

José Gustavo Góngora Goloubintseff

## *Mouse vs. Ratón*



A Study of Hybridity in the Form of Language Mixing  
in English-to-Spanish Translations of Wikipedia  
Articles



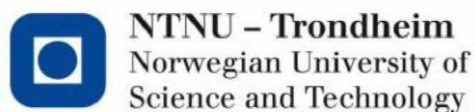
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Faculty of Humanities

Department of Language and Literature









## Abstract

The idea that all texts are in principle linguistically and culturally hybrid has been defended by some scholars throughout the past decades (Schäffner and Adab 2001b; Snell-Hornby 2001). Translation theorists have focused on translated texts as carriers of hybridity, displaying a mixture of features from both the source text (ST) and the target text (TT). Taking this idea as point of departure, the present study tackles the issue of hybridity in Wikipedia translation. Through a series of qualitative interviews with six experienced English-to-Spanish Wikipedia translators and the analysis of six translated articles, this project is aimed to see 1) if Wikipedia translators from Spain have a more conservative attitude to language use and translation than their Latin American counterparts, and 2) if the latter actually use more Anglicisms in their translations when compared to the Spaniards. The results revealed that the interviewees' attitudes towards language, especially regarding the use of Anglicisms vs. *pure* Spanish lexical items, were to a certain extent echoed by the findings from the analysis of the six translated articles, with the translations performed by the Spaniards being slightly more conservative than those carried out by the Latin American users, whose texts accounted for nearly 63% of the Anglicisms found in the investigation. The study also addresses the concept of *third space* (Bhabha 1994, Snell-Hornby 2001) in relation to Wikipedia, showing that the online encyclopedia does indeed function as a collaborative space where meaning and forms are constantly in flux and negotiated among its users.



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José Gustavo Góngora-Goloubintseff

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## Abbreviations

<b>DRAE</b> <sup>1</sup>	Royal Spanish Academy Dictionary
<b>ETT</b>	Edited Target Text
<b>GA</b>	Good Article
<b>L</b>	Latin American
<b>Ls</b>	Latin Americans
<b>LST</b>	Likely Source Text
<b>RAE</b>	Royal Spanish Academy
<b>S</b>	Spaniard
<b>SL</b>	Source Language
<b>Ss</b>	Spaniards
<b>ST</b>	Source Text
<b>TL</b>	Target Language
<b>TT</b>	Target Text

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<sup>1</sup> Spanish acronym for *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*.



# 1 Introduction

The idea that all texts are in principle culturally and linguistically hybrid has been defended by several scholars throughout the past decades (Schäffner and Adab 2001b; Snell-Hornby 2001). Translation theorists have focused on translated texts as carriers of hybridity, displaying a mixture of features from both the source text (ST) and the target text (TT) (Schäffner and Adab 2001a). Even though this hybridity can be manifested through cultural references, language mixing plays an important role due to the conscious and unconscious blending of lexical and syntactic patterns from at least two languages, the source language (henceforth SL), on the one side, and the target language (hereinafter TL) on the other.

Language mixing in this study is used as an umbrella term that comprises phenomena such as oral and written codeswitching, and borrowing (Sebba 2002). Furthermore, codeswitching may, in turn, include unincorporated or non-integrated Anglicisms, while borrowing corresponds to incorporated or accepted Anglicisms (Medina López 2004, Gardner-Chloros 2009, Auer and Eastman 2010). For the classification of lexical Anglicisms as incorporated or unincorporated, the present study follows the criteria adopted by the Royal Spanish Academy (*Real Academia Española*, henceforth RAE), the official institution responsible for the prescriptive use of the Spanish language. With this as a backdrop, the project embarks on the study of 1) different attitudes to Anglicisms in translation by two groups of Wikipedia users, Spaniards and Latin Americans, and of 2) how translation from English to Spanish in Wikipedia gives rise to Anglicisms, what kind they are, and so on.

The project also relies on the importance of English as a hub language on the Internet. According to Web Technology Surveys, 51.8% of the websites are in English, followed by Russian with 6.5% and Japanese with 5.6%.<sup>2</sup> This concurs with the number of articles found in each of the 290 language versions of Wikipedia, where English is at the top of the ranking with 5.3 million articles, followed by German with 2 million articles, and French with 1.8 million articles as of April 2017. The Spanish language Wikipedia occupies the sixth position with over 1.3 million articles.<sup>3</sup> Since most online contents are in English, this language works a source of information from which most translations, on and off Wikipedia, come from.

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<sup>2</sup> [https://w3techs.com/technologies/overview/content\\_language/all](https://w3techs.com/technologies/overview/content_language/all)

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.wikipedia.org/> (Retrieved on April 21, 2017)

This study focuses on cross-wiki translation<sup>4</sup> between English and Spanish. For this purpose, six English-to-Spanish Wikipedia translators, three from Spain and three from Latin America, were selected. They were asked a series of 16 questions in order to get information about their background, the common errors they found as Wikipedia translators, how they solved them, and what preferences or viewpoints they had regarding the use of Anglicisms in translation. The interviews were accompanied by an in-depth analysis of five English-to-Spanish translations of *good articles* (henceforth GA) and one *featured article* (see 1.1. below) from Wikipedia, three translated by Latin American users and three by Spaniards.

Previous research has suggested that Spaniards tend to have a more conservative attitude to language than other Spanish speakers, preferring to use pure lexical items from their own language rather than accepting and embracing the (unavoidable) proliferation of Anglicisms (Haensch 2005, Munday 2005). These findings prepared the ground for two research questions applied to translation in Wikipedia: 1) To what extent do Spaniards and Latin Americans perceive themselves and each other as conservative translators? 2) How many Anglicisms do Latin American Wikipedia translators use in comparison with the Spaniards? Finally, the hypotheses addressed in this study are that 1) Wikipedia translators from Spain are likely to have a more conservative attitude to translation than their Latin American counterparts, and that 2) Latin American users of Wikipedia tend to use more Anglicisms in their translations.

## 1.1 The choice of Wikipedia for the study

Wikipedia is a free, multilingual online encyclopedia, founded on January 15, 2001 by Jimmy Wales and Larry Sanger. It is currently available in more than 290 languages, eight of which have more than one million articles. The English version alone has, as of April 2017, more than 5.3 million entries. This makes Wikipedia the largest encyclopedia ever.<sup>5</sup> As of April 7, 2017 Wikipedia remains in the top five of the most popular websites worldwide, only behind Google, YouTube, Facebook, and the Chinese search engine Baidu.<sup>6</sup> Anyone in Wikipedia can write and edit content at any time, without having to register an account. Thousands of articles are constantly being modified by several hundreds of unpaid users on a daily basis. Despite this fact, the now 16-year-old Wikipedia has often been overlooked by translation theorists, barring some notable exceptions (Hautasaari and Ishida 2012, Warncke-Wang 2012).

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<sup>4</sup> “Cross-wiki translation” stands for translation between different language versions of Wikipedia.

<sup>5</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia>

<sup>6</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_most\\_popular\\_websites](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_most_popular_websites)



When it comes to translation in Wikipedia, this differs from other more conventional forms of translation in that non-professional translators are often involved in the process. Besides, non-translated as well as translated articles in Wikipedia are unfinished products; they are subject to constant change and evolution. Another major point of divergence is that translation in Wikipedia has different functions than more typical forms of translation. Translation in Wikipedia operates with different norms, where loyalty to the ST is less important. It is often a point of departure for creating new articles or simply improving the existent ones in the TL. Every Wikipedia user can either translate articles manually or by using the Content Translation Tool that is available since 2014 for some language combinations such as English and Spanish or English and Norwegian Bokmål.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, each Wikipedia article has an associated *talk page* that is a collaborative space where users can comment on aspects concerning that particular article, such as coherence, neutrality or objectivity, accuracy of content, errors, the use of verifiable references, translation issues, and so on.

The fact that Wikipedia is a prevalent, important and relatively unexplored open arena in which users can write new articles and modify what others have done makes it an attractive and challenging option for study. Its number of articles is constantly being increased through the collaboration of hundreds of users with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. This study focuses on five GAs and one featured article translated by either one or more of these users. GAs and featured articles are Wikipedia articles that have been awarded a special distinction due to their very good quality in terms of both content and structure. These articles, which are chosen after a two-week open process in which the community of users vote for or against them being featured and express their opinion, are considered of a high standard. They are good examples of what a good Wikipedia article should look like (e.g. use of reliable independent references, it covers the subject matter, it is well explained and written, the content is well organized and structured in clear sections and subsections, etc.).<sup>8</sup>

Wikipedia, as a collaborative space in constant motion, has opened a new, unexplored arena for research, while its cosmopolitan multilingual communities make Wikipedia a good example of cultural and linguistic hybridity. As was mentioned before, this study tackles translation in

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<sup>7</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Content\\_translation\\_tool](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Content_translation_tool)

<sup>8</sup> Both GAs and featured articles are similar in terms of quality and extension. However, GAs normally involve one or two users – in addition to the author or authors – who revise the article and award the ‘distinction’ if they consider that it meets the required standards of quality. Featured articles, on the other hand, are often approved after a thorough process of revision carried out by at least five users. If consensus is reached and the article is corrected and revised accordingly, then it is awarded a ‘star’ which shows up on the upper right corner of the page and that identifies the article as featured.

Wikipedia, taking into account how it differs from other (more) conventional translations, and placing the emphasis on how attitudes towards language are constantly being discussed and negotiated in a culturally and linguistically hybrid environment. All this put together paves the way for a third research question: Could Wikipedia be considered a particularly good illustration of the notion of *third space* where different voices converge, as defined by Bhabha (1994), Snelly-Hornby (2001), and Montes-Alcalá (2012) among others? This idea is further developed in the chapters to follow.

## **1.2 Chapters of the study**

This study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical background, with an emphasis on hybridity as a general concept, its use in cultural studies and translation studies, and its relation to language mixing. Subsequently, the notions of codeswitching, borrowing and Anglicisms are given a general introduction, before moving on to the study of language mixing on the Internet and, ultimately, in Wikipedia. Chapter 3 presents the methodology: the interviews and the textual analysis. Chapter 4 analyzes the data obtained from the interviewees' responses, focusing on the informants' attitudes towards language in general and Anglicisms in particular. Chapter 5 is dedicated to the study of the data extracted from the textual analysis, paying attention to how attitudes towards language are echoed by translational behavior (e.g. use of Anglicisms vs. *pure* Spanish words). Chapter 6 discusses the findings from the analysis and to what extent and in what ways they answer the three research questions and confirm the two hypotheses, whereas chapter 7 sums up the study and offers some concluding remarks.

