SWEDISH JOURNAL OF ROMANIAN STUDIES

EQUIVALENCE IN THE ROMANIAN TRANSLATION OF JULIE OTSUKA'S NOVEL *THE BUDDHA IN THE ATTIC*[1]

Raluca-Andreea PETRUȘ
West University of Timișoara, Romania

e-mail: raluca.petrus@e-uvt.ro

Ana GVOZDENOVICI
West University of Timișoara, Romania

e-mail: ana.gvozdenovici03@e-uvt.ro

Abstract

The study highlights how collective identity, culturally specific features, emotion, and ideological aspects, based on race and gender, are either preserved or not in the translation of *The Buddha in the Attic*, a novel by Julie Otsuka, a contemporary Japanese American writer. The novel tells the heartbreaking story of the Japanese picture brides and uses a narrative technique marked by the repetition of the collective voice "we". The novel was translated into Romanian in 2013 by Casiana Ioniță, who rendered the original title as *Buddha din podul casei*. Building this investigation upon the works of scholars such as Eugene Nida (1964), Peter Newmark (1981, 1988), Anton Popovič (1976), Katharina Reiss (1989), Katharina Reiss and Hans Vermeer (1984), and Mona Baker (1992), the research aims to investigate the Romanian translation of *The Buddha in the Attic* through the lens of equivalence and non-equivalence, focusing on three chapters, "Come, Japanese!" ("Japonezii sunt bine-veniți!"), "Whites" ("Albii"), and "Traitors" ("Trădători"), especially analysing how phrases that carry ideological and cultural features are rendered in the translation. The article reveals how language reflects gender and racial constructs, emphasizing the translator's role in conveying these aspects across cultural and linguistic contexts. By these means, the phenomenon of non-equivalence appears, where certain items of the ST cannot be completely reproduced in the target language.

Keywords: equivalence; non-equivalence; literary translation; Julie Otsuka; *The Buddha in the Attic.*

1. Introduction

As in many areas of translation studies, achieving equivalence can be challenging for translators, especially in the context of literary texts. Due to the complex nature of equivalence, the concept has been a focus of scholars in translation studies, who offer diverse perspectives on equivalence as practice and the strategies through which it is achieved across various functional texts and between languages with similar or different typologies. For instance, Eugene Nida indicates that "translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the SL message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style" (Nida, 1964, p. 136). An effective translation can be defined as "the factual

[1] Article History: Received: 26.01.2026. Accepted: 12.03.2026. Published: 15.05.2026. Acknowledgment: The publication of this article was supported by the West University of Timișoara with funding from the Start Grant project.

transformation of the source text into the target language, with emphasis on linguistic precision and cultural nuances" (Pașcalău, Stiegelbauer & Pantea, 2025, p. 148). While striving for equivalence, the translator faces a series of challenges. At the word level, for instance, Mona Baker indicates the existence of culture-specific concepts, words which exist in a language but do not in another language, the complexity of "a single word which consists of a single morpheme can sometimes express a more complex set of meanings than a whole sentence" (Baker, 1992, p. 19). In this sense, while translation poses the challenges to convey the meaning, form, and effect of the source text (ST) in the target text (TT), challenges which occur at different levels, the manner in which the translator deals with the process may result in equivalence, i.e., when the translator manages to transform the ST into the TT, managing to convey the meaning, form, and effect of the ST, as faithfully as possible. In cases in which this is not managed, translators discuss non-equivalence, i.e., the impossibility of finding equivalents in the target language that convey the meaning of their ST counterparts.

Considering that a translator acts both as "a receptor of the source language, and a sender in the target language", as indicated by Katarina Reiss (1981, pp. 124-125), in literary translations, the role to convey meaning, form, and style of the target text is often challenged due to the cultural contexts presented in the source language. On the other hand, non-equivalence, presented as a difficult aspect in literary translations, arises from the lack of a direct equivalent meaning in the target language. Under these circumstances, the translator is required to address the challenges the text may pose by adapting, substituting, reinterpreting, or, in some cases, omitting particular words/phrases.

The present research investigates the concepts of equivalence and non-equivalence, emphasizing how (cultural) meaning is transferred from English to Romanian, with particular focus on Julie Otsuka's novel *The Buddha in the Attic* (2011). Julie Otsuka is a Japanese American writer who extensively represented the fictionalized experience of Japanese Americans in the United States in novels such as *When the Emperor Was Divine* (Otsuka, 2003) and *The Buddha in the Attic* (Otsuka, 2011). Julie Otsuka's literary works, *The Buddha in the Attic* (Otsuka, 2011) and *Swimmers* (Otsuka, 2022), have official translations into Romanian: *Buddha din podul casei* (Otsuka, 2013), published in 2013 and translated by Casiana Ioniță, and *Înotătorii (*Otsuka, 2022*)*, published in 2022 and translated by Genoveva Cerchez in 2023 (Otsuka, 2023). This article focuses on the concept of equivalence in Julie Otsuka's first novel, *The Buddha in the Attic*, and its translation into Romanian by Casiana Ioniță in 2013. The novel comprises eight chapters, each depicting distinct stages of the collective experience of Japanese immigrant women in the United States. Through Julie Otsuka's use of the "we" narrative, the author captures the shared experiences of "picture brides". In terms of its literary genre, the book is a historical novel that tells the story of a group of young women brought to America in search of what they believed was the American Dream, yet ended up struggling with cultural assimilation, labour exploitation, racism, and mass incarceration during World War II (1941-1945).

2.1. Theoretical Framework: Equivalence and Non-Equivalence

As the present research examines how (cultural) meaning is transferred from English to Romanian in Julie Otsuka's novel *The Buddha in the Attic* (2011), the concept of equivalence is fundamental for this paper. As translators strive to achieve equivalence, i.e., to render the meaning, form, and effect of the source text into the target text, this is difficult in literary translations, given the inherent differences in language structure, cultural context, and stylistic communication. As these elements pose difficulties for translators, the result of these differences is non-equivalence, i.e., a phenomenon in which certain words/phrases of the original work cannot be completely reproduced in the target language.

ISSN: 2003-0924

When elaborating on the concept of equivalence, Anton Popovič (1976, p. 6) proposes four types of equivalence: linguistic, paradigmatic, stylistic (translational), and textual. In terms of linguistic equivalence, Anton Popovič (1976) argues that the translator should consider correspondences between words or phrases in the SL and the TL to ensure consistency (literal accuracy), whereas paradigmatic equivalence concerns the correspondence between grammatical structures. The third category, stylistic equivalence, is of great importance, especially in literary translation: in translation, stylistic equivalence is maintained when the source text's style is preserved and rendered into the target language. The last type, textual equivalence, refers to the form and structure of the translated text (linguistic patterns), with the purpose of preserving them in the TL. As such, a loss of translation occurs when the translated text does not preserve the equivalent meanings in the target language. For instance, focusing on stylistic equivalence, Anton Popovič explains that it represents the "functional equivalence of elements in both original and translation, aiming at an expressive identity with an invariant of identical meaning" (Popovič, 1976, p. 46). Thus, in case this type of equivalence is not preserved in the target language, a loss of translation occurs.

Eugene Nida mentions that "translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the SL message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style" (1964, p. 136). In other words, although perfect equivalence is rarely achievable, the duty of the translator is to render the translated texts into the target language, preserving the meaning of the source language. When discussing translation and the purpose of attaining equivalence, Eugene Nida indicates two types of equivalence: formal and dynamic (Nida, 1964). The first type of equivalence indicated the correspondence at a structural level between the ST (Source Text) and the Target Text (TT), focusing on the message itself, indicating that translation should preserve the formal structure of the ST in the TT, ensuring accuracy and fidelity in terms of structure, lexicon, and grammar. In the case of the second type, dynamic equivalence, translators centre on audience impact and the naturalness of language, striving to achieve "complete naturalness of expression" (Nida, 1964, p. 129). In Eugene Nida's view, in the case of dynamic equivalence, translators aim to transform and adapt the source text to the target text, considering its impact in the desired languages, in a process he calls "dynamic relationship" (Nida, 1964, p. 129). In this sense, dynamic equivalence focuses on the receptors of the messages and the effects the messages have on those receptors, with the purpose of ensuring fidelity and correspondence between the effects felt by the ST receptors and those felt by the TT receptors: if the effect is the same, equivalence is achieved in the target language.

Translation strategies play an essential role in overcoming linguistic and cultural barriers, enabling the translator to keep the meaning, register, and cultural references of the source language (SL), which is then transferred into the target language (TL). The translator's decisions regarding translation methods can ensure that all the important aspects of the original text are preserved and conveyed in the target language. Translation studies theorist Peter Newmark (1988) identifies various translation strategies, indicating the translator's aim to maintain the meaning of the ST in the TT, ensuring accuracy and precision. Peter Newmark (1988) enumerates eight translation strategies: 1. word-for-word, 2. literal, 3. faithful, 4. semantic, 5. adaptation, 6. free, 7. idiomatic, and 8. communicative. Peter Newmark argues that the fourth and fifth methods, namely semantic and communicative translation, ensure that the text is conveyed well in the target language (Newmark, 1988, p. 45), thereby ensuring equivalence between the source and target texts in the translation process.

