relates to Japan or other countries and quantifying the number of references that can only be easily grasped by someone living in Japan it results that only a small number of them (5.5%) would be unavailable to the English-speaking public. This, therefore, makes Murakami's novel accessible to wider audiences, not just to readers located in Japan. The paper also points out that the Japanese audience may have had contact with all the references identified, despite these being mostly British and American, therefore not catering to international readers at the expense of Japanese readers.

The findings could point to the fact that Murakami is merely describing an authentic experience in a big Japanese city such as Tokyo, with international companies and media being present in the country, most likely as a result of the postwar Americanization and due to the effects of globalization. The paper therefore does not support the idea that the author is intentionally attempting to cater to an American audience and estrange the Japanese one. This is backed by the fact that terms only available to Japanese audiences are present in the text, despite their small percentage. Murakami's popularity can also be used as an indicator to support this stance, his novels being largely popular both in English-speaking countries, as well as in Japan, with new releases even generating bookstore queues, as showcased by the release of his most recent novel, *The City and Its Uncertain Walls* according to PrestigeOnline Singapore (2023).

The references that may only be accessible to Japanese audiences, as well as the character names ground the story in Japan and remind the English-speaking readers that despite the familiarity evoked by the text, the action is indeed set in a different country. The title of the novel on the other hand may be perceived as foreign by the Japanese audience, revealing the underlying reference, whereas the English audience may miss this aspect due to its natural translation and simply see it as an indication of the plot timeframe. Further paratextual elements such as the covers also suggest that the novel does not overtly cater to one audience, rather resting somewhere in a middle ground.

Though the paper argues that Haruki Murakami's novel *After Dark* is accessible to both American and Japanese readers, with terms and references understood by both audiences, translations in other languages are numerous and should not be glossed over. This abundance of brands, titles and names may bring the aforementioned audiences a similar reading experience, however, it may at the same time alienate potential readers from other countries.

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