## 2 Theoretical background

The status of English as a lingua franca is closely related to the concept of globalization, defined by Albrow and King as an international process of integration resulting from “the interchange of world views, products, ideas, and other aspects of culture” (Albrow and King 1990: 9). The expansion of the British Empire, the hegemony of the United States as a world power in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, as well as important and rapid advances in transportation and telecommunication – including the television and the Internet – turned English into the preferred international language for communication. Nowadays English is taught as a foreign language in many countries around the world, and it ranks first in terms of Internet users worldwide, with over 948 million (26.3%), followed by Chinese (752 million) and Spanish (277 million).<sup>9</sup>

The penetration of English into multiple cultures through the media, the Internet, science, and education, among other fields, has resulted in the adoption and/or use of many Anglicisms by different languages. This proliferation of Anglicisms, however, is not welcomed by all the speakers in the same way. Some people regard Anglicisms as intrusive, whereas others tend to show a more open attitude towards them (Medina López 2004, Gottlieb 2005, Munday 2005). The hegemonic role of English as a world language is intertwined with the concept of hybridity, which has been addressed from multiple perspectives. This chapter first and foremost tackles the definition of hybridity – with the main focus on linguistic hybridity – and how this concept has been used in both postcolonial studies and translation studies. Linguistic hybridity, as its name suggests, encompasses the sociolinguistic concept of language mixing and, within the latter, those of codeswitching, borrowing and calque. This chapter deals with language mixing in general and with studies of written codeswitching and Anglicisms in particular. Finally, the third and last section of this chapter pays attention to previous research on language and the Internet, with main focus on language and translation in Wikipedia.

### 2.1 Hybridity

*The Oxford Dictionary* defines hybrid as “a thing made by combining two different elements” or “a word formed from elements taken from different languages” (e.g. *tele-vision*). The usage

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<sup>9</sup> <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm> (Retrieved on April 21, 2017)

of the term dates back to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, when it was first introduced as a noun (from Latin *milio*; child of a freeman and a slave, of a sow and a wild boar, etc.). A similar definition is provided by the *Collins Dictionary*, which renders hybridity as “anything of mixed ancestry” or “an animal or plant resulting from a cross between genetically unlike individuals”.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.1.1 Hybridity in postcolonial studies and translation studies

Hybridity earned its current status following a long process of thorough redefinition which took place in the 1970s with the outbreak of new ideas and trends proposed by the postmodern movement known as postcolonial studies. Rubdy and Alsagoff state that hybridity came up as an “alternative discourse that subverts the very idea of a dominant culture and a unique canon” (Rubdy and Alsagoff 2014: 8). They also hold that in the new era of globalization, where human beings, goods and services are in close contact with each other and distances are shorter than ever before, hybridity turns out to be a useful concept to understand the “global cultural (power) relations” (Rubdy and Alsagoff 2014: 8).

The terms hybridity, hybrid or hybridization became popular within the framework of cultural studies, especially after Homi Bhabha’s (1994) seminal article. Bhabha called for a redefinition of the Western canon, including classical notions of purity and uniformity. Bhabha’s article gained widespread attention as he introduced hybridity as something characterizing the *third space*: an alternative arena where different values and cultures converge (Bhabha 1994:28). According to Bhabha, the third space should not be seen as an isolated reality but, rather, as a place in which meanings are always in flux, as an arena of active and ongoing differences (Bhabha 1994:28-29). This has gained new actuality with the advent of Wikipedia and other Internet texts in general since the text is never finished: it is open to continuous cooperation, changes and additions among several users within and between several languages and cultures. Following Bhabha, Simon holds that the hybrid text could be seen as a third zone or space in which at least two distinct systems overlap. She brings up the example of the Navajo people in the United States and the Catalan community in Spain (Simon 2011: 52). Snell-Hornby (2001), among other scholars, also share this view. Furthermore, in her article “The Space ‘In Between’: What is a Hybrid Text?” Snell-Hornby posits the view that the text occupies a place *in between*, a point of encounter between cultures and languages that are quite often alike (Snell-Hornby 2001: 207). In addressing hybridity from both the postcolonial and the translational angles, she

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<sup>10</sup> As Schäffner and Adab discuss in their paper, the Latin word *hybrida* referred to something or someone as being half-breed, and its use was derogatory. It was normally reserved to people of mixed racial background (Schäffner and Adab 2001a: 168).

believes that this phenomenon “reflects the reality of our world today, itself a hybrid world” (Snell-Hornby 2001: 208). For Snell-Hornby, globalization is behind the concept of hybridity.

According to Sebba, the third space is both constructed and reconstructed by language mixing (Sebba et al. 2012: 11). Indeed, language mixing in written texts serves a specific purpose: identity creation. By mixing different languages, authors give identity to each of their characters (Sebba et al. 2012: 11). However, this third space where hybrid voices arise and are negotiated is not only limited to fiction. Non-fictional prose also mixes languages in an attempt to target specific audiences. This is true, for instance, of commercials and Wikipedia, at least when it comes to following language usage versus prescriptiveness (Sebba et al. 2012: 11).

### **2.1.2 Linguistic hybridity**

Linguistically hybrid texts combine features from more than one language. Some theorists argue that any text can be hybrid (see Schäffner and Adab 2001: 296, Noss 2001, Snell-Hornby 2001). Others believe that translation is likely to play an important role in the creation of hybridity (Zauberga 2001, Schäffner and Adab 2001a). According to this approach, every TT will always display features from the ST, regardless of the quality of the translation. This is the stance adopted by this project, which subscribes to Schäffner’s and Adab’s view of hybridity in the TT as something unavoidable and not necessarily negative (see the subsection below). This also seems to be the point at which most scholars agree, although there are some notable exceptions such as Pym (2001), for whom translation is rather an agent of dehybridization (Pym 2001).

#### **2.1.2.1 Hybridity in the ST**

Snell-Hornby argues that a hybrid text has features which seem to be out of place, strange and unusual for the target culture and language (Snell-Hornby 2001b: 208). Unlike some other translation theorists, however, Snell-Hornby considers that hybridity “can exist without translation”. This idea implies that hybridity is more than the result of translation; it can also refer to both cultural and linguistic differences expressed in the same language. Noss (2001) takes a similar stance to that offered by Snell-Hornby. He supports the view that intertextuality should be taken into account when approaching the phenomenon of hybridity (Noss 2001: 234). He denies the existence of pure texts, since they are subject to change, like anything else in this world (Noss 2001: 228). In the same line as Snell-Hornby, Noss does not see hybridity as the mere and necessary outcome of translation but, rather, as the encounter of different cultures. Moreover, he advocates for a definition of hybridity that takes into account both the

ST and the TT (Nouss 2001: 233). In conclusion, Nouss holds that purity is an illusion and that all texts are, to some extent, hybrid (Nouss 2001: 235).

### **2.1.2.2 Hybridity in the TT**

#### **2.1.2.2.1 Hybridity as something positive**

In their study of hybridity in translation, Schäffner and Adab consider that hybrid texts are commonly found in three different but interrelated contexts: a) in ordinary everyday communicative situations, b) in literature, and c) as the result of globalization (Schäffner and Adab 2001a: 171-2). Schäffner and Adab support the idea that “a hybrid text is a text that results from a translation process”, although they also believe that non-translated texts can display hybridity as well (Schäffner and Adab 2001a, 2001b: 169, 296). Both authors highlight the strangeness of the text as one of the most noteworthy features of its hybridity. However, this strangeness they refer to is not meant in a negative way; rather, they argue, it is the outcome of “conscious and deliberate decisions by the translator” (Schäffner and Adab 2001a: 169).

According to Zauberga (2001), the concept of hybridity in translation is by and large difficult to define. In her article Zauberga observes that some scholars consider translations as hybrids, since they combine features from both the ST and the TT, whereas others render hybridity as one of the many features of translation (Zauberga 2001: 265). Zauberga also states that the latter see hybridity as the outcome of the “undesired interference of the source text” in the TT (Zauberga 2001: 265). She argues that classifying translations as hybrids based on these linguistic and cultural interferences is not correct, for hybridity is “[the] natural consequence of crossing culture barriers” (Zauberga 2001: 266). Zauberga (2001), Schäffner and Adab (2001) observe that translation is inherently hybrid if one considers that the TT will always display features from the ST, since the elements of the original text have been transferred to a new language and culture (Zauberga 2001: 275; Schäffner and Adab 2001b: 280). Nouss, who does not disagree with this statement, adds that hybridity is not necessarily a transfer of elements from ST to TT but a displacement (Nouss 2001: 229). In other words, hybridity in translation is a two-way process: both the source culture (SC) and the target culture (TC) and languages are affected. Hybridity, in this context, is not simply the transportation of elements from ST to TT, but rather the combination of features from both, the source and the target cultures and their respective languages (Nouss 2001: 229).

### **2.1.2.2 Hybridity as something negative**

If some scholars understand hybridity as something positive and unavoidable – i.e. Schäffner and Adab, Zauberga and Nouss – others regard it either as a weakness in the text or as something stemming from a low-quality translation. Snell-Hornby, for instance, puts forward that a hybrid text – resulting from the contact between at least two languages and cultures – “fails to fulfill its function as a text”, mainly because of its “meaningless syntax”, which makes it unconvincing to the readership (Snell-Hornby 2001: 208). In line with the previous argument, Simon restricts the use of the label *hybrid* and applies it only to those texts that show what she calls “translation effects” (Simon 2011: 48). She equals this concept to the idea of deterritorialization or, what is the same, a traceable weakness in the TT. She asserts that this weakness may be expressed either by one or several of the following features: dissonances, interferences, disparate vocabulary, unconventional syntax, lack of cohesion, etc. (Simon 2011: 50). Other authors, such as Korzeniowska and Kuhiwczak (1994), have also expressed a similar point of view. Like Simon, they both use the term hybrid to refer to inconsistencies found in translation, e.g. contradictory stylistic features (Korzeniowska and Kuhiwczak 1994: 112).

Neubert (2001), who unlike Pym (see below) recognizes hybridity as a result of the translation process, simply regards it as a defining feature and (merely) a function among many (Neubert 2001: 181). He argues that translation is not hybrid *per se*, but some translations may contain what he calls “hybrid elements” (Neubert 2001: 182). This is similar to what Simon regards as “translation effects”. Both Neubert and Simon equal the notion of hybridity to that of a faulty TT, that is, a text that fails to reach a minimum standard of quality and that does not meet the expectations of a given community (Neubert 2001: 182-3). This happens, according to Neubert, when “the translator has not explored all the options of finding more optimal equivalents” (Neubert 2001: 183).