Peter Newmark makes the distinction between semantic translation and communicative translation (1988, p. 37). The semantic translation aims to render as much of language B as possible, not just the semantic but also the syntactic perspective. It tries to render the "contextual meaning of the original" (Newmark, 1988, p. 39). In communicative translation, the text focuses on its target audience (TT) and aims to convey the original text's intended message. Newmark asserts that "Communicative

Vol. 9 No 1 (2026)
ISSN: 2003-0924

translation attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original" (Newmark, 1988, p. 39). The table below highlights key differences between semantic and communicative translation:

Type of Translation	Semantic Translation	Communicative Translation
Focus	Source text (ST)	Target text (TT)
Cultural aspects	Preserved within SL culture	Elements are adapted or replaced to fit in the TL culture
Form of the SL	TT should be loyal to any change ('deviation' of the ST), "loyalty" to the author	The SL and its form are taken into account, but the TL norms are dominant.
Form of the TL	Complex, detailed, concentrated, overtranslation, original structure, and style tend to be preserved	Clearer, direct, simpler, adapted form and style to the target audience
Context of use	Literature, philosophy, and history texts	Non-literary works, technical, informative texts, advertisements

Table 1. *Semantic and Communicative Translation (Newmark, 1988)*

Even if "There is no one-to-one correspondence between orthographic words and elements of meaning within or across languages" (Baker, 1992, p. 10), translators strive to maintain the meaning and form of the original messages in the translated text. Building upon D.A. Cruse's 1986 classification (Cruse, 1986) and discussing equivalence at the word-level, Mona Baker illustrates four types of meaning that a word can carry: propositional, expressive, presupposed, and evoked meaning (Baker, 1992, p. 11). According to Mona Baker, propositional meaning represents the literal, referential meaning of a word/phrase, i.e., the relationship between the word and what it designates, allowing the translator to determine whether an utterance is true or false in context. Expressive meaning refers to the speaker's attitudes and feelings, more than what the specific words refer to. Expressive meaning reveals, at the same time, connotations that carry nuances beyond the literal sense of a word. Presupposed meaning derives from the usual way words combine in sentences, indicating restrictions on word proximity. Mona Baker suggests two types of restrictions: selectional restrictions (logical combinations of words) and collocational restrictions (words that do not come directly from the propositional meaning of a word). Evoked meaning arises from aspects such as dialect and register. This concept, as Mona Baker (1992, p. 13) illustrates, reflects the nuances that distinguish language across social, cultural, temporal, and geographical contexts. Register refers to the variety of languages the different speakers use depending on the context they find themselves in. There are some register variations as a field of discourse (lexical choices depending on the situation beyond the speaking process), tenor (the relationship between the participants), and mode (whether the text is written or spoken).

While Mona Baker (1992) explains the correspondences between words and their types of meaning, an important aspect to consider in translation studies, another important aspect is

ISSN: 2003-0924

the type of text to be translated from language A to language B: in this sense, Katharina Reiss's discussion of text types is important in the context of translation studies and this particular research, i.e., the translation of Julie Otsuka's novel *The Buddha in the Attic*. According to Reiss, texts serve particular functions. Therefore, translators convey the meaning of the ST in the TT and, in the translation process, they adapt the TT according to the purposes of the ST. Katharina Reiss classifies texts into the following functions: informative texts, expressive texts, operational texts, and audio-visual texts (Reiss, 1989, pp. 108-109). Julie Otsuka's novel is a work of fiction; thus, it falls into the category of expressive texts, which require an aesthetic language dimension. For a clearer understanding of Reiss's typology, Table 2, presented below, outlines the primary text types to be considered in translation studies, as developed by Reiss in her 1989-research:

Text type	**Informative**	**Expressive**	**Operative**
Language function	Informative	Expressive (aesthetic)	Appellative
Language dimension	Logical	Aesthetic	Dialogic
Text focus	Content-focused	Form-focused	Appelative-focused
TT should	Transmit referential content	Transmit aesthetic form	Elicit desired response
Translation method	"Plain prose" Explicitation as Required	"Identifying method" Adopt perspective of the ST author	'Adaptive', equivalent Effect

Table 2. *Reiss and Functional Characteristics of Text Genres (Reiss, 1989)*

2.2. Japanese Picture Brides in the U.S.: Historical Context, Intersectionality, and Language

Because the novel fictionalises a historical event that deeply shaped the emergence of the Japanese community in the United States, this part examines the phenomenon of brides and their intersectional experiences on U.S. soil. In the novel, language is used as a means of showcasing power, achieving or perpetuating oppression, and oftentimes, language defines identity, isolates the women as unwanted others, and reinforces gender stereotypes and violence. Particular words or phrases should be adapted in the translation, so as to illustrate the complexity of the transmitted message and the recurrent power dynamics, speech patterns, and the collective voice. This socio-cultural and historical context of the picture bride phenomenon must be extended to the translation itself in order to properly illustrate the experience of picture brides in the translated text.

An important part is gaining in-depth insight into the phenomenon of picture brides. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, more Japanese citizens left their home country for better opportunities in Hawaii and the continental United States, marking a turning point in the great waves of immigration from Japan. According to Densho (2023),

> the term 'picture bride' (*shashin hanayome*) denotes that first generation of early twentieth-century Japanese women who came to the United States in waves between 1908 and 1920 when the *Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-1908* placed severe restrictions on Japanese immigration (Densho, 2023).

ISSN: 2003-0924

These women enter into arranged marriages, also known as "omiai", through photographs and matchmakers, setting out on a journey full of hope and excitement, only to confront the harsh realities of discrimination, labour exploitation, and the difficulties of assimilation. Arranged marriages have a long and old history in Japanese culture, so they "were not unusual in Japan and originated in the warrior class of the late Tokugawa period (1603-1868)" (Densho, 2023). The practice of "omiai" (i.e., arranged marriage) is perceived as part of the cultural tradition and as a familial duty. For many centuries, marriages were arranged to strengthen family alliances and improve financial standing or status rather than to reflect personal preferences.

Because matchmaking was deeply ingrained in traditional Japanese culture, parents or relatives were often the ones who selected wives for immigrant men in America or Hawaii. The arrangements were made by intermediary people, known as "go-betweens (nakōdo or baishakunin, and, in Hawai'i, the term shimpai)" (Densho, 2023). Their task was to enable and negotiate the marriage process between the Japanese men in the United States and the Japanese brides in Japan. Perhaps the most unconventional aspect was the groom's absence from the wedding. The only thing men had to do was simply "enter the names of their brides into their family registries (koseki tōhon) (Densho, 2023).

In addition to this, in many cases, Japanese women faced deception right from the beginning, as they were lured into traps by their husbands. The women received pictures of the men they had married through the "omiai" process, facilitated by a matchmaker, and in the photos that they had received from the matchmakers, the men, their husbands-to-be, looked young, wealthy, and handsome, and their style and appearance promised a better life, creating great expectations for the Japanese picture brides. Upon arrival at the port where they landed in the United States of America, picture brides had confronted a harsh reality. From the handsome, young, and apparently rich men, the picture brides were tricked and ended up with older or much older men with no or little income.

Japanese picture brides and their husbands had distinct yet interwoven motivations for their arranged marriages. Due to the *Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907*, which restricted Japanese immigration to the U.S. and Hawai'i, many Japanese men were not only interested in improving their economic status, but also because they were unable to return home, sought wives to start families abroad. In contrast, Japanese women had different motivations for migrating to the United States. In some cases, Japanese women joined husbands who had already emigrated to the United States. In other cases, Japanese women wanted to help their families or fulfil familial obligations, becoming picture brides and marrying a Japanese or Japanese American man present in the U.S. inland, a process facilitated by parents or imposed by parental arrangements. Others sought financial stability and improved prospects for themselves and their families in Japan. In the twentieth century, due to harsh economic circumstances, Japanese women sought to escape poverty and adversity, believing that the United States offered a better future, even if it meant leaving their homeland and their families behind. Researcher Yuji Ichioka (1980) highlights the complex process of the picture bride phenomenon, stressing the influence of the family in the decision-making process of the Japanese women to marry and leave for the United States in the first decades of the twentieth century, as they:

> resort to the so-called picture-bride practice, the third way by which women entered immigrant society. The practice itself did not diverge sharply from traditional Japanese custom. In Japan, marriage was never an individual matter but always a family affair. Heads of households selected marriage partners for family members through go-betweens. An exchange of photographs sometimes took place in the screening process, with family genealogy, wealth, education, and health figuring heavily in the selection criteria. Go-

Vol. 9 No 1 (2026)
ISSN: 2003-0924

> betweens arranged parleys between families at which heads of households discussed proposed unions (Ichioka, 1980, p. 342).

As women had various reasons to become picture brides, their arrival in the U.S. often led to deception at the hands of their husbands, who they married through professional matchmaking, a marriage in absentia, with the groom in the U.S. and the bride in Japan. Some experiences of the women were traumatic, as the men they had married were not the men represented in the pictures they had received through match-makers:

> [They] took out the pictures from their sleeves, and they looked at them really hard to compare the faces. There were many people who said, 'That person, his face looks very alike, but he is a lot older.' They sent the pictures from their youth . . . [Some] lied about their age, those who lived here told lies . . . Even though they were in their fifties, they still told them that they were in their thirties or twenties because it was the picture marriage, right? (Densho, 2023).

According to Densho (2023), the process of arranged marriages was deemed as an immoral practice by the American society. Consequently, in order for the marriage to be accepted, some brides and grooms had to (re)marry while both were present on U.S. soil, in the presence of a priest (see Harumi Hoshiko's experience in 1915, Densho, 2023). Even though women faced obstacles such as deception from their husbands, language barriers, culture loss, harsh labour, racial discrimination, and gender inequity, these women played an important role in building the Japanese diaspora in the United States.