### **2.1.2.3 Translation as an agent of dehybridization**

Pym in “Against Praise of Hybridity” (2001) challenges the widespread idea that translations are hybrids. Unlike Simon and Zauberga, Pym supports the view that hybridity only makes sense if one follows what he calls “purist theories”, which claim that some texts are pure while others – their translations – are not (Pym 2001: 197). To put it simply, Pym does not seem to question the mere existence of hybridity, but, rather, the illusionary concept of something pure. Translators, he says, “are more likely to be hybrids than are the texts they produce” (Pym 2001: 201). As Pym argues, translators, by virtue of their own profession, are, in principle,

intercultural. Quite often they work on multilingual texts and try to make them monolingual, according to the expectations and demands of a specific target culture that normally does not master more than one language. Following Pym's reasoning, translation – especially non-literary translation – is, contrary to what some scholars have remarked, “an agent of dehybridization” (Pym 2001: 205). The outputs – the TTs – are normally of a monolingual nature: they are usually written in only one (target) language.

## **2.2 Language mixing: codeswitching, attitudes, borrowing, and Anglicisms**

As was stated in the introduction to this chapter, hybridity and language mixing are related concepts, although the former can have a wider definition. This holds true whether the approach to hybridity is positive or negative. Various theorists indicate that hybridity can include language mixing. Schäffner and Adab, for instance, argue that the TT “shows features which have been imported (or imposed) by means of translation...from the source language and culture” (Schäffner and Adab 2001a: 171). What Schäffner and Adab mean by this is that some features which are typical from one language have been transferred into another (target) language, altering its lexicon and syntax. Simon and Snell-Hornby also point to language mixing when they approach – with a critical slant – hybridity in translation. According to Simon, translation effects denote what happens when the syntax and/or the lexicon from the source language show up in the translated text (Simon 2011:50). As for Snell-Hornby, she argues that the hybrid TT has a “meaningless syntax” (Snell-Hornby 2001: 208).

The term language mixing appears in Sebba's 2012 book. The author maintains that language mixing and codeswitching are similar concepts but not necessarily interchangeable, since the former has a wider scope (Sebba *et al.* 2012: 2). According to Sebba, language mixing seems to be more transparent in that it makes reference to mixture, while the latter is more obscure in terms of meaning (Sebba *et al.* 2012: 1-2; see the discussion below). Following Sebba's definition, this thesis uses the term language mixing to describe linguistic phenomena that involve the mixture of at least two languages without necessarily switching from one to the other. The choice of language mixing proves useful to analyze concepts other than codeswitching, such as borrowing, calque, and Anglicisms. In spite of having a broad range of meanings, language mixing has the advantage of being a suitable umbrella term for the phenomena that this project studies.



### 2.2.1 Codeswitching: Definition, use and scope

Codeswitching can be found in translation. While both the ST and the TT may contain instances of written codeswitching, codeswitching in the TT is likely to be the result of direct transfer of an element in the ST. There also seems to be consensus regarding the relevance of codeswitching in other disciplines other than translation, such as sociolinguistics, grammar, semantics, pragmatics and even psycholinguistics. Some scholars, however, tend to use different labels to describe the same phenomenon (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 7-8; Auer and Eastman 2010: 84; Sebba et al. 2012: 3). Both Gardner-Chloros and Sebba allude to this rich terminology pointing out that throughout history scholars have used terms such as code mixing, codeswitching, code-shifting, language alternation and language interaction (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 10; Sebba et al. 2012: 1). Gardner-Chloros, for instance, argues that the fact that scholars have used multiple names to refer to this reality “illustrates how little agreement there is about codeswitching<sup>11</sup>” (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 7).

Codeswitching, unlike other terms used to refer to the same phenomenon, has become more established. This may be in part because, as Gardner-Chloros explains, the word *code* is a neutral, umbrella term that can be applied to languages, dialects and registers alike (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 11). The second half of the term, switching, is a bit more specific in that it points to a shift or alternation between languages or language varieties. In this sense, she states, it is like “flicking an electric switch” when bilingual speakers move from one language on to the other and vice versa (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 11). In line with this argument, Gumperz posits the view that codeswitching is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems” (Gumperz 1982: 59).

Gardner-Chloros demystifies three misconceptions about codeswitching: 1) contrary to what most people believe, it is not an easy or lazy option; 2) codeswitchers can be highly educated people; 3) they are not always aware of their own codeswitching (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 15). Codeswitching can be – and it often is – largely subconscious. Some people who codeswitch even disapprove of it when listening to themselves in an audio recording (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 15-16). The process of inhibiting one of the languages when trying to use the other has

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<sup>11</sup> Notice that when it comes to spelling, codeswitching is sometimes written “code switching” (as two separate words) or “code-switching” (with a hyphen). As Gardner-Chloros observes, the three ways of spelling the word are accepted and they only respond to a diachronic degree of acceptability, moving from two words to a single one (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 4). Unlike Gardner-Chloros, who chose hyphenation as the intermediate solution, the concept is spelt as a single word in this project, under the belief that the term has become widely accepted.

been of interest to psycholinguists, and it would prove that the brain indeed makes an effort when speakers codeswitch, disregarding the extended belief that it is an easy or lazy option (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 15).

Finally, it is important to highlight that most research on codeswitching has been carried out on switching in oral language. Sebba's book is an attempt to extend this notion to writing. As Sebba explains in his book, codeswitching in oral language is often subconscious, whereas codeswitching in written language tends to be more premediated, and sometimes, at least in literature, used consciously for effect (Sebba 2012: 91).

### **2.2.2 Borrowing: definition, scope and types**

The relationship between the notion of codeswitching and that of borrowing in sociolinguistics has always been challenging. E. Haugen (1950) was one of the first linguists who studied codeswitching, although he referred to it as borrowing.<sup>12</sup> Muysken, who studied Haugen's article, holds that codeswitching/code-mixing and borrowing should be kept separate (Muysken 2000: 251). Within the concept of borrowing, Muysken distinguishes between different co-occurring phenomena such as lexical or semantic borrowing, calquing, and interference (Muysken 2000: 251). On the other hand, the Spanish philologist F. Lázaro Carreter formalizes the concept as "a linguistic item that one language takes from another, either by adopting it in its primitive form or by imitating it and transforming it partially" (Lázaro Carreter 1968). Carreter's approach to the term identifies the adoption of lexical items and their incorporation into the target language – such as their use in dictionaries – as one of the distinctive features of borrowings.

Sánchez Mouriz differentiates between two types of borrowing: 1) unchanged borrowings, such as *planning*, and 2) borrowings that have been partially or totally incorporated into the language, like *milio h* and *overbooking* (Sánchez Mouriz 2015: 42). Within these two main categories – unchanged and incorporated – he traces the line between lexical and grammatical borrowings. Lexical borrowings include words or, to use a more neutral term, lexical items. The lexical items are often adjectives or nouns. Grammatical borrowings, on the other hand, are more common, but not necessarily restricted to, bilingual communities. It happens when bilingual speakers use either unchanged or (partially) incorporated morphemes, particles or syntax from another language while keeping the lexical items from their own language. Unlike

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<sup>12</sup> The term "codeswitching" appeared for the first time in H. Vogt's 1954 revision of Weinreich's book *Languages in Contact*, published one year before.

codeswitching, however, these grammatical structures are to some extent considered part of the TL (Sánchez Mouriz 2015: 42).

For Sánchez Mouriz, lexical borrowings can be subdivided into four types according to their degree of adaptation into another language: a) bare foreign items (e.g. *full time*), b) non-adapted foreign items (e.g. *copyright*), c) adapted foreign items (e.g. *milio h, mili, noquear* [knock out]), and d) specialized or technical foreign items, such as *milio* (Sánchez Mouriz 2015: 43). Bare foreign items keep the spelling and pronunciation of the original language, whereas non-adapted foreign items are usually lexical items that have been incorporated into the language but they still keep the original orthography. Adapted foreign items, on the other hand, have been incorporated into the language using the spelling and phonology of that particular language. Finally, technical or specialized foreign items are restricted to science or to other specialized fields and are unlikely to be found in everyday speech (Sánchez Mouriz 2015: 43).

In contrast to the above researchers, Auer and Eastman argue that it is not always easy to draw a line between codeswitching and borrowing (Auer and Eastman 2010: 86-7). For Gardner-Chloros, both concepts are “on a diachronic continuum” (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 12). In this sense, a foreign word that is introduced in a given language undergoes a process of adaptation, starting off as a codeswitch and developing into a loan as it becomes widely accepted (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 12). Auer and Eastman agree with Gardner-Chloros in that codeswitched words that have been used for a long time and have been incorporated into the language are borrowings in their own right. However, according to Auer and Eastman, the problem comes when lexical items from one language are repeatedly inserted into another language (Auer and Eastman 2010: 86). This is quite common, for instance, in multilingual communities, where bilingual speakers are codeswitching the same lexical items all the time. Nevertheless, neither Auer nor Eastman are able to provide a clear-cut distinction between borrowing and codeswitching, but they avouch that acceptance of the lexical item into a specific language is an important factor, and that this acceptance can be considered in terms of phonological adaptation of the word or by applying semantic criteria, e.g. whether the word fills in a gap in the target language (Auer and Eastman 2010: 86).

The present study subscribes to Gardner-Chloros’s (2009) as well as Auer’s and Eastman’s (2010) approach to codeswitching and borrowing. When it comes to Anglicisms, however, these can be classified as codeswitches or borrowings depending on whether or not they are listed in a dictionary and/or they fill a semantic gap. Following these criteria, this study uses the RAE as the main source for the classification of Anglicisms in Spanish as a) unincorporated

(codeswitches) or b) incorporated (borrowings). The Anglicisms are considered incorporated if they are listed in the Royal Spanish Academy Dictionary (DRAE) and unincorporated otherwise.

### **2.2.3 Attitudes towards codeswitching and borrowing**

Several studies have been conducted in relation to speakers' attitudes towards language, but only a few focus on codeswitching, either oral or written (Gumperz 1982, Sebba 2002, Bokhorst-Heng and Santos Caleon 2009, Gardner-Chloros 2009). This subsection briefly presents some of the most relevant findings about the perceptions and beliefs that some language users have regarding language mixing, in general, and codeswitching and borrowing in particular. Another subsection about attitudes towards the use of Anglicisms in the Spanish language is included in the section that deals with this phenomenon.

One of the earliest studies on codeswitching was undertaken by Gumperz (1982), who studied the population of a small town in northern Norway. The informants in his experiment were switching from their local dialect to a more standardized version of Norwegian, without being fully aware of that fact (Gumperz 1982: 68-70). As was mentioned before, both Gumperz and Gardner-Chloros seem to agree that codeswitching is largely subconscious and that people who codeswitch express surprise when they listen to themselves in an audio recording, often adopting a negative stance towards their own codeswitching since it represents a deviation from conventional or prescriptive language use (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 16).