2.3. Theoretical Considerations on Intersectionality, Gender, and Language

The complexity of the experiences of picture brides should be viewed through the lens of intersectionality, as explained by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991). According to her theory of intersectionality (1991, p. 1241), this perspective provides a critical framework for understanding how race, gender, and socio-economic status (class) are intertwined and influence one's existence, underscoring how various forms of discrimination and privilege overlap and intersect, particularly in the lives of women. The term "intersectionality," according to Kimberlé Crenshaw, "is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects" (Crenshaw, 2017). Therefore, intersectionality alludes to multiple forms of oppression, such as racism, sexism, and classism, where they overlap and interconnect in order to create distinct and compounded forms of discrimination and marginalization of individuals who belong to discriminated and disadvantaged groups. For example, groups of immigrants that face both racial discrimination and gender-based oppression.

Women are perceived not only through traditional gender roles but also through racial and class biases, further deepening their marginalization. According to Kimberlé Crenshaw (2013), "men and women are taught to see men as independent, capable, powerful; men and women are taught to see women as dependent, limited in abilities, and passive" (Crenshaw, 2013, p. 155). In this context, we can observe how gender norms reinforce stereotypes by shaping societal expectations and behaviours toward individuals (based on their gender) when we refer to women. Gender is a key factor in shaping the experiences of women, particularly Japanese picture brides, as it influences their identities, social roles, and status within both their cultural communities and American society. Catharine MacKinnon's theory of gender aligns itself with this perspective, indicating that "gender emerges as the congealed form of the sexualization of inequality between men and women" (MacKinnon, 1987, pp. 6-7).

ISSN: 2003-0924

Due to the fact that language serves an important role not only in facilitating communication but also serves as an indicator of reinforcing social hierarchies and as a powerful tool in maintaining and reinforcing power relations, it also represents an instrument that may create or enforce oppression or discrimination (at various levels: social, political, and gender-based oppression). Moreover, language is often shaped by gender, reflecting and perpetuating societal norms and inequalities across languages and cultures. Consequently, linguistic choices reveal how power dynamics and community interrelations operate within society, revealing patterns of inclusion or exclusion and social hierarchy.

As language and social factors are interdependent, the study of sociolinguistics examines how they intersect, thereby highlighting how language can serve as a tool for social interaction. In each community, people play social roles, and the language they use is chosen and determined by the social situation they experience. Language is "rifted" and depends on "social status, ideology, profession, age, and sex" (Steiner, 1975, p. 31), as explained by George Steiner (1975). This approach underlines that language is conveyed in alignment with one's social class, environment, gender, and race. Consequently, this perspective aligns with sociolinguistic theories that indicate that linguistic variation among individuals is, at times, not a matter of choice but is shaped by culture, social status, power dynamics, and identity.

A similar perspective is shared by scholar Deborah Tannen. To explain, Tannes emphasizes the fact that language reinforces gender norms. Women's speech is often marked by politeness, subtlety, and a sense of community. In contrast, men's speech is more likely to convey straightforwardness, authority, and self-reliance. She states that "male-female conversation is cross-cultural communication" (Tannen, 1992, p. 8), explaining that these two genders have distinct ways of communicating: conversational styles of women and men are shaped by societal expectations and social norms. The term "genderlect" suggests that "masculine and feminine styles of discourse are best viewed as two distinct cultural dialects" (Tannen, 1992). The theory of "genderlect" holds that linguistic choices are shaped by one's gender, a fundamental aspect of one's communicative style.

Robin Lakoff's (1973) concept reflects how discourses of men and women differ when engaging in distinct patterns of communication, supporting the idea that there is a specific style of speech and expression for women, or "women's language", that practically positions this gender at a level of inferiority in society. Lakoff (1973) provides a starting ground for understanding that there are two types of linguistic discrimination associated with gender. First, her research examines how women are taught to express themselves in the society in which they live, influenced by their cultural values, beliefs, and education. From a young age, women are encouraged to adopt speech patterns that reflect politeness, hesitation, and deference, reinforcing their subordinate status. In contrast, men are generally socialized to use language in a more assertive, authoritative, and direct manner. Then, "the way general language use treats them" (Lakoff, 1993, p. 46), meaning how society imposes these linguistic norms or stereotypes that lead to demeaning or subordinating women. Language has long played a role in reinforcing societal perceptions and creating stereotypes.

Adelaide Haas (1979) supports Deborah Tannen's "Genderlect" theory, which illustrates that men and women tend to have different discourse styles, thereby reinforcing traditional gender roles. According to Haas, men's discourse is more "loquacious and directive; they use more nonstandard forms, and more frequently refer to time, space, quantity, destructive action, perceptual attributes, physical movements, and objects" (Haas, 1979, p. 616). This shows that language is embedded in societal expectations of masculinity and that language shapes gender. Men use language guided by rationality and less by the emotions that women might use.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, the vocabulary and terminology used have nothing to do with biological aspects; rather, speech patterns are socially constructed, reinforced by

ISSN: 2003-0924

cultural and social norms, and closely related to the roles that each gender fulfils in society. According to studies, men are expected to deliver authority and self-control, leading to a more declarative and imperative approach. In contrast to men's speech, women tend to use a discourse built on effectiveness, politeness, and complaints, again reinforcing traditional gender roles that associate femininity with empathy, and their way of expressing themselves is more emotional and evaluative than men's, according to Cheris Kramer (1974). Cheris Kramer suggests that another linguistic pattern shaping women's language is the use of "words of approval" (1974, p. 22). The regular use of evaluative adjectives indicates an orientation toward building positive social interactions, in contrast to the assertiveness of men's language. Language is socially constructed and reflects the power dynamics and experiences of its speakers. This is noticeable in gendered discourse, where masculinity and femininity influence linguistic choices.

3. Methodology: Equivalence and Non-Equivalence in *The Buddha in the Attic*

This research examines the impact of the translator's translation strategies on the maintenance or alteration of the original meaning, and how language decisions embody cultural and ideological factors in Julie Otsuka's *Buddha in the Attic*, a novel written by a Japanese American writer. Considering Julie Otsuka's focus on identity and oppression, examining the use of pronouns, collective voice, and culturally significant terms will illustrate how the translator preserves or alters these elements. To reach this endeavor, this paper aims to utilize concepts explained by scholars such as Eugene Nida (1964), Peter Newmark (1981; 1988), Katharina Reiss and Hans J. Vermeer (1984), Katharina Reiss (1989), and Mona Baker (1992), with the goal of highlighting how the use of the personal pronoun "we" as a marker of group identity, as well as cultural terms expressing historical and social implications, is rendered in the translation of Casiana Ioniță. Furthermore, the paper also concentrated on acknowledging the way lexical items carried connotations of race and xenophobia towards the Japanese community.

From this perspective, attention was directed to the translator's strategy for preserving the derogatory message in the original text, drawing on Nida's theory of dynamic equivalence (Nida, 1964) and Newmark's concept of semantic translation (Newmark, 1981). The analysis sought to observe whether the translator remained faithful to the meaning in terms of connotation or opted for a more neutral translation that softened the intensity of the ST message of alienation. Through an examination of culturally bound expressions, narrative perspectives, and textual forms, this study illustrates how meaning transforms in translation. Within this framework, examining equivalence and non-equivalence in the case of *The Buddha in the Attic* or *Buddha din podul casei* underscores the challenges inherent in literary translation.

3.1. A Contrastive View of the Translated Version: *Buddha din podul casei*

This section presents a detailed analysis of Julie Otsuka's novel *The Buddha in the Attic*, the source text, Casiana Ioniță's translation into Romanian, titled *Buddha din podul casei,* the target text. To illustrate and discuss the analysis of the lexical choices, it is also essential to briefly present details about the source text, *The Buddha in the Attic*, a novel that deals with the historical events of Japanese women who had become part of the United States diaspora in the first decades of the twentieth century, and its Romanian translation, *Buddha din podul casei*. In terms of chapters, Julie Otsuka's *The Buddha in the Attic* is structured into eight chapters, each narrating different stages of the collective experience of Japanese immigrant women in the United States. For reference, some relevant moments or topics depicted in the eight chapters include: the journey to the United States, the expectations concerning their husbands and new home, the deception upon arrival, White-Asian race relations, family life and field labour, and

ISSN: 2003-0924

the Japanese American imprisonment camps of World War II. For this analysis, we will mainly focus on the following chapters: "Come, Japanese!", "Whites", and "Traitors". The focus of the analysis will be on lexical choices that undergo equivalence and non-equivalence processes in the translation from English into Romanian. The analysis examines how linguistic features, such as lexical choices, culture-specific terms, particular lexical items that convey beliefs and cultural values, and narrative voice, are rendered, adapted, omitted, or lost during the translation process. The following table provides information about the literary work by Julie Otuka, published in 2013, and Casiana Ioniță's translation into Romanian, published in 2013, as depicted below:

	English version:	**Romanian translation:**
Title	*The Buddha in the Attic*	*Buddha din podul casei*
Author/Translator	Julie Otsuka	Author: Julie Otsuka Translator: Casiana Ioniță
Year of Publication	2011	2013
Publisher	Penguin Books	Polirom
Place of Publication	New York	Iași
Number of chapters	eight chapters	eight chapters
Title of the chapters	1. "Come, Japanese" 2. "First Night" 3"Whites" 4."Babies" 5. "Children" 6. "Traitors" 7. "Last day" 8. "A disappearance"	1. "Japonezii sunt bine-veniți 2. "Prima noapte" 3. "Albii" 4. "Bebelușii" 5. "Copiii" 6. "Trădători" 7."Ultima zi" 8. "O dispariție"
Chapters selected for the analysis	"Come, Japanese!" "Whites" "Traitors"	"Japonezii sunt bine-veniți!" "Albii" "Trădători"

Table 3. "*The Buddha in the Attic" and "Buddha din podul casei": A Comparison*

In addition to the analysis, this article aims to frame *The Buddha in the Attic* within Katharina Reiss's (1989, pp. 108-109) typology of texts, identifying its dominant communicative function and genre. We use Katharina Reiss's text-type theory because this article aims to analyse how the translator's lexical choices reflect the degree of equivalence or non-equivalence between the source text (ST) and the translation (TT). By building on Katharina Reiss's model of text-type classification, the following section will explore how her theory can be applied in practice. From previous discussions, it becomes evident that identifying the type of text is an essential step in shaping an effective translation. Accordingly, the intended elements (stylistic features and overall tone) can be effectively rendered in the target text. Katharina Reiss's typology provides a valuable perspective on how this text operates and how it should be approached in translation. This framework is essential for our study as it emphasizes the importance of the ST's "Skopos" (communicative purpose) and linguistic characteristics.