Previous research on codeswitching has normally led to similar results: that codeswitching is negative in language users' eyes and that it should be avoided (Bentahila 1983, Gibbons 1983). Bentahila, for instance, who studied codeswitching between Moroccan Arabic and French, notices that codeswitchers between both languages were considered incompetent and socially regarded as victims of colonization (Bentahila 1983). Similarly, Gibbons's study on Cantonese and English codeswitches in Hong Kong concludes that most interviewees perceived codeswitching as undesirable, since both languages were not kept apart all the time, although some of them recognized its importance as a culturally neutral option (Gibbons 1983).

Rangel *et al.* studied written codeswitching among 187 bilingual Spanish and English speakers in two border cities in Texas: Laredo and Edinburg. All the participants were university students, aged between 18 and 35 years old, who had equal fluency in both English and Spanish (Rangel *et al.* 2015: 188). A series of selected texts, some of which contained codeswitching and others standard Mexican Spanish and American English, were handed out to the

participants. They were asked to read them aloud and make their own grammaticality judgements. The informants were also asked some questions about how they perceived their bilingualism and codeswitching. After analyzing their output, Rangel *et al.* concluded that (written) codeswitching received “low favorability ratings” (Rangel *et al.* 2015:192). As reported by Rangel *et al.*, the texts that did not contain written codeswitching were praised favorably by the speakers because “all switching is assumed to be motivated by a linguistic deficiency”, since bilinguals are normally expected to keep both languages apart (Rangel *et al.* 2015: 192).

Another recent study carried out by Bokhorst-Heng and Santos Caleon (2009) in Singapore shows, however, slightly different results. Both scholars studied a group of Primary Five (10 year-old) students using a Language Attitude questionnaire. In Singapore, a country with four official languages – Mandarin Chinese, Malay, Tamil and English – English works as a lingua franca and it is the language used by the government, business sector and education. According to Bokhorst-Heng and Santos Caleon, codeswitching is relatively normal in Singapore, especially among the youth (Bokhorst-Heng and Santos Caleon 2009: 235-251). Their research reveals that none of the three major ethnic groups under study – Chinese, Malay and Indian – perceived codeswitching between their language and English in any negative way (Bokhorst-Heng and Santos Caleon 2009: 248). Most of the interviewees, in fact, had a positive attitude towards codeswitching and only a few of them felt that the use of English was threatening their cultural identity (Bokhorst-Heng and Santos Caleon 2009: 249). The age difference between the informants in Rangel *et al.* and these might also explain why the latter showed a more positive attitude towards codeswitching, since 10-year-olds have not had the chance to develop negative attitudes yet.

To conclude, some scholars suggest that codeswitching – at least in oral speech – is subconscious (Gumperz 1982, Gardner-Chloros 2009). However, what is more relevant for the present study is that codeswitching, in oral speech rather than in written language, is normally regarded as undesirable and it has a low status (Gumperz 1982, Bentahila 1983, Gibbons 1983, Gardner-Chloros 2009, Rangel *et al.* 2015). Finally, while most studies seem to confirm that codeswitchers are in principle against language mixing, others suggest that codeswitching is a positive instrument (Bokhorst-Heng and Santos Caleon 2009).

#### **2.2.4 Studies of codeswitching in printed texts**

Sebba (2012), who edited a volume on codeswitching in printed texts, provides an outline of the subject matter, which is followed by a series of studies of written codeswitching presented in a chronological order, starting off with Birgit Stolt's analysis of the German-Latin mixing in Luther's *Tischreden* (1964) and Timm's 1978 research on French-Russian codeswitching in Tolstoy's novel *War and Peace* (Sebba et al. 2012: 3). Montes-Alcalá's article, also included in Sebba's volume, is perhaps the most relevant for this study, since it addresses the issue of attitudes towards codeswitching. According to Montes-Alcalá, codeswitching has been traditionally stigmatized in oral speech (Montes-Alcalá 2012: 84). She holds that a widespread belief among people link codeswitching to poor linguistic skills. Her study of codeswitching in U.S.-Latino novels challenges this view. She argues that the emergence of this kind of bilingual novels "has legitimized [codeswitching] to a certain extent" (Montes-Alcalá 2012: 84). That codeswitching is not necessarily related to poor literacy skills is proved by the fact that, according to Montes-Alcalá, "there can be no doubt cast on the literacy of these writers" (Montes-Alcalá 2012: 85). Moreover, codeswitching reinforces the idea of identity or the so-called third space, as these writers use Spanish to express themselves as members of communities in contact (Montes-Alcalá 2012: 86).

In line with Montes-Alcalá's argument, Sebba also mentions the third space and the positive aspects of codeswitching by comparing the orthography used by Caribbean authors living in Britain with that of Standard English. He notices that these writers follow Standard English spelling for the most part, but they use Creole and indeterminate orthography as well as a subversive device (Sebba 2012: 101). In this sense, switching from one spelling system to another responds to literary purposes. These authors, according to Sebba, seem to "have developed ways of representing Creole in writing which suit their current purposes", namely their belonging to a specific community with its own culture and traditions (Sebba 2012: 102). Again, as was expressed in the introduction to this section, this connection between the third space and language shift points to the close bond between hybridity and codeswitching.

#### **2.2.5 Anglicisms: definition, types and attitudes**

This section deals with Anglicisms as a general concept, to be found in many Western and non-Western languages, and its different subtypes. As is often the case with codeswitching and borrowing, there is not a unique approach to Anglicisms. However, some linguists such as Medina López (2004) and Gottlieb (2005), have endeavored to define Anglicisms and classify

them based on their own nature, e.g. if they are lexical or syntactic, if they result from a translation process or not, and so on. Finally, in accordance with the objectives of this thesis, among which is the study of Anglicisms in English-to-Spanish translations of Wikipedia articles, particular attention is given to Anglicisms in Spanish and the attitudes that several speakers of this language have towards them.

### 2.2.5.1 Definition and scope

While most linguists agree that Anglicisms are a subtype of borrowing, resulting from language contact, there are multiple definitions of the term (Gottlieb 2005: 161). Moliner defines Anglicism as “an English word or expression used in another language” (Moliner 1998), whereas Medina López refers to Anglicism as “any word or lexical item coming from English, which may or may not have been accepted into a given language” (Medina López 2004: 13). Following this statement, an Anglicism can be any English word used in the TL, whether it has been incorporated (borrowing) or not (codeswitch) into that TL.

### 2.2.5.2 Types of Anglicism

There have been several attempts to classify Anglicisms, mainly based on their nature – whether they are lexical or syntactic – and depending on how adapted and accepted they are in the receiving language. Gottlieb, for instance, divides them into three different groups: a) active Anglicisms, b) reactive Anglicisms or semantic loans, and c) code shifts (Gottlieb 2005: 163-5). Within the first group, he includes covert or non-obvious lexical borrowings (e.g. Spanish *elepé* [English: LP]), loan translations (e.g. *implementar* [to implement]), hybrids or partial borrowings (e.g. *zona express* [express zone]), pseudo-Anglicisms (e.g. Italian *slowfood* vs American *fast food*), and morphosyntactic calques (e.g. Spanish *Es un profesor de alemán* instead of *Es profesor de alemán*).<sup>13</sup> As for the code shifts, Gottlieb refers to the insertion of English words by non-English speakers (codeswitching), something that, he adds, is quite popular in Danish and other Scandinavian languages (Gottlieb 2005: 165).

According to Medina López (2004), who studied the use of Anglicisms in Spanish, there are two main categories of Anglicisms: a) lexical Anglicisms and b) syntactic Anglicisms (Medina López 2004: 20). Within the first category, there are bare Anglicisms (e.g. *club*, *milio h*, *show*, *round*, etc.), adapted Anglicisms (e.g. *fútbol*, *milio h*, *filme*, etc.), assimilated Anglicisms (e.g. *bife* [beef], *tenis* [tennis], etc.), hybrids (e.g. *futbolista* [footballer]), calques

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<sup>13</sup> [Gloss: Is a professor of German vs. Is professor of German].

(e.g. *trabajar duro* [work hard], *rascacielos* [skyscraper], *perro caliente* [hot dog], etc.), and semantic calques at the word level (e.g. *concreto* [concrete, cement], *romance* [to be in love], etc.).

As Medina López points out, there is a large number of Anglicisms in Spanish (Medina López 2004: 21-22). Syntactic Anglicisms are less common than lexical Anglicisms, and they are usually found in translations, in the news and in bilingual communities. Medina López provides some examples of the most widespread syntactic Anglicisms in Spanish. Passive constructions with the verb *ser* [to be] or the structure *estar* [to be] + *siendo* [being] + participle have become increasingly common in Spanish (Medina López 2004: 74). For instance, *mi vecino fue visto cenando...* [My neighbor was seen eating]. Another structure that is likely to have been influenced by English is the *ser* [to be] + participle construction: *Su coche fue robado anoche* [His/her car was stolen last night]. Some verbs have also been influenced by English in terms of the prepositions they take, which are not the traditional ones. In this sense, it is possible to hear someone saying *Esperando por Carolina* [Waiting for Carolina] instead of *Esperando a* [to] *Carolina* (Medina López 2004: 74). The Spanish adverb *inmediatamente* [immediately] now fulfills the same conjunctive function as its English counterpart, thanks to what Medina López calls a “contamination”. Similarly, a few English verbs are sometimes wrongly translated into Spanish. E.g. *\*consistir de* [consist of] instead of *consistir en* [consist in] (Medina López 2004: 76).

As happens with other borrowings, some Anglicisms undergo a process of adaptation and acceptance into the language. Some of them have been successfully incorporated into the vocabulary of millions of Spanish speakers. Others are still ‘fighting’ for *pure* Castilian terms and meet resistance among some lay speakers and linguists. Medina López posits the view that Anglicisms are everywhere. However, they are particularly common in newspapers, magazines, marketing, fashion, sport, technology, the Internet, transportation, tourism, enterprises, science, and the arts (Medina López 2004: 28). Sánchez Mouriz provides useful examples of Anglicisms currently being used in Spanish. Some of them are cuisine-related items such as *bacon*, *bistec*, *burger*, *grill*, *picnic*, and *milio h*. Others come from fields such as technology and transportation: *autoestop* (from auto stop), *rally*, *charter*, *airbag*, *mouse*, *hardware*, *software*, etc. A third group stems from the sport universe: *antidoping*, *footing*, *hooligan*, and *sparring*, to name only a few (Sánchez Mouriz 2015: 47-48). This makes them more likely to be used by translators.



Like Medina López (2004), Gottlieb thinks that translation may be responsible for the appearance of some Anglicisms. He regards, in fact, translation as “a driving force”, responsible for the introduction of many Anglicisms into different languages (Gottlieb 2005: 176). In his approach to Anglicisms and translation, he refers to polysemiotic – films, television, DVD – and monosemiotic – books, magazines, printed press – media (Gottlieb 2005: 177-8). The first one is particularly relevant as a source of Anglicisms. Many American films and series are subtitled and/or dubbed every day, and they reach a wide audience. Gottlieb, citing Lorenzo (1996), refers to the particular case of Spain and the negative effects that its large dubbing industry has had on the Spanish speakers due to the “vast quantities of badly translated material” that is found on the radio, television, marketing and journalism (Gottlieb 2005: 177). The second source, the monosemiotic media, is also responsible, though to a lesser extent, for the introduction of Anglicisms, many of which, according to Gottlieb, are of a syntactic nature (Gottlieb 2005: 180).

### **2.2.5.3 Attitudes towards Anglicisms: purity vs. openness**

Medina López observes that there are three trends in the attitudes to Anglicisms. The first trend, called the “purist stance” (*posición milio*), goes from the 1940s to the 1970s. During these years, Anglicisms were considered to “threaten” and “humiliate” the Spanish language (Medina López 2004: 16). A second trend in the attitudes to Anglicisms is what he calls the “moderate stance” (*posición moderada*), from the 1970s to the 2000s, according to which English words are not seen as negative contributions to the language as long as they are used within specific or specialized contexts (Medina López 2004: 16). The third trend is the “open stance” (*posición abierta*), starting in the 2000s, which recognizes Anglicisms as something natural and unavoidable, resulting from “languages in contact” (Medina López 2004: 16; Gottlieb 2005: 161). This last stance, which he subscribes, is more common in bilingual communities and it is closely related to the concept of codeswitching. Medina gives the example of the Hispanic or Latino community in the U.S. (Medina López 2004: 16).

Gottlieb, unlike Medina López, does not study trends in how people perceive Anglicisms. Yet, he observes that “Anglicisms are prone to be considered bastards by purists” (Gottlieb 2005: 162). Medina López’s “purist stance” is also found in Munday’s article about Anglicisms in Spanish. Munday, who focuses on the use of Anglicisms in the new information and communication technologies, is also aware of what he calls “a war” between purists on the one side, and those who welcome the use of Anglicisms on the other (Munday 2005: 61). This linguistic purity, he adds, “is one which marks Spain’s view of language, and the Real

Academia's [RAE] in particular" (Munday 2005: 61). Munday holds that the RAE has a conservative approach to Anglicisms and loanwords, which is not always shared by Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America (Munday 2005: 62).

Munday also states that in spite of all the efforts that have been made by the RAE in order to prevent "penetration from English" into the Spanish language, reality shows that Anglicisms are used every day in and out of Spain (Munday 2005: 64). The RAE has, at times, suggested "more purist" alternatives, which have been accepted by some speakers and rejected by others (Munday 2005: 64). Munday refers to cases such as *mouse* vs. *ratón*, *computador/a* vs. *ordenador*, and *e-mail/email* vs. *correo electrónico/ milio* (Munday 2005: 65). As Munday observes, the second option in each of these pairs stands for the purist approach championed by the RAE and commonly used in Spain, whereas the first term, the unchanged Anglicism, is mostly – but not exclusively – used by Spanish speakers from Latin America (Munday 2005: 66). A similar view is shared by Haensch, whose study of Anglicisms in Latin American Spanish suggests that there is a widespread tendency among speakers from this region to use more Anglicisms in everyday language than in Spain. This is more noticeable, according to Haensch, in countries that are geographically closer to the United States, such as Mexico, the Central American countries and Cuba (Haensch 2005: 250-251).

### **2.3 Previous research on language mixing on the Internet**

Language mixing has been studied from different angles, mostly in relation to oral speech but also, as was mentioned before, in written texts. Some scholars, aware of the impact of the Internet on communication – including language – have managed to take the study of language mixing to the World Wide Web. Kytölä (2012) and Lee and Barton (2012), for instance, pay attention to different language choices made by users in discussion forums and on flickr.com, a photo-sharing website. More concerned with the connection between hybridity and language mixing is Leppänen's article, which is included at the end of 2.3.1.

#### **2.3.1 Language mixing on the Internet**

Samu Kytölä (2012) focuses on computer-mediated communication or CMC (Kytölä 2012: 106). He argues that "sociolinguistically, the Internet is becoming more complex and more diversified" (Kytölä 2012: 106). Kytölä offers a comprehensive view of web discussion forums. He analyzes the sociolinguistic background of their users, the relations between them, and the history of the forums. On the basis of his analysis, Kytölä concludes that multilingualism and language mixing can be found in many ways within a given web forum: naming, heading or

discussion topics, bracketing, slogans, signatures and the core interaction itself (Kytölä 2012: 122). Most importantly, he holds that within CMC, languages and codes can adopt different functions or roles. For example, some discussion topics can be written in Spanish – as in a linguistic web forum – whereas the core interaction between users of that particular forum can take place in another vehicular language, usually English (Kytölä 2012: 122).

Lee and Barton, relying on previous research on CMC, study language mixing on flickr.com (Lee and Barton 2012: 128). They carried out a qualitative interview in which participants were asked to respond to a series of questions on particular language choices they make while using flickr.com. They found that language choices among users of the website were triggered by either one or several factors, including the user's linguistic skills, the subject matter and/or the intended audience (Lee and Barton 2012: 143). According to Lee and Barton, some of their interviewees also translated their profiles on flickr.com in order to reach a wider audience (Lee and Barton 2012: 143).

In her article “Linguistic and Generic Hybridity in Web Writing”, Sirpa Leppänen describes the Internet as “a powerful mediator of images of cultural globalization” (Leppänen 2012: 233). Leppänen argues that culture is perceived as something exogenous, more related to hybridity, translation and identification (Leppänen 2012: 235). The author also mentions Bakhtin's (1981) concept of linguistic heteroglossia, according to which one can identify contradictions or, to put it simply, shifts between languages or language varieties in narration (Leppänen 2012: 236). According to Leppänen, heteroglossia displays two different dimensions. The first one is a multilingual dimension, which combines resources from more than one language. The second one is the so-called intralingual dimension, which, as its name suggests, selects and combines different varieties or styles within the same language (Leppänen 2012: 237). She then moves on to present the results from her study on linguistic hybridity in Finnish fan fiction. Leppänen's research shows that non-professional Finnish translators into English were using English following syntactic patterns which were closer to their native language. She concludes her study by stating that a linguistically hybrid style in the translations shows that culture is dynamically hybrid, since it is influenced by external agents as the result of globalization (Leppänen 2012: 250).

### **2.3.2 Language, translation and Wikipedia**

Despite the fact that Wikipedia is one of the most searched and frequently used websites in the world, and although it has received much attention and coverage by the media in the past sixteen

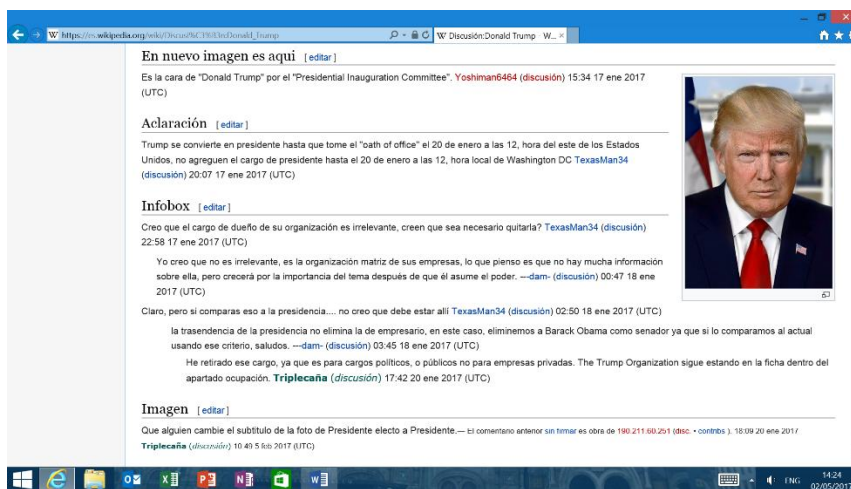
years, it is a relatively young project upon which little academic research has been conducted. This newness may be one of the reasons why language theorists have overlooked the Wikipedia universe, and have focused more on printed texts or on other online texts such as emails, blogs, and forums, which are well-established tools of communication. Nevertheless, the interest in Wikipedia seems to have increased in the past decade, with some notable studies including Gabrilovich's and Markovitch's (2009) analysis of computer-semantic relatedness using Wikipedia, and Bruns's (2008) book on Wikipedia and blogs, among others.

Previous research on language and Wikipedia had as a main focus the correlation between discussion contributions and article quality, the analysis of content, and the structure of discussion or talk pages. Désilets et al. (2006) wrote a paper on the early stage of translation in Wikipedia, between 2001 and 2006. In their article they argue that multilingualism in Wikipedia should be supported by a special engine. Until 2006, every language community had a separate site, which was, in their opinion, time consuming, as it forced users to translate manually instead of using an automatic translation tool (Désilets et al. 2006: 19). While some Wikipedia users still translate manually 11 years after their research, the website has now a unified metadata space where all the different language communities converge and an advanced translation tool which minimize efforts. Changes can now be made globally instead of being conducted within the various language communities.

Among the scholars who have written articles on language and Wikipedia are Ari Hautasaari and Toru Ishida, whose paper "Analysis of Discussion Contributions in Translated Wikipedia Articles" (2012) deals with translations carried out by Wikipedia users in three different languages: French, Finnish and Japanese. Every Wikipedia article has a talk page or discussion page where users – either registered or anonymous – can leave their messages and share viewpoints on how to improve the article. Any important changes to the article should ideally be discussed beforehand in the talk page. Hautasaari and Ishida focus their study on both the translation of Wikipedia articles in the afore-mentioned language communities and the long, sometimes tedious discussion process behind this activity. In short, Hautasaari and Ishida pay attention to the most important tasks and problems that require community interaction in Wiki-article translation. They also show an interest in collaborative translation and editing practices in the different stages of the article evolution (Hautasaari and Ishida 2012: 59).