In the following section, the article will discuss the source text's genre to identify its dominant function and how it influences translation decisions in the target text. Before delving into the comparative analysis, we will first frame the text, *The Buddha in the Attic* (Otsuka, 2011), according to Katharina Reiss's typology. Once its textual type and dominant function have been established, a comparison will be made between the English novel and its Romanian translation, *Buddha din podul casei* (Otsuka, 2013), focusing on how the text's features are

ISSN: 2003-0924

preserved or transformed in the translation. It is essential to classify a text within the appropriate category in which it is framed, as this decision significantly influences the translation approach. Identifying the dominant function of the source text helps the translator determine which features to prioritize in the translation process, such as style, tone, purpose, content, or the intended effect on the target-language audience.

3.2. Identifying the Text Type, Genre, and Features of the Novel

To gain a clearer insight into the source text's communicative purpose, we apply the perspectives of Katharina Reiss and Hans J. Vermeer, as outlined in *Groundwork for a General Theory of Translation* (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984). Building on Karl Bühler's theory of language functions, firstly published in 1934, with a 2011 edition (see Bühler, 2011), Katharina Reiss developed a text typology that connects a text's communicative function to appropriate translation strategies. Katarina Reiss connects language functions to the classification of texts in translation (informative, expressive, operative). Later on, Reiss introduced another category, the multimedia text (or audio-visual). Thus, according to Katharina Reiss, texts can be classified into the following functions: informative texts, expressive texts, operational texts, and audio-visual texts (Reiss, 1989, pp. 108-109). According to Katarina Reiss and Vermeer (1984) and Katarina Reiss's text typology (1989), *The Buddha in the Attic* by Julie Otsuka can be classified as an expressive text, as its main focus is on its aesthetic form and seeks to evoke emotions in the reader. The language dimension in the novel is aesthetic; therefore, the translator must preserve the tone, mood, and stylistic nuances that reflect the author's intent. The novel seeks to highlight feelings, to portray the identities of immigrant women, and to capture the collective memory of the Japanese through a poetic, repetitive rhythm marked by the pronoun "we." The purpose of the text is not to deliver objective facts but to stir emotions, reflect identity, and convey shared experiences through Julie Otsuka's poetic and stylistically rich narrative.

The Buddha in the Attic is a work of historical fiction set in specific periods that represent the experiences of the Japanese community in the United States, focusing on the gendered experiences of women, particularly picture brides. The timeline includes the arrival of the picture brides in the United States in the first decades of the twentieth century (1908-1924), focusing on defining periods, and is intended to reflect the era's atmosphere, customs, and societal norms of the time, including their journey to the U.S., their arrival, family life, and their mass imprisonment in Japanese American camps during World War II. The book portrays the historical journey of Japanese women, also known as "shashin hanayome" (in Japanese, 写真花嫁), who immigrated to the United States in the early twentieth century to marry men they had only seen in photographs. It references actual historical events such as discriminatory immigration laws, labour exploitation, and the imprisonment of Japanese Americans during World War II. The author Julie Otsuka employs fictionalization as a narrative technique to humanize and give voice to those who have been historically marginalized or silenced. She uses an important narrative technique through the pronoun "we", which creates a collective memoir-like tone. By employing the personal pronoun "we", the narrative voice communicates the experiences of both individuals and picture brides as a group, thereby fostering a sense of unity and shared experience, intending not to erase the personal experiences of individual voices (through the act of naming and the use of first names; in Chapter I, for instance, the author mentions names such as Kazuko, Chiyo, Fusayo, typically given to girls).

When referring to the English audience of the book, it is important to mention that the novel positions itself to share the story of the context of Japanese immigration during "1908 and 1920 when the *Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-1908* placed severe restrictions on Japanese immigration" (Densho, 2023). The Romanian translation addresses a readership that may not possess the same cultural background or historical awareness of early twentieth-century

ISSN: 2003-0924

Japanese - American experiences. Therefore, this shift can influence the translator's choices, for instance, whether to adapt, explain, or retain culturally specific terms ("Kannon", for instance). To begin, we analyse the translation of the original title, considering how it reflects or transforms the original meaning. The original title, *The Buddha in the Attic,* carries deep meaning, evoking both a spiritual presence and a sense of forgotten identity of the Japanese women. The title echoes their experiences away from home, in "the unknown continent" (Otsuka, 2011), their spiritual resilience, and oppression. In the Romanian version, the translator, Casiana Ioniță, chose to render the title as *Buddha din podul casei,* which mirrors the original. The translator opted for a literal rendering that preserves the structure and form. Concerning the cultural implications of the Buddha, one passage that holds significant importance is represented by the following quotation: "Haruko left a tiny laughing brass Buddha up high, in a corner of the attic, where he is still laughing to this day" (Otsuka, 2011, p. 109). This passage, found later in the novel, echoes the title's meaning, emphasizing the enduring symbol of the laughing Buddha, which represents abundance and prosperity, and, in this case, the laughing Buddha is proof of the immigrant experience felt by Japanese women in the United States, representing hope (for a better, more prosperous life), suffering (the experience of an unwanted immigrant group – the yellow peril), memory, and resilience.

3.3. The Collective Voice: Translating "*We*" in Romanian

Julie Otsuka employs a collective voice to represent the experiences and struggles of immigrant Japanese women who came to the United States. This technique of using an inclusive "us"/"we" conveys how society perceives Japanese women as a whole. The high frequency of the word "we" highlights its significant role in constructing the collective narrative voice. The frequent use of "we" is not just a grammatical pattern; it represents a powerful narrative tool that gives voice to a community rather than an individual. While the Romanian version sometimes captures Julie Otsuka's intended tone, the collective voice's overall impact is often lost. The emotional intensity and rhythm created through repetition and the consistent use of "we" in English do not always carry over effectively into Romanian. In the following table, we provide a comparative overview of the shift in perspective, focusing on the collective voice "we" and its equivalent in Romanian:

English version	**Romanian translation**
We had long black hair	Aveam părul lung, negru
We dreamed we were lovely and tall	Visam că eram frumoase și înalte

Table 4. *Voice in "The Buddha in the Attic"*

A clear illustration of the collective voice and poetic repetition in English can be seen in the following: "we had long black hair" translated into Romanian as "Aveam părul lung, negru". The original version emphasizes the group identity of the Japanese women by explicitly stating the subject. In the English language, the *Subject-Verb-Object* structure is strictly enforced in what concerns declarative sentences (S-V-O), while the structure of Romanian declarative sentences (also S-V-O, but not restricted to the S-V-O structure) allows the omission of pronouns and, thus, indicates flexibility. In the examples indicated above, the translator opted to drop the explicit subject of the sentence, "we". To clarify, the verbal inflections already indicate who performs the action, as Romanian verb terminations change their form according to the doer of the action, considering categories such as the person and the number of the subject. In Romanian, the S-V-O structure is often employed in declarative sentences, with various results: showing who/what does the action, providing clarity. In some cases, when the subject

ISSN: 2003-0924

is already known from contextual mentions, subjects (nouns, pronouns) can still be included, with stylistic effects, to emphasize the doer of the action. However, in Romanian, although the verb form still conveys the first-person plural through conjugation, the explicit omission of the subject pronoun "noi" diminishes the stylistic and power of the original. The Romanian translation replaces the repeated "we" with the implicit subject in "aveam" which, while grammatically correct, weakens the stylistic repetition that gives the original its strong collective voice. In this case, the different typologies of the English and Romanian languages explain the differences in translation.

Another example of this stylistic shift is the following sentence: "We dreamed we were lovely and tall," which, in Romanian, is translated as "Visam că eram frumoase și înalte." While the meaning is preserved, the pronoun "we" is no longer explicitly stated. The Romanian version uses the first-person plural verb "visam" without the subject "noi." The Romanian translation, by relying on verb conjugation, softens the collective tone and reduces the emotional resonance.