Hautasaari and Ishida collected data from 228 discussion pages with 720 discussion contributions from the Finnish-language Wikipedia, 93 discussion pages with 644 contributions from the French Wikipedia, and 94 discussion or talk pages with 330 contributions from the

Japanese-language Wikipedia. Their research reveals that most discussions were related to naming, that is, the most appropriate title for an article, section or sub-section, besides names, proper nouns and transliteration in the corresponding articles (Hautasaari and Ishida 2012: 65). They conclude that Wiki-translation is a complex process in which first the article is translated and then it is edited by either regular or casual users. Finally, they also suggest that machine translation is far from being the solution to problems such as naming and transliteration (Hautasaari and Ishida 2012: 65). Figure 2-1 below shows how a typical Wikipedia talk page works:



**Figure 2-1. Language mixing and collaboration in a talk page in the Spanish Wikipedia.**

Morten Warncke-Wang and his colleagues carried out some interesting research on translation flow and cultural bias in Wikipedia (Warncke-Wang et al. 2012). Warncke goes through all the language versions of Wikipedia in order to prove that there exist some writing policies shared by the 283 language communities in Wikipedia. He also hypothesizes that it is possible to apply Tobler's First Law of Geography (TFLG), according to which "similarity decreases with increasing distance" between languages and cultures (Warncke-Wang et al. 2012: 1). This basic law is deeply connected to languages that belong to the same family as opposed to those that belong to a different branch. His hypothesis is that a Wikipedia article written in English should be closer in length, content and structure to another translated from English into a language of the Germanic family (Warncke-Wang et al. 2012: 2).

Warncke-Wang goes through a series of articles following interwiki links (links at the left side of every article that take the readers through all the languages in which the content is available). He then compares the information available in each language about Erik Solheim, a Norwegian politician whose participation during the Sri Lanka peace negotiations leveled claims on the Norwegian government supporting the Tamil Tigers, a secessionist nationalist organization in

eastern and northern Sri Lanka.<sup>14</sup> His findings were quite revealing: the English and Tamil versions of the article included a sub-section about this controversial issue, whereas their Norwegian bokmål counterpart did not, suggesting that cultural bias annulled TFLG in some cases (Warncke-Wang et al 2012: 2). He also found significant differences in the Wikipedia article about Gibraltar in English and Spanish, or between the Falkland Islands and its Spanish equivalent Islas Malvinas. The Spanish Wikipedia articles gave more coverage to Spain's and Argentina's claims over these territories, whereas the English Wikipedia articles placed the emphasis on the British point of view. All this showed that different language communities of Wikipedia had specific audience designs in regard to this particular case (Warncke-Wang et al. 2012: 2).

Aside from language, geographic or culture similarities, Warncke-Wangs's findings point that the English Wikipedia, with over five million articles, is by far the preferred source for wiki translators. At the time of writing his paper, the German Wikipedia had 3,834 articles that had been *labelled* as translations (3,162 from the English Wikipedia, followed by the Italian Wikipedia with 205 articles).<sup>15</sup> The status of English as a lingua franca leads to the language being widely known, which in turn makes it the most widely used source for spreading information.

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<sup>14</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erik\\_Solheim](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erik_Solheim)

<sup>15</sup> Articles that are classified or categorized as translations often have a template in their talk page. A template is a useful tool in Wikipedia which helps to organize articles either by making reference to their nature or topic (translation, quotation, medicine-related content, free-licensed content, etc.) or by pointing out to specific problems (automatic translation, wrong format, possible copyright infringement, lack of verifiable references, etc.). Unexperienced users usually forget to include templates in the talk page, mainly because they do not know about their existence or they do not know how to use them. As a result, many translations are not classified as such. The approximate number of translated articles is likely to be higher if one considers all those that do not include the template.

### 3 Method

A two-pronged method was chosen for this thesis. The first part consists of qualitative interviews with six Wikipedia translators – three from Spain and three from Latin America – that took place via Skype during the months of July and August in 2016. The second part contains an in-depth textual analysis of English-to-Spanish translations of five GAs and one featured article, targeting both syntactic and lexical Anglicisms. The main goal of the analysis is to find out whether and how the interviewees' responses and the textual analysis of the translated Wikipedia articles answer the research questions and confirm the hypotheses that were presented in the introductory chapter and that are reproduced here for the sake of convenience: 1) In which ways are European Spanish translators of Wikipedia more conservative than the Latin Americans? 2) How many Anglicisms do Latin American translators use in comparison with the Spaniards? The third and last research question focuses on the concept of third space: 3) Is Wikipedia a third space where different voices converge, as defined by Bhabha (1994), Snell-Hornby (2001), and Montes-Alcalá (2012), among others? The first two research questions are related to the following hypotheses: 1) English-to-Spanish Wikipedia translators from Spain tend to have a more conservative attitude to translation than their Latin American counterparts, and 2) Latin American Wikipedia translators are likely to use more Anglicisms in their translations than Spaniards do.

The two parts, the qualitative interviews and the textual analysis of translated articles, are intended to complement each other. The ultimate goal of the project, as has been previously addressed in the introductory chapter, is to track down and analyze instances of lexical and syntactic Anglicisms in Wikipedia translated texts and see whether attitudes are manifested in actual translation behavior. Within lexical Anglicisms, special attention is given to the distinction between incorporated and unincorporated terms, that is, between those words that have been accepted by the RAE and those which have not, respectively. While Medina López's (2004) and Gottlieb's (2005) categorization of the lexical Anglicisms is a good example of how diverse these are, this study narrows down the scope and focuses on whether the Anglicisms have been accepted or not into the Spanish language, leaving out other aspects such as technical vs. general Anglicisms, bare vs. adapted Anglicisms, and so on. The reason for employing the incorporated vs. unincorporated criterion is to show a clearer picture of the language

prescriptiveness (incorporated) vs. language usage (unincorporated) dichotomy aimed at comparing the different attitudes expressed by the Spanish and the Latin American translators of Wikipedia respectively.

### **3.1 Data selection**

#### **3.1.1 The interviews**

The interviews were conducted with six native Spanish speakers from both Latin America (three) and Spain (three) who had between eight and ten years of experience as English-to-Spanish translators in Wikipedia. The choice of six informants is based on what Saldanha and O'Brien define as "non-probability sampling" or "convenience sampling" (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 164). This means that the participants were selected by virtue of their easy accessibility on Skype, since most of them live in different countries. While both Saldanha and O'Brien agree that this is a common practice in translation studies and that it can be useful to tackle with research hypotheses, the data that are extracted from the informants' output cannot be generalized (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 165).

The choice of native Spanish speakers is partly triggered off by linguistic theories about the native speaker intuitions (Devitt 2006: 482; Durand 2009: 31). Native speakers are generally considered to be good judges of their own language, especially when it comes to acceptability and/or grammaticality of a given lexical item, expression or syntactic construction. In other words, the main reason for excluding Wikipedia translators who had Spanish as their L2 was to ensure that both the interviewees' responses and the TTs were analyzed reducing the number of variables to take into account, so that any significant differences in the data cannot be attributable to factors such as lack of performance.

The translation industry in the Spanish-speaking world is mainly divided into two groups: European or Iberian Spanish on the one side, and Latin American Spanish on the other side. This concerns subtitling, dubbing, interpreting and written translations alike. For this reason, the second criterion for the selection of participants is both geographic and cultural. By choosing three participants from Latin America and three from Spain, it was expected to find some significant differences in their attitudes towards language and translation, as postulated by Munday (2005). The choice of three Spanish translators and three Latin Americans is aimed at indicating some possible answers to the two hypotheses and research questions of this project regarding purity vs. openness and the use of Anglicisms.



The third criterion relates to experience in Wikipedia. Since experience with translation in Wikipedia is a crucial factor, the third selection criterion was that participants of this study each had to have at least two years of experience as translators. A very good knowledge of how Wikipedia works and, most importantly, how translation works in Wikipedia, was desirable for the purposes of this project, so that the informants' responses – subjectivity aside – were based on their solid experience, avoiding introducing too many variables.

The fourth criterion for the selection of interviewees is closely related to the last one. All six participants, being experienced English-to-Spanish translators themselves, were assumed to have a very good level of the source language (SL), English, as well as of the target language (TL), Spanish. This is often taken for granted, as a translator must be acquainted with the language he or she translates from. In Wikipedia, however, this is not a requirement, and quite often unexperienced translators with an insufficient knowledge of the SL translate into their TL, producing faulty translations.<sup>16</sup> For this reason, and in order to reduce the number of possible variables and errors attributable to a lack of performance in the SL, the six interviewees were explicitly asked to assess their level of English.

### **3.1.2 Textual data**

The textual analysis focuses on the study of five English-to-Spanish translations of GAs and one featured article. Being aware of the challenges of analyzing an encyclopedia that contains over one million articles only in the Spanish version, four main filters were considered for the selection and extraction of the textual data:

- 1) The first filter was quantitative, focusing on a reduced, yet representative sample of five GAs and one featured article translated from English into Spanish. This was motivated by reasons of time and space, but also because their status as good and featured articles makes them subject to less variance in terms of quality, unlike other ordinary Wikipedia articles, which have not been assessed by the community of users.
- 2) The second was that, within these six articles, three had to be translated by Spaniards and three by Latin Americans, in order to adjust to the two interrelated hypotheses and the previous selection of three interviewees from each region; and

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<sup>16</sup> As subjective as the term “faulty translation” may seem, it is commonly used in Wikipedia for translations that contain important errors, e.g. automatic translation, lack of coherence, untranslated chunks of text, etc. Articles that are regarded as faulty translations are marked with a template at the top of the page, so that any user or reader can be aware of these problems and probably solve them.

3) The third filter is that at least one article from each group – Latin Americans and Spaniards – had to deal with scientific or technical issues. Since articles about science and technology quite often give rise to Anglicisms, the selection of one technical article per group was first aimed to ensure a high number of Anglicisms in the analysis. The second aim was to keep this number balanced for the two groups, so that any differences between the two groups could not be attributable to the subject matter involved.

4) After choosing the articles that fulfilled the criteria outlined above, another factor was considered: the selection of sample versions of both the ST and the TT of the six articles being analyzed and contrasted. Some articles in the English Wikipedia have as many as 1,000 different versions registered in the history section that shows up on the upper right corner of the screen. Similar numbers can be found in the Spanish translations of some articles. All this put together called for a fourth filter to be applied to the selection of the data. Hence, only those versions of a given TT that involved a recognizable main translator (e.g. either a Spaniard or a Latin American) were considered. The selected version(s) of the TT were then compared to other versions of the ST – or LST – in order to establish the connection between them. Only those that were close enough in content and chronology were taken into account.

The TT-relevant aspects of the fourth filter target a delimited time span (i.e. a specific period where the main translation took place, such as March to April 2010), and avoid modifications by other users that may jeopardize the validity of the data used in the analysis.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, notable contributions from other users who revised the texts were also discussed – when interesting and necessary – as *a posteriori* modifications or suggestions that were considered as illustrative examples of how different attitudes towards Anglicisms are negotiated and ultimately affect the content and/or structure of the translated text. This focus on revisions further justifies the selection of five GAs and one featured article because in both kinds of articles there is a collaborative process behind in which the translator or translators get input from other editors who revise the translation, whereas this is not always the case with ordinary articles. During this revision process, the translators get feedback from other peers in the talk

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<sup>17</sup> Every change to the article leaves a trace that contains the date, the user or IP address, and the things that have been modified since the last version of the article. By clicking on the history tab at the top of the article one can see, contrast and compare older and newer versions of the same article. This tool is useful, for example, to identify when the main translation process took place.

page of the article about the quality of the article itself and the things that should be corrected – in terms of the translation but also content, structure and style – before it is approved as a GA/featured article by the community of users. This collaborative process using talk pages in Wikipedia to discuss translation-related issues is what both Hatausaari and Ishida (2012) address in their paper. Last but not least, tracking the development of an article is also useful to investigate the interplay between attitudes (to Anglicisms) and translational choices.

The syntactic and lexical Anglicisms extracted from the different versions of the STs and TTs are included in a table in the Appendix and are accompanied by the date, the username of the editor/translator involved (in the translation or the modification), as well as the detected Anglicisms in those particular versions and their classification (either syntactic or lexical, and within the latter, incorporated and unincorporated). The date attached to the selected TT versions of the articles serves to link particular instances of Anglicisms to the version of the TT where they were found (e.g. April 20, 2012 version of the TT).

While all the versions of the TTs are identified with a specific date and user, this is not always possible when it comes to the ST where the Anglicism may have come from, especially considering the huge number of authors in some articles. For this reason, when the date is not available, the term LST – *Likely Source Text* – is used instead as an estimate, since the English word or syntactic structure where the Anglicism is assumed to come from was found in that version. The term ETT – *Edited Target Text* – is furthermore employed and it targets significant changes to the TT version chosen for scrutiny here, performed either by the main translator herself or by another user who revised the translation. In other words, the X version of the ST/LST stands for the source that was likely to be used/consulted for the main translation, whereas the selected version of the TT would be a *frozen* version in time – for the purposes of the analysis. Following a chronological order, the ETT label is used to refer to more recent versions of the selected TT(s).

Table 3-1 below provides an outline of the five GAs and the featured article selected for the analysis.

**Table 3-1. Selected Wikipedia articles for the textual analysis**

Translated Wikipedia articles						
Group	Spaniards (Ss)			Latin Americans (Ls)		
Article	Retrocausalidad	Robert Falcon Scott	Lågsjär	Fedora	Mary Higgins Clark	Guilford Dudley
Status	GA	Featured	GA	GA	GA	GA
Main translator	Sürrell	Alonso de Mendoza	5truenos	Alberto Maria	Mel23	Rosymonterrey
Date of STs (or LSTs)	Before May 2008	LST: June 21, 2012	LST: Sep. 19, 2014	Before Jan. 2008	April 29, 2008	October 17, 2010
Date(s) of TTs	May to Aug. 2008	Sep. to Oct. 2012	March 28, 2015	January 13, 2008	June 2008 to May 2009	Oct. to Nov. 2010
Number of pages/words of TT <sup>18</sup>	4 pp (6 pp) c. 1,600 words <sup>19</sup>	10 pp (15 pp) c. 4,000 w	3 pp (4 pp) c. 1,200 words	8 pp (11 pp), c. 3,200 w	5 pp (8 pp) c. 2,000 words	3 pp (5 pp) c. 1,200 words
Bytes <sup>20</sup> of TT	20,325	51,848	12,757	27,575	38,150	19,880

## 3.2 Collection and extraction of the data

### 3.2.1 The interviews

#### 3.2.1.1 Sampling

As was mentioned before, Saldanha and O'Brien hold that there are two kinds of sampling used in translation studies, convenience or non-probability sampling and random or probability sampling (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 164). Since the aim of this project is to carry on a

<sup>18</sup> Excluding references and external links. Between 350 and 450 words per page. The total number of pages, including references, photos and other multimedia files, is written within brackets.

<sup>19</sup> Approximate number of words excluding multimedia files, references, and links.

<sup>20</sup> A byte (B) or octet is a unit of digital information equivalent to eight bits. In general terms, a byte is the 'weight' of a page. The more bytes (or KB) a page has, the more it takes to load. E.g. 15,000 bytes equal to c. 2,000 words. For further information, check [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Article\\_size](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Article_size)

qualitative analysis of the data, the first sampling method was chosen. The six interviewees were asked to focus on two specific topics which are interrelated: Wikipedia and translation. Their feedback was used for the analysis and to track down trends in the project, without making any generalizations.

The first part of the analysis consists of eight questions that required a short answer and eight open questions. The first part was intended to collect data about gender, age, nationality, education, experience in translation, level of English, and profession – if any – outside Wikipedia. These data are analyzed quantitatively at the beginning of the next chapter. The remaining eight questions, which are open-ended, were designed to encourage the informants to answer freely about Wikipedia-related issues in general, and translation in particular. As Saldanha and O'Brien observe, responses to these questions can sometimes be difficult to interpret but they allow the researchers to have access to the informants' thoughts and opinions, which are expressed more freely than in close questions (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 157).

The interviews, which took place via Skype and were recorded using a special software called Talk Helper, are semi-structured in nature. This means that there are more open-ended questions than in structured interviews, and the participants are allowed to express their ideas with more flexibility. The main reason for using this method was to get as much information from the participants as possible, especially considering the reduced number of respondents. According to Saldanha and O'Brien, semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to have "privileged access to a person's thoughts and opinions about a particular subject", as in this case, about Wikipedia and translation (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 170).

A semi-structured qualitative interview, as LeCompte and Schensul observe, covers a limited list of topics – in this case translation, language mixing and Wikipedia – and the six participants were asked the same 16 questions (LeCompte and Schensul 1999: 220-1). An in-depth analysis of the information provided by the participants entails an understanding or interpretation of how the subjects perceive the topic individually. A last step would be to triangulate – compare and contrast – that information across the different participants and see what are the commonalities and divergences.

Throughout the research process, an emic perspective and a non-obtrusive position was adopted (LeCompte and Schensul 1999: 221). This means that the participants were not judged by the answers they provided. During the interviews on Skype, the six interviewees were given the opportunity to share their ideas without the researcher interfering or influencing their answers

in any way. They were occasionally provided with some hints in order to trigger conversation and to focus on the topic the question was addressing.

### 3.2.1.2 Selection of participants and questions

As was mentioned in the previous subsection, six participants, three from Latin America and three from Spain, were interviewed via Skype, in the summer of 2016. All the participants in the experiment were recruited and recorded individually and anonymously, without access to the other interviewees' identities and responses. In accordance with ethical considerations, all the participants were previously informed about the goals of the project and they were given an informed consent form (ICF) that they had to fill in and sign accordingly.<sup>21</sup> In order to protect the participants' identity, fictitious names are used throughout the analysis.

Three of the participants were recruited at an international Wikipedia conference known as Wikimania, which took place in Esino Lario, northern Italy, from June 21 to June 28, 2016. The other three informants were contacted for the first time via e-mail. The interviews were performed on Skype on the basis of the informants' availability and due to the long geographic distances between their respective locations – Argentina, Mexico, the United States, and three different cities in Spain. The average age of the participants was 30.6 years old ( $M=30.6$ ). In addition, three of the participants were men and three women.

The six participants were asked 16 questions (see Appendix B). The first eight questions required a short answer and were designed in order to get some background information. The interviewees were first asked to introduce themselves, to state where they came from, their age and profession, their years of experience in both translation and Wikipedia, and number of translated articles. They were also asked to self-assess their level of English. It is worth mentioning that three of the participants requested to be interviewed in Spanish, so the 16 questions that are included in Appendix B had to be translated into their mother tongue. The conversations are kept in audio files in mp3 format.<sup>22</sup>

After providing some basic information and introducing themselves, the six participants were asked eight more questions which required a long answer and some thinking. The first one from

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<sup>21</sup> See the informed consent form included in Appendix A.

<sup>22</sup> According to Saldanha and O'Brien, the participants should be allowed to express their ideas in the language they feel more comfortable with during the interview (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 177). One of the implications of this method is that the transcripts must be translated into English *a posteriori*, imposing "another layer of interpretation on the data" (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 177).

this second half was about preferences during the translation process. The interviewees had to answer whether they preferred to use the automatic translation tool or translate manually, and why. This was mainly intended as a first approach to the respondents' attitudes towards translation and translational techniques. Question 10 was about challenges they normally come across when translating an article from English into Spanish. The aim was to get information about the strategies they use as translators and, for instance, how flexible they are when it comes to including Anglicisms. Some hints or possible responses were suggested, such as a) obscure terms, b) complex grammar and syntax, c) finding a nearly equivalent word or expression in the TL.

Questions 11 and 12 were closely related to the previous one. For question 11, the six participants had to answer what they normally did when they found no literal or equivalent translation of a word or expression into their own language. Again, four hints were provided: a) use of a similar word/expression (synonym), b) keep the Anglicism, c) translate it intuitively (applying common sense), and d) omit the word/expression. As they did with question 10, they used some of the hints and they also provided their own examples based on their experience.

Question 12 was about technical words or subject-specific terms. Again, the objective was to obtain information about their attitudes and their degree of flexibility when dealing with challenging domain-specific expressions, e.g. IT, scientific jargon. The question was: "What do you do when you have to translate a technical word?" In order to make the conversation flow and encourage a detailed answer, three new hints were given: a) search the term/word and see what you can find, b) ask someone else, c) make your own decision based on common sense. The six informants were also asked to back up their answer either by providing an illustrative example or by explaining why they preferred one of the options listed above over the other(s).

Question 13, though related to the previous three, asked them to think of themselves as editors and readers of other users' translation of articles in Wikipedia. This question was divided into two parts: "Have you revised and/or corrected other users' translations?" "If so, what are the common errors you have seen?" Four hints were given in order to trigger conversation: a) Lexicon (e.g. English words instead of Spanish words, false friends, etc.), b) unconventional syntax, c) lack of (textual) cohesion, and d) untranslated words/expressions or automatic translations (*autotrats*).

Given the nature and characteristics of Wikipedia, question 14 asked the six participants to self-assess, using three different ranges, how *faithful* they were to the source text (ST) when translating its content into the TL. Three ranges were provided so as to get an approximate,

representative answer of the degree of closeness to the ST or LST: a) less than 50%, b) between 50% and 70%, and c) over 70%. The six interviewees also had to justify their answer and to give extra information as to why they were more or less faithful to the ST.