A relevant example of how the collective voice is softened in translation appears in the following excerpt: "We often wondered: Would we like them? Would we love them? Would we recognize them from their pictures when we first saw them on the dock?" (*The Buddha in the Attic*, Otsuka, 2011, p. 4). In Romanian, the translated version of the ST becomes "Pe vapor ne întrebam adesea: Oare ne vor fi pe plac? Oare îi vom iubi? Oare îi vom recunoaşte din poze când îi vom vedea în port?" (Otsuka, 2013, p. 10). We can observe that the Romanian version loses the intended repetition and the original rhythm.

The reflexive pronoun "ne" in "ne întrebam" expresses the internal questioning more reflexively. Unlike English, Romanian tends to use such reflexive forms to convey internal states, which can make the narration feel less direct and slightly more detached. This difference softens the idea of the collective voice and reduces the intense sense of "we" as active narrators present in every question. It is important to note that in Romanian, the subject pronoun is not always necessary, as the verb form already indicates the person and number. However, while this omission is natural in Romanian, it can sometimes lead to a loss of emphasis and emotional nuances present in the original English text.

In certain paragraphs of the translation, the pronoun "we" is preserved to uphold the shared experience of the women. The collective meaning of "we" is most clearly preserved in the Romanian translation when it is rendered with "us." Although the phrase "Who among us was the thief?" does not explicitly use the pronoun "we," it still draws on the collective identity implied by the first-person plural. In Romanian, the translator chooses to maintain the sense of unity by translating "Care dintre noi", preserving this collective reference that defines Otsuka's narrative voice. Additional paragraphs of the text also include similar structures, showing that the translator sometimes aimed to retain the collective voice. To observe these differences, we group relevant examples below that highlight how the collective voice is rendered across both ST and TT.

English version	Romanian version
Some of us clutched our stomachs (p. 5)	Unele dintre noi ne ţineam de burtă (p. 12)
Were they thinking of us day and night? (p. 5)	Oare se gândeau la noi zi şi noapte? (p. 12)
What would become of us? (p.7)	Ce-o să se aleagă de noi? (p. 14)
Many more of us were from Kagoshima (p. 8)	Multe dintre noi eram din Kagoshima (p. 15)
The youngest of us was twelve (p. 8)	Cea mai tânără dintre noi avea doisprezece ani (p. 15)

Table 5. *The Collective Voice: "us" and "noi"*

Vol. 9 No 1 (2026)
ISSN: 2003-0924

Even though the repeated use of the pronoun "we" in English plays a key role in constructing the collective voice of the plot, it is often omitted in the Romanian translation due to grammatical norms. Therefore, instances in which "we" is rendered as "us" are more successful in maintaining the collective aspect.

3.4. Names as Markers of Identity in Translation

In this section, we illustrate how proper names and names of geographical sites are rendered in the Romanian translation, *Buddha din podul casei*. In this case, we will examine how these decisions affect the retention of cultural specificity in the translated text. Upon analysing the text, it can be observed that proper nouns have been preserved in the Romanian translation. However, some changes have been made to the Romanian translation. Certain terms have undergone modification through loan, naturalization (orthographic adaptations), or cultural adjustments. To clarify for the readers, we briefly discuss the key translation methods used. The concept of loan occurs when a word or name is borrowed directly from the source language (SL) without any additional changes. In the case of naturalization, the procedure involves adapting the SL term to the pronunciation and orthography of the TL. On the other hand, the procedure of functional equivalence deals with the strategy in which the translator opts for using a term that has the same function or effect as the original.

For example, some proper nouns such as Kyoto, Yamaguchi, Yamanashi, Kagoshima, or Niigata remain unchanged. All the proper nouns are often preserved, though the loan procedure in order to maintain the cultural and historical authenticity of the ST. It also highlights the characters' unique identities and cultural backgrounds, which are crucial for conveying the experiences and shared history depicted in the novel.

Even though some names are kept in the Romanian translation, others received different translations. One particular example is in the case of the following: "Kannon, the goddess of mercy", which in Romanian has been rendered as "Guan Yin, zeiţa mizericordiei". Kannon, known as the embodiment of compassion and mercy, represents a central place in the spiritual lives of many Japanese. Kannon is commonly shown as female in Japan and is one of the most widely worshipped deities. Even though both names are derived from the original Sanskrit name "Avalokiteśvara", the translator favoured the Chinese equivalent, "Guan Yin". The term "mizericordie" (synonymous with "milă" and "îndurare") is a direct and cultural equivalent in Romanian, capturing the religious and emotional significance of the deity's attribute. Although the translator considered substituting the term, the translation might have achieved greater success in preserving the original cultural nuance if the term had been retained via a calque and then explained. A suggested translation could be "Kannon, zeița mizericordiei".

English version	Romanian translation	Type of meaning
Kannon, the goddess of mercy	Guan Yin, zeiţa mizericordiei	expressive

Table 6. *Kannon versus Guan Yin*

In terms of meaning, even though the propositional meaning is preserved, the expressive meaning and its connotations are partially lost. The specific cultural term is lost when the deity's name is not maintained. Even though the translator tried to render the term in a way that would convey accessibility to the Romanian audience, it shifts from Japanese culture to the Chinese equivalent. Replacing the term "Kannon" with "Guan Yin" may weaken the novel's representation of the original Japanese cultural context deeply embedded in it. "Kannon" is not just a name, but a profound symbol embedded in Japanese religious and cultural traditions, embodying historical significance specific to Japan and its people. By replacing it with "Guan

ISSN: 2003-0924

Yin" (also known as Kuan-yin), a figure primarily linked to Chinese Buddhism, the translation may risk merging distinct cultural identities, potentially distorting the original's cultural specificity. According to concepts exposed by Eugene Nida's theory of dynamic equivalence (1964, Peter Newmark's concept of semantic translation and cultural equivalence (Newmark, 1981; 1988), the translator tries to convey the meaning of the original by replacing it with a more recognizable one, but risks losing the cultural nuance. In addition, "Kannon" appears in Romanian dictionaries (DEX Online, n.d.-d), included in the language through direct transliteration, i.e., the Japanese characters 観音 (Kanji) become "Kannon" in the Latin alphabet.

Another cultural term is represented by "Manchuria". To contextualize, the term "Manchuria" refers to the historic region in North-East China. Japan's occupation of Manchuria began after its victories in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars. "Manchuria" is translated into Romanian as "Manciuria", the Romanian equivalent present in the Romanian dictionaries (DEX Online, n.d.-e). The term "Manchuria" translates as "Manciuria" and conveys propositional meaning, referring to the historical region in Northeast Asia, which provides important historical context for the plot. The translator uses the Romanian equivalent of the name of the Chinese region. Therefore, the translator handles the term so that it preserves the propositional meaning by maintaining the name of the geographical reference, while also preserving the expressive meaning linked to the historical context of the early twentieth century.

English version	Romanian version	Type of meaning
Manchuria	Manciuria	propositional

Table 7. *Comparative overview of geographical sites*

3.5. Translating Cultural Terms

The source text, *The Buddha in the Attic,* by Julie Otsuka, contains a variety of culturally specific terms that are deeply embedded in the historical, social, cultural, and religious contexts of Japanese language and culture. These cultural terms may pose significant difficulties for the translator, as they may not have a direct equivalent in the TL. Consequently, the translator must employ various strategies to convey the intended meaning while preserving the original text's cultural concepts and authenticity. Below, we examine culture-specific terms in English and their Romanian equivalents, as translated by Casiana Ioniță. The title of the first chapter, "Come, Japanese!" was translated as "Japonezii sunt bine-veniţi!". This particular example is an instance of stylistic non-equivalence: the translator tries to convey the expressive effect but does not capture the subtle meaning of "Come, Japanese!", resulting in a degree of loss in translation. As a result, the Romanian version does not convey the same meaning or effect as the English version, which presents the social challenges and struggles of Japanese women. This is an example where, from the perspective of semantic translation, it is viewed as a success, but the dynamic equivalence is not strong enough to recreate the original meaning. For clarity, the table below will analyse the transfer of meaning from the English version to Romanian, using Mona Baker's (1992) categorization of types of meaning.

English version	Romanian version	Type of meaning
"Come, Japanese!"	"Japonezii sunt bine-veniți!"	expressive

Table 8. *Expressive meaning lost in translation*

Vol. 9 No 1 (2026)
ISSN: 2003-0924

The phrase carries an expressive meaning that is partially lost because the translator does not convey its emotional charge. The English title conveys a direct, imperative message addressed specifically to Japanese women, whereas the Romanian translation adopts a more welcoming tone. The Romanian version tends to soften the message, diluting its intensity and reflecting the complex and challenging experience of the immigrant Japanese women. The original tone reflects the complex power dynamics and the cultural pressures faced by immigrants in America. In "Japonezii sunt bine-veniți!", the Romanian translation loses some of that negative nuance, making the arrival seem more welcomed and unproblematic than it actually was. It is also important to mention that the instance "Come, Japanese!" is also characterized by its intertextuality, as it appears both as the chapter title and within the narrative, as the name of a book the Japanese women carry with them, "We carried them pressed flat between the pages of '*Come, Japanese!*'" (Otsuka, 2011, p. 20). The text, however, does not specify who extends this direct invitation to act toward a specific goal: going to the United States. Supposedly, the more welcoming tone may reflect the husbands' inviting attitude toward their picture brides and the *Gentlemen's Agreement* loophole, which allowed families to join their counterparts already present in the United States of America. Moreover, due to the subject of the novel and the narrative voice, the translation choice could consider the factor of gender, not only the directive force of the utterance "Come, Japanese!". For instance, "Japonezele sunt bine-venite!" maintains the welcoming attitude of the invitation. However, if we opt for a more direct, imperative approach, which may prove to be more accurate in the context at work, due to the legislative measures against Japanese in the first decades of the twentieth century, women were the immigrants allowed to come to the United States, a proposed translation could be "Veniți, japonezelor!".

Further on, specific terms pertaining to the Japanese culture and language provide a good opportunity to analyse equivalence and non-equivalence in Julie Otsuka's literary work. One specific example of such culturally specific terms is represented by the term "kimono", which is rendered in the Romanian version as "chimono." The word "chimono", which refers to the traditional Japanese pieces of clothing, worn by men and women, is present in the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language* (*Dicționarul Explicativ al Limbii Române,* i.e. DEX). The term "chimono" represents a Romanian equivalent of the Japanese word "kimono", attested by Lazăr Șăineanu in 1929 (as indicated by DEX Online, in the work *Dicționar universal al limbei române*, the sixth edition). The neologism, the original Japanese term "kimono", is adapted to the Romanian pronunciation and orthographic rules as "chimono", retaining the cultural reference while making it more accessible to Romanian readers. In 1958, *Dicționarul limbii române moderne* includes the word "chimono" (DEX Online, n.d.-b). Therefore, the term "kimono" is rendered in Romanian orthography as "chimono", retaining the cultural reference while making it accessible to Romanian readers, using a direct Romanian equivalent attested in dictionaries. The translator accurately preserves the cultural item "kimono" in Romanian, conveying both propositional and expressive meanings and by utilizing a term that exists in the Romanian language and is adapted to the audience's orthographic norms. By preserving the term's cultural features, the Romanian language enables the Romanian audience to grasp Japanese traditions and identity.

English version	Romanian version	Type of meaning
kimono	chimono	propositional and expressive

Table 9. *"Kimono" and "chimono"*

Another relevant example is the term "geisha". The word "Geisha" or "Geiko", meaning "art" or "person of art", represents Japanese women who are professional performers trained to

ISSN: 2003-0924

entertain a distinguished clientele (Acar, n.d.). "Geisha" in the English version is rendered as "gheișă" in the Romanian translation. The word used by the translator was included in the 1955-edition of the dictionary titled *Dicționarul limbii romîne literare contemporane* (see "gheișa", DEX Online, n.d.-c). Therefore, the translator utilizes a Romanian equivalent of the Japanese word "Geisha", following the Romanian orthographic conventions

English version	Romanian version	Type of meaning
geisha	gheișă	propositional

Table 10. *Preserving cultural features*

The translation of the term "geisha" as "gheișă" preserves the propositional meaning; the translator merely uses culturally specific Japanese words that were previously included in the Romanian language and adapted to Romanian orthographic norms. Through this choice, the translator preserves the cultural and semantic nuances of the original term, making it accessible and recognizable to Romanian readers, and maintaining the cultural reference intact.

Considering that English is a Germanic language and Romanian is a Romance language, it is necessary to highlight the role of the distinct characteristics of English and Romanian in the case of cultural words, specifically those originating from Japanese. In English, the Japanese characters representing the words "kimono" (着物) and "geisha" (芸者) were adapted to the Latin alphabet and entered the English language through direct transliteration from Japanese, an East-Asian language, while Romanian has official equivalents for these culturally-charged words: "chimono", respectively "gheișă". Both words were adapted phonetically (the "k" in "kimono" becomes "ch", reflecting the pronunciation rules of the Romanian language, while "sh" becomes "ș", following the same rule. The letter "ș" represents the phoneme "/ʃ/", equivalent to "sh" in English spelling (see, for instance, the "sh" in the morpheme "shadow").

Although the phrase "picture brides" does not explicitly appear in the content of the literary narrative, the concept is implicitly present through the use of the phrase "Japanese wife". The term "Japanese wife" or "soție japoneză" is important because it emphasizes cultural identity and the role of women within the context of immigration. The term is literally preserved as "soție japoneză". This choice maintains the cultural identity without adding or omitting nuances.

Another term to consider is "Banzai". In the Romanian translation, Casiana Ioniță preserved the term "Banzai", retaining its historical and cultural features. However, by preserving the term without any additional explanations or footnotes, the Romanian audience risks not being familiar with the concept or understanding it. This specific term highlights the challenge of maintaining fidelity to the ST while providing an effective explanation in the TL.

English version	Romanian version	Type of meaning
Banzai	Banzai	expressive and propositional

Table 11. *Preserving the cultural expressiveness*

The cultural term "Banzai" is translated into Romanian without loss of lexical meaning. The term carries an expressive meaning, reflecting a strong cultural nuance. "Banzai" appears in "Traitors" ("Trădători") as a relevant item regarding Japanese culture. The term "banzai" is originally from Japan and is an exclamation used as a cheer, particularly addressed to the emperor. The term combines "ban" (ten thousand) and "sai" (years), symbolizing a wish for longevity and loyalty. In Romanian, DEX Online indicates the existence of this chant in the dictionary titled *Marele Dicționar de Neologisme,* published in 2000: "banzai" has the

ISSN: 2003-0924

following Romanian equivalent: "Viață lungă!, (zece mii de ani) trăiască!" (see DEX Online, n.d.-a). By adding a footnote to the term, the translator could ensure that the target audience becomes more knowledgeable about the Japanese exclamation, understanding its significance for the context, even though it can present gaps in terms of propositional meaning, referring to the literal denotative meaning, which can be translated as "Viață lungă!", a choice that would replace the cultural effect. Interestingly, the chant has different connotations in the context of World War II. The war chant "Banzai" is included in the chapter titled Traitors": the title of the chapter "Traitors" has been rendered into Romanian as "Trădători", the only chapter translation employing a zero article. The use of the zero article in this case carries cultural and political meanings: this rendering into Romanian reflects the status of people of Japanese ancestry in the 1940s, as ethnically Japanese people were seen as *personae non gratae* by U.S. authorities (see Petruș, 2021; Petruș, 2025). Thus, all people of Japanese ancestry (present or not in the U.S.) were seen as "traitors", indicating the trait of a category of people and not specified individuals in a group.

The phrase "All enemy aliens from the Coast" translated as "toţi duşmanii străini de pe coastă", which appears in their newspaper, talking about the "dangerous" Japanese, carries a strong political meaning, referring specifically to foreign nationalities considered enemies during wartime that live along the coast. In the novel, the word "aliens" conveys more than mere foreignness; it implies cultural exclusion and societal isolation, as orchestrated by governmental forces (see Petruș, 2021).

English version	Romanian version	Type of meaning
"All enemy aliens from the Coast"	"toţi duşmanii străini de pe coastă"	expressive meaning

Table 12. *Loss of ideological concepts of the marginalized community*

"Enemy alien(s)" is a phrase that reflects the marginalization and exclusion of the Japanese community in America during World War II. The challenge of translating the phrase "enemy aliens" is to preserve its expressivity and negative connotation when used by U.S. institutions. Through this specific phrase, used in official documents and media discourse of the 1940s, in the U.S., Julie Otsuka sought to reveal the marginalization and xenophobia that resulted in people of Japanese ancestry being classified or branded as outsiders. The term specifically targets the Japanese immigrant people, not just women, who were perceived as outcasts/unwanted individuals. It subtly dehumanizes the immigrants, reflecting xenophobia and racial exclusion. The Romanian equivalent, "dușmanii străini", conveys the derogatory sense of the ST but softens the intensity of the governmental label of *alien enemies* and *non-alien enemies*. Even if "aliens" is semantically close to the Romanian "străini", the translation does not fully preserve the historical and ideological meaning of the original. The phrases *alien enemies* and *non-alien enemies* were a governmental categories imposed upon people of Japanese ancestry during World War II, with a particular difference important to mention: "enemy aliens" were Japanese citizens, while "non-alien enemies" represented American citizens of Japanese ancestry, according to World War II legal terminology (Petruș, 2021, p. 118; Petruș, 2023, p. 39). Although the two categories sought to differentiate between Japanese and American citizens, the common feature of their Japanese ethnicity rendered them "enemies".

Here, the phrase "enemy alien" refers to non-American citizens belonging to countries with which the U.S. waged war (in this case, Imperial Japan). In this case, the Romanian term "străini" is more of a general, neutral term for "foreigners". Thus, the translation may seem accurate, preserving propositional meaning and maintaining close proximity to the ST.

ISSN: 2003-0924

However, it constitutes a case of non-equivalence, as it does not entirely convey the expressive meaning of excluding the Japanese people and the terminology concerning enemy aliens. Therefore, the phrase's dynamic equivalence did not fully convey the intended meanings of alienation and the community's marginalization. Proposed translations include "toți cetățenii statului inamic aflați pe Coastă"/"toți etnicii japonezi de pe Coastă" (here, the enemy force is represented by Imperial Japan), "toți japonezii inamici de pe Coastă" or "toți străinii inamici de pe Coastă". In the case of the former variants, the translation included the historical value of the label, although it is necessary to mention that people of Japanese ancestry were imprisoned because of their ethnicity, not necessarily their citizenship (American-born but ethnically Japanese individuals were imprisoned as well). In the second variant, "alien" is replaced with a specific ethnic marker, indicating the mass imprisonment targeted people of Japanese ethnicity. On the other hand, "toți străinii inamici de pe Coastă" may prove to be more accurate and closer to the original rendering in the ST. The proposed translation includes changes in the spelling of the U.S. West Coast, in the book mentioned as "Coasta" written with capital "C", and the use of a more formal synonym, employed in the phrase "străinii inamici", used in official governmental documents, both in the 1940s and today. Here, the inversion from "dușmanii străini" to "străinii inamici" aims to convey the label's stylistic and proper terminology, indicating that the status of enemies emerged not from individuals' status as foreigners (străini/alien), but from a governmental decision that rendered certain nations enemies.

One particular example appears at the beginning of the book, on page 19, one of the first times Japanese people are referred to as "yellow": see the expression "yellow man". This phrase embodies the dehumanization common in racist discourse, reinforcing social exclusion and discrimination against Asians in Western societies. The translator chose to render the phrase "yellow man" as "japonez". The translation neutralizes the racialized and derogatory connotations. We argue that her choice is motivated by a desire to use a more neutral, appropriate, and politically correct term. The translator's lexical choice reduces the offensive meaning of the original term, even though it may also soften the historical harshness and social reality conveyed. Below, we discuss the types of meaning that were affected when rendering the term in Romanian.

English version	Romanian version	Types of meaning
"yellow man"	"japonez"	expressive

Table 13. *The challenge of preserving derogatory meaning*

The original term used in the novel, "yellow man", carries an expressive meaning, with strong race-based connotations. This specific term reflects the reality of the Japanese community in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in the context of the waves of East Asian migration to America. The present phrase "yellow man" signals the stereotyping and outsider perceptions assigned to the Japanese, carrying a racist connotation based on their skin tone. In the Romanian translation, Casiana Ioniță weakened this expressive meaning through the neutral and more general term "japonez". By her choice, she neutralizes the culturally, historically, and socially embedded term, sacrificing the derogatory tone of the original. A more effective translation that could enhance the term's connotation would be "gălbejit", as it preserves the pejorative connotation that conveys alienation. Furthermore, the translator's choice results in a loss not only of expressiveness but also of dynamic equivalence, leading to a less effective translation for the Romanian audience. It is worth noting an aspect encountered during the analysis: partial assimilation of the Japanese. The ongoing struggles of Japanese characters with English, despite living in America for many years, strongly reflect their partial integration into American culture. Their mispronunciations, such as "Harro" for "Hello," underscore their

ISSN: 2003-0924

outsider status as foreigners unable to overcome the barriers between cultures and languages. These linguistic features act as markers of cultural distance that contribute to the broader theme of exclusion: their accent and linguistic errors make them recognized for "our alien identification" (Otsuka, 2011, p. 93).

English version	Romanian version	Types of meaning
Harro	Harro	propositional and evoked

Table 14. *Preserving the mispronunciation*

In Romanian, the term "Harro" was preserved in full, with the translator adopting the transfer strategy of retaining the original term and adding a footnote. Casiana Ioniță succeeds in keeping a balance between fidelity to the source culture and accessibility for the Romanian target audience. Exploring this term provides an insight into the racial attitudes of the time and reflects how language can be used as a tool to reinforce social marginalization. At the level of lexical meaning, the term "Harro" was retained in Romanian and accurately translated, preserving its propositional meaning. Even if the terms were translated into Romanian without loss, the evoked meaning might be weakened, so the Romanian audience might not effectively associate with or understand the cultural aspects. In this case, dynamic equivalence is only partially achieved, as the cultural and historical impact does not produce the same effect as the ST.

English version	Romanian version	Type of meaning
Mitsuwa Soap	Chiftele de pește	propositional

Table 15. *Shift in meaning*

A particularly unusual example can be found in the translation of the phrase "Mitsuwa Soap" (Otsuka, 2011, p. 51) as "chiftele de pește" (Otsuka, 2013, p. 69). In English, the Romanian phrase "chiftele de pește" translates into fish cakes, i.e., flattened fish patties. This represents a clear case of mistranslation or a free adaptation, since "Mitsuwa" denotes a Japanese proper noun referring to a twentieth-century soap produced in Japan by the Marumiya company. Alongside Shiseido soap, Mitsuwa soap "heavily relied on decorative promotional graphics in the style of Art Nouveau (and later Art Deco) to conjure up luxurious images of elegant women and graceful floral motifs" (Weisenfeld, 2004, p. 577). Therefore, in terms of the Romanian equivalent selected by the translator, this choice represents a significant shift in meaning: the original version refers to the soap, whereas in Romanian the term is rendered as a type of food, which is unrelated. This example clearly demonstrates a case of non-equivalence and raises questions about the translator's strategy and the potential loss of cultural context. It is very likely that the translator misinterpreted the phrase "Mitsuwa soap" (in Japanese: ミツワ石鹸), which refers to Japanese soaps, hygiene products regarded as "high-quality domestic products" (Weisenfeld, 2004, p. 577), resulting in an inaccurate rendering of the message. Such an error underscores the translator's possible unfamiliarity with the specific cultural references that this word carries or a simple misunderstanding of the term. In this case, the propositional meaning is lost; the product of soap is replaced by a type of food. A possible translation for this phrase is "săpun Mitsuwa", a phrase which maintains the original hygiene product sold by the Marumiya manufacturers in the twentieth century, and, culturally, its symbolism entails a homely product from Japan, an object which is emotionally charged and connects two worlds: the former home of the picture brides, Japan, and their new home, the United States of America.

ISSN: 2003-0924

4. Conclusions

This paper examines the concepts of equivalence and non-equivalence in Julie Otsuka's novel *The Buddha in the Attic*, which portrays the experiences of Japanese immigrants who came to America in the early 1900s, struggling with the uncertainty of the unknown shores. In *The Buddha in the Attic*, language carries not just meaning, but it preserves the historical phenomenon of the "picture brides", their struggles with assimilation into the new culture, their suffering where dreams turned into deception, and loss of identity, through the imprisonment during wartime. Beyond its historical features, language carries the cultural specificities of the Japanese community, aspects that pose challenges for translation, particularly in the context of equivalence. Julie Otsuka's narrative technique of storytelling through a collective voice captures the unique struggles of the "picture brides," who set out to explore the challenges of translation.

Observing how the pronoun "we" is rendered in Romanian highlights how language is a powerful tool for expressing resilience and exclusion within minority communities. We demonstrated that the impactful nuance of the collective voice "we" is not entirely rendered into Romanian due to grammatical conventions. Thus, the only form of the pronoun that maintains the exact same meaning is "us", which reflects the shared experiences of the Japanese women. Therefore, a significant finding of this study was that the collective voice was partially lost due to grammatical differences in Romanian. The plural form of the pronoun "we" was partially lost due to the verb conjugation, which already indicates the subject, omitted or changed for the form of the reflexive pronoun. In this case, the importance of "we" was diminished in the Romanian translation, which shifted the focus away from the unique experience of the Japanese women as a group. English and Romanian have different typologies concerning the use of pronouns. To explain, due to the fact that Romanian is a Romance language that inherited the linguistic structure of Latin, Romanian has a synthetic pronominal structure: the Romanian sentence "[Eu] merg" can convey the doer of the action by utilising the predicate only, without requiring the presence of the personal pronoun "eu". Since the pronoun embodies grammatical information (person, number, and case), the absence of the pronoun still conveys information about the doer of the action. On the other hand, English, a Germanic language, exhibits an analytical structure in its pronoun usage. To exemplify and contrast this with the sentence provided in Romanian, Romanian allows pronoun-dropping, whereas in English, the sentence structure necessitates a subject, whether a pronoun or not: "[Eu] merg" versus "I walk".

The notion of collective voice was preserved by employing the usage of the object pronoun "us". Although the use of "us" in Romanian preserved the women's collective voice, Julie Otsuka's narrative technique was partially lost in translation. The method of presenting the unity and solidarity of the women loses its emotional impact due to the Romanian grammar. In the table below, we present the findings of the analysis, aiming to demonstrate that the collective voice "we" is only partially preserved, whereas the pronoun "us" accurately reflects the nuances of the group identity of Japanese women.

English version of the pronoun "we"	**Romanian version of the pronoun "we"**	**English version of "us"**	**Romanian version of "us"**
We often wondered	Pe vapor ne întrebam adesea?	What would become of us?	Ce-o să se aleagă de noi
Would we like them?	Oare ne vor fi pe plac?	Were they thinking of us day and night?	Oare se gândeau la noi zi şi noapte?

Vol. 9 No 1 (2026)
ISSN: 2003-0924

Table 16. *Loss and gain through "we" and "us"*

The analysis showed in this way that the plural form of "we" is not entirely rendered in the translation, replacing the idea of "we" ("noi") with the reflexive pronoun "ne". Even if it follows the grammatical rules of Romanian, the group's visibility from a pragmatic standpoint is diminished. The repetition and intensity of "we", which portray the unique experiences of the Japanese "picture brides", lead to a loss of the novel's collective voice, which is essential to the novel. As illustrated previously, Romanian, unlike English, belongs to a different language typology and allows the omission of pronouns. The translator used the reflexive pronoun form "ne", omitting the subject; therefore, the solidarity and emphasis of the group of women are lost. When examining specific sections, we observed that the idea of shared experiences emerged only when "us" was used. Through the use of "us", the plural perspective is accurately rendered, retaining the original effect of unity around women. Even if the voice is effectively conveyed, the importance of Julie Otsuka's technique disappears, weakening the emotional unity and togetherness of the "picture brides."

The paper has shown that the notions of equivalence and non-equivalence arose from the absence of a direct equivalent or similar cultural concept term in the target language. Consequently, the paper aimed to acknowledge the major challenges in literary translation, focusing on the translator's strategies, and to identify an accurate method for dealing with non-equivalence. A part of this analysis focused on Japanese culturally specific items to observe how they were handled in the Romanian translation of Casiana Ioniță *Buddha din podul casei*. Through a detailed analysis, the paper has demonstrated that, in terms of proper names, place names, or culturally lexical items, the translation successfully maintains equivalence. Japanese proper names and geographical sites were preserved through loanwords; therefore, the nuances of the original text could be retained in the Romanian version without alteration. In the case of culture-specific items, the translator chose to retain the Romanian equivalents of the original terms, such as "geisha" and "kimono," which were previously adapted in Romanian and have direct equivalents in Romanian dictionaries, which ensured that the narrative content reflected the real historical and cultural setting, choices that were effective when dealing with no direct equivalents in the target culture.

English version	Romanian translation
1. geisha	1. gheișă
2. kimono	2. chimono

Table 17. *Preserving cultural identity*

As observed in the analysis, the Japanese cultural term "Geisha" translates into Romanian as "gheișă" and preserves its propositional, denotative, and cultural meanings. At the same time, the translator employed a term existent into the Romanian, as explained in the analysis. The findings show that the propositional meaning of the term was preserved in the Romanian version. In this manner, the translator ensured the audience recognized and understood it effectively, while maintaining the connection to the Japanese garment worn by women.

On the other hand, the findings of this paper indicate that, while the overall semantics of culturally relevant terms were transferred into the Romanian version, the layers of ideological components suggest that phrases conveying xenophobia and racial exclusion were not fully retained. The labelling given to the Japanese by the Americans was partially rendered, losing its strong impact and softening the derogatory "enemy aliens" or "yellow man" (Otsuka, 2011). From this perspective, the paper suggested that the translator's choices were successful in

ISSN: 2003-0924

semantic translation, but the sense of the collective voice and the alienation of the Japanese community were diminished in the Romanian translation. Therefore, dynamic equivalence (Nida, 1964) was absent, and the translation failed to render the intended message, emphasizing the idea of racial injustice. One limitation of the study was that the paper only analysed the translation into Romanian. In future studies, it might be interesting to observe how the notion of equivalence was handled across other languages and how key concepts of the novel, such as ideology, collective voice, and cultural items, were preserved or altered in different linguistic contexts.

Following the examples presented in the table below, the study clearly showed that in cases of expressive derogatory connotations, the meaning was lost or rendered neutral. Instead of preserving the ideological, xenophobic effect presented by Julie Otsuka, the translation is diminished in its connotations. These terms carried a dismissive and stereotypical connotation, important in observing the way others, specifically the white Americans, perceived them. Therefore, in Romanian, the expressive meaning is not preserved, and the dynamic equivalence cannot render the intended effect of the original, losing the impact on the reader's perspective.

English version	Romanian translation
"yellow man"	"japonez"
"enemy aliens"	"dușmani străini"

Table 18. *Diminishing the derogatory connotation through translation*

When analysing the Romanian translation of *The Buddha in the Attic,* it became evident that the translation approach relied on lexical meaning. The findings have shown that essential layers of meaning, considering connotations, pejorative aspects, cultural terms, and collective voice, tend to lose their rich value in the Romanian text, failing to achieve communicative translation, rendering the tone of the text rather neutral.

This study is one of the first contributions to the field of literary translation that addresses the issue of equivalence and non-equivalence in Julie Otsuka's novel *The Buddha in the Attic* and its translation into Romanian, *Buddha din podul casei*. While the novel has received attention in literary criticism from publications such as *The New York Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*, the Romanian translation has not been analysed or discussed in the translation field through the concept of equivalence. As a result, the study has provided deeper insight into how cultural Japanese items, the collective voice of the "picture brides", and ideological perspectives have been rendered to the Romanian audience through the translation of Casiana Ioniță. By analysing the previously mentioned features, the study shows how grammatical particularities in the target language can reshape the context of shared identity and how language plays a key role in reflecting experiences of oppression and historical struggles rooted in race and gender. Moreover, it emphasized whether lexical items are preserved. And the way expressiveness is rendered, showing the translator's choice in balancing faithfulness and accessibility for its readers.

References:

Acar, A. (n.d.). What is a geisha? *Mai-Ko.* https://mai-ko.com/travel/culture-in-japan/geisha/what-is-a-geisha/

Baker, M. (1992). *In other words: A coursebook on translation*. Routledge

ISSN: 2003-0924

Bühler, K. (2011). *Theory of language: The representational function of language* (D. F. Goodwin, Trans.; A. Eschbach, with contributions). John Benjamins Publishing Company. (Original work published 1934)

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1299. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Crenshaw, K. (2013). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. In K. Maschke, (Ed.), *Feminist legal theories* (pp. 23–51). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315051536

Crenshaw, K. (2017, June 8). Intersectionality: More than two decades later [Interview]. *Columbia Law School News.* https://www.law.columbia.edu/news/archive/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality-more-two-decades-later

Cruse, D. A. (1986). *Lexical semantics*. Cambridge University Press

Densho. (2023). Classic novel by Yoshiko Uchida chronicles dreams and struggles of Japanese picture brides. *Densho Encyclopedia*. https://densho.org/catalyst/classic-novel-by-yoshiko-uchida-chronicles-dreams-and-struggles-of-japanese-picture-brides/

DEX Online. (n.d.-a). banzai. In *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*. [The explanatory dictionary of the Romanian language]. https://dexonline.ro/definitie/banzai

DEX Online. (n.d.-b). chimono. In *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*. [The explanatory dictionary of the Romanian language]. https://dexonline.ro/definitie/chimono/definitii

DEX Online. (n.d.-c). gheișă. In *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române.* [The explanatory dictionary of the Romanian language]. https://dexonline.ro/definitie/ghei%C8%99%C4%83/definitii

DEX Online. (n.d.-d). Kannon. In *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*. [The explanatory dictionary of the Romanian language]. https://dexonline.ro/definitie/Kannon

DEX Online. (n.d.-e). Manciuria. In *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*. [The explanatory dictionary of the Romanian language]. https://dexonline.ro/definitie/Manciuria

Haas, A. (1979). Male and female spoken language differences: Stereotypes and evidence. *Psychological Bulletin, 86*(3), 616–626

Ichioka, Y. (1980). Amerika Nadeshiko: Japanese immigrant women in the United States, 1900-1924. *Pacific Historical Review*, *49*(2), 339–357

Kramer, C. (1974). Women's speech: Separate but unequal? *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 60*(1), 14–24

Lakoff, R. (1973). Language and woman's place. *Language in Society, 2*(1), 45–80

MacKinnon, C. A. (1987). *Feminism unmodified: Discourses on life and law*. Harvard University Press.

Newmark, P. (1981). *Approaches to translation*. Pergamon Press

Newmark, P. (1988). *A textbook of translation*. Prentice Hall

Nida, E. A. (1964). *Toward a science of translating*. Brill

Otsuka, J. (2003). *When the emperor was divine*. Anchor Books

ISSN: 2003-0924

Otsuka, J. (2011). *The Buddha in the attic*. Penguin Books

Otsuka, J. (2013). *Buddha din podul casei* (C. Ioniță, Trans.). Polirom. (Original work published 2011)

Otsuka, J. (2022). *The Swimmers*. Knopf

Otsuka, J. (2023). *Înotătorii*. (G. Cerchez, Trans.). Pandora M. (Original work published 2022)

Pașcalău, R. (2025). Translation – A bridge between cultures in transition. *Incursiuni în imaginar*, *16*(2), 209-223. https://doi.org/10.29302/InImag.2025.16.2.10

Pașcalău, R., Stiegelbauer, L.-R., & Pantea, D. M. (2025). Understanding the translation workflow. *Studii de Știință și Cultură*, *21*(1), 146–154

Petruș, R.-A. (2021). Civil rights and the identity struggle in George Takei's *They Called Us Enemy*. In A. Cotoc, O. More, & M. Mudure (Eds.), *Multicultural discourses in turbulent times* (pp. 115–128). Presa Universitară Clujeană

Petruș, R.-A. (2023). Hisaye Yamamoto's silence-voice interplay in Japanese American imprisonment camps. *Gender Studies*, *22*(1), 38–53. https://doi.org/10.2478/genst-2023-0033

Petruș, R.-A. (2025, February 14). The literary legacy of Japanese American incarceration. *Salzburg Global Seminar.* https://www.salzburgglobal.org/newsroom/latest-news/the-literary-legacy-of-japanese-american-incarceration

Popovič, A. (1976). *Dictionary of the analysis of literary translation*. University of Alberta

Reiss, K. (1981). Understanding a text from the translator's point of view. *The Bible Translator*, *32*(1), 124–134

Reiss, K. (1989). Text types, translation types and translation assessment (A. Chesterman, Trans.). In A. Chesterman (Ed.), *Readings in translation theory* (pp. 105–115). Finn Lectura. (Original work published 1977)

Reiss, K., & Vermeer, H. J. (1984). *Groundwork for a general theory of translation*. Niemeyer

Steiner, G. (1975). *After Babel: Aspects of language and translation*. Oxford University Press

Tannen, D. (1992). *You just don't understand: Women and men in conversation*. Ballantine Books

Weisenfeld, G. (2004). "From baby's first bath": Kaō Soap and modern Japanese commercial design. *The Art Bulletin*, *86*(3), 573–598. https://doi.org/10.2307/4134447

ISSN: 2003-0924