The last two questions, 15 and 16, were about perception and personal viewpoints regarding translation in Wikipedia. Question 15, which comprised two parts, asked the six interviewees whether they perceived any significant differences in terms of conservativeness vs. openness between textual translations carried out by Latin Americans as opposed to those performed by Spaniards. They were asked to back up their answer either with facts or by going back to their own experience as Wikipedia translators. In the last question the participants had to express their preference for either an Anglicism or a pure Spanish lexical item, and then choose one or the other in four non-contextualized situations.

### **3.2.2 Extraction and analysis of the five GAs and one featured article**

The extraction of data from five GAs and one featured article that have been translated from English into Spanish was undertaken in different steps. First, it was important to track down the articles that are necessary for the study. They had to be translations from English, although, given the nature of Wikipedia, the TTs could contain some original content as well. The second step, after choosing the articles, was to tackle instances of syntactic and lexical Anglicisms. This means that errors (e.g. untranslated chunks of text, typos, etc.) were left out of the analysis under the premise that they would not reveal anything as far as translational behavior is concerned.<sup>23</sup> Taking this into account, the main focus of the analysis was placed on either conscious or unconscious decisions made by the translators. Special attention was paid to closeness to the LST and particular choices regarding the inclusion and/or replacement of lexical and syntactic Anglicisms, such as those performed by the users that revised the translations.

After applying the four filters used for the selection of textual data and narrowing down the analysis to specific versions of the STs and TTs, the articles – the English and the Spanish Wikipedia translations – were read thoroughly and analyzed. Medina López's model (2004) for the classification of Anglicisms was taken as point of departure for the categorization of the data per its simplicity. As was presented in the theory chapter, Medina López classifies Anglicisms as a) syntactic and b) lexical (Medina López 2004: 20). He then subdivides lexical

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<sup>23</sup> Even GAs and featured articles may contain errors like the ones described above. Most of these errors, however, are either corrected by the main translators/users themselves or by the users who revise the translation. This is a condition *sine qua non* for the nominated article to become good or featured.



Anglicisms into assimilated, calques, bare, and so on. Since the borderline between these subcategories is not always clear cut, Medina López's model was further simplified and reduced to two main categories – the afore-mentioned a) syntactic and b) lexical Anglicisms – and, within the latter, two other subcategories: incorporated and unincorporated. This division is also useful for a better understanding of the role that unincorporated Anglicisms have towards changes in usage and language systems in comparison to incorporated Anglicisms, which have already made their mark and are no longer as noticeable by readers.

The same criterion applied by Medina López (2004) and Sánchez Mouriz (2015) for the identification of syntactic Anglicisms was used in the analysis: Anomalous or unnatural Spanish syntactic constructions were treated as syntactic Anglicisms if they resembled the phrase or structure traced in the specific version of the ST or LST. All the syntactic Anglicisms included in the analysis have a ST or LST counterpart unless stated otherwise. Some examples included in this category are atypical (English-like) passive constructions, use of the gerund in cases where another structure would have fit better, noun-adjective inversion, punctuation, and lack of gender and/or number agreement between the subject and the participle form of the verb or adjective, among others.

The identification of lexical Anglicisms was carried out based on the researcher's own linguistic intuitions and by consulting Medina López's (2004) book on Anglicisms in the Spanish language, always referring back to the ST or LST. Additionally, the simplified, broad categorization of lexical Anglicisms as a) incorporated and b) unincorporated was performed by checking the current (2017) online version of the Royal Spanish Academy Dictionary (*Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, DRAE), the ultimate authority over the correct, prescriptive use of the Spanish language.<sup>24</sup> In line with this, all those instances of lexical Anglicisms found in the articles that were also included in the DRAE were treated as incorporated (borrowings), and unincorporated (codeswitches) otherwise. By narrowing down the classification to incorporated and unincorporated, the presentation of the textual data could be handled more effectively and orderly while addressing the differences – if any – between the two groups of users, the Spaniards and the Latin Americans, and their attitudes to the use of Anglicisms, such as that concerning prescription vs. usage. The same criterion applies to Anglicisms that denote domain-specific lexical items, technical words or jargon (see 4.1.3 below). They are classified as incorporated only if they have been accepted by the RAE.

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<sup>24</sup> <http://www.rae.es/>

The analysis of the six Wikipedia articles is presented in two groups of three articles each. The first group contains the three articles translated by the Spaniards, whereas the second group includes the three articles translated by the Latin Americans. Within these groups, the articles are analyzed following a chronological order. The earliest versions of the TTs are studied first, leaving the latest versions for the end. This chronological order is also applied to the data presented in the Appendix. For reasons of space, only the most illustrative instances of Anglicisms are quoted in the analysis chapter, using italics for Spanish words and expressions, and quotation marks for the English ones. Back translations (BT) and glosses are provided as footnotes where necessary and relevant.

### **3.3 Challenges and limitations of the present study**

There are some validity threats which need to be considered. For instance, one possible drawback of the interviews is what Saldanha and O'Brien refer to as the Hawthorne effect (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 153). This means that people could respond "according to how they think the researcher would like them to respond" (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 153-4). Indeed, throughout the interview some participants were not always consistent in their answers. For this reason, any possible contradictions among the informants' responses are explicitly mentioned in the analysis.

Another factor to be taken into account is the researcher bias and the risk of going native. The risk of going native – that is, getting too close to the informants – was high. Saldanha and O'Brien hold that it is crucial not to judge the informants based on the answers they provide (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 169). During the interviews on Skype, the six participants were allowed to discuss core issues – such as translation, Wikipedia and attitudes towards Anglicisms at large. However, one of the challenges as a long-time Wikipedia translator was to keep distances between the participants' responses and personal experience during the analysis.

Besides the previous considerations, there are three other factors that are worth mentioning. The first one has to do with the interpretation of both the informants' responses and the textual analysis of the translated articles. Three of the six participants explicitly asked to be interviewed in Spanish, their mother tongue. Both Saldanha and O'Brien agree that the informants should be allowed to express themselves in the language they feel more comfortable with (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 177). However, this means that the audio transcripts must be translated *a posteriori*, and translation, as Saldanha and O'Brien observe, "imposes another layer of interpretation on the data" (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 177).

Saldanha and O'Brien hold that interpretation is also related to saturation and scope (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 180). One of the challenges that the researcher faces when analyzing the data is to set the limits and know where to stop. This is not always easy, for the interviewees' responses and the textual analysis of the translated Wikipedia articles may at times be subject to interpretation on the researcher's side. In other words, the researcher has to interpret the raw data, which may lay claims on subjectivity. Finally, the scope of the project is very important for the interpretation of the data. As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, the selection of six participants, five GAs, and one featured article – out of more than one million – limits the scope of this study to the extent that no generalization can be made, and that any conclusion should only be considered within the limited boundaries of the project. However, the findings may indicate trends beyond the material used for the study, creating a point of departure for new hypotheses that can be confirmed/disconfirmed by further research.



## 4 Analysis: The interviews

This chapter, which is divided into two parts, presents an in-depth analysis of the informants' answers to the 16 questions that were outlined in the Methods chapter. The first part focuses on the first six questions, in which the participants had to introduce themselves and talk about their experience as Wikipedia translators. The second part comprises the last ten questions, all of which required a longer answer. Special attention is paid to the last two questions since they address the issues raised by the two hypotheses: 1) that Wikipedia users from Spain are likely to have more conservative attitude to translation than their Latin American counterparts, and 2) that Latin American translators of Wikipedia tend to use more Anglicisms in their texts.

### 4.1 Questions requiring a short answer

#### 4.1.1 Background information

For the first part of the analysis, six Wikipedia translators were contacted on Skype and they were asked 16 questions – eight which required a short answer and eight that were open-ended. Besides being asked about their place of origin and their age, the six participants had to provide information about their level of education and their profession – if any – outside Wikipedia. All the interviewees confirmed to have attended university – three of them were postgraduate students, two were graduate students, and one was a PhD student. As for their profession, one was a teaching assistant at university, one was an English teacher at a primary school, one was a business manager, one was a teacher at a secondary school, and the other two were unemployed.<sup>25</sup>

Regarding the interviewees' experience as Wikipedia editors, four of the six subjects had their accounts registered in Wikipedia in 2006, while the remaining two did so in 2007. On average, the years of experience were 9.6 ( $M=9.6$ ). Although a good knowledge of English is expected from English-to-Spanish translators, the six participants were asked to self-assess their level of English. Four of the six participants said they had an advanced level of English, whereas one of them had an intermediate level. Five of the six participants spoke English as an L2, mostly

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<sup>25</sup> One of them was a *Wikipedian in Residence*. A *Wikipedian in Residence* works in local museums and other cultural institutions which collaborate closely with Wikipedia, either by providing materials such as files, photographs, books, etc., or by allowing Wikipedia users to use their premises as long as they help to promote the cultural heritage these institutions have on display.

for education, business and/or translation activities. The remaining participant – from Spain – considered herself a balanced bilingual, using both Spanish and English as her L1.

After receiving some information about their background, the participants were asked if they had any previous experience as translators before joining Wikipedia. Three of the six subjects<sup>26</sup> declared to have had no previous experience with translation. Another participant said he had worked as a freelance translator and that he got paid for translating articles and essays for teachers whose knowledge of English was poor.<sup>27</sup> The other two participants had only translated for their studies (e.g. assignments, essays, and projects) while doing some coursework, since some relevant bibliography was not available in Spanish (see table 4-1).

Participant	Country	Age	Education	Level of English	Profession	Wikipedia user since
Patricia	Spain	33	Postgraduate	Advanced	Teaching assistant	2007
Adriana	Argentina	24	Graduate	Advanced	School teacher	2007
Soledad	Ecuador/ U.S.A.	31	Postgraduate	Advanced	Business manager	2006
Victor	Mexico	28	Postgraduate	Advanced	Wikipedian in Residence	2006
Mario	Spain	34	Graduate	Intermediate	Unemployed	2006
Felipe	Spain	34	PhD student	Advanced	Teacher	2006

**Table 4-1. Background information on the six interviewees.**

#### 4.1.1.1 Reason for joining Wikipedia

As part of the first set of eight questions with a short answer, the six participants were asked about their motivation or reason – if any – for joining Wikipedia. Patricia (S<sup>28</sup>) said her sister introduced her to the site. She then tried to add information about a science fiction book and all

<sup>26</sup> Patricia, Adriana and Soledad.

<sup>27</sup> Victor.

<sup>28</sup> In order to avoid repetition, letter S stands for Spain, whereas letter L stands for Latin America. These letters are attached to the participants' names throughout the analysis section to remind the reader about the two groups being compared: Spaniards (Ss) vs. Latin Americans (Ls).

of a sudden she “got hooked”.<sup>29</sup> Adriana (L), who according to herself was by then following the American TV series *The Simpsons*, said she found that there was a lot of information missing about the show in the Spanish Wikipedia, so she embarked on the project. Soledad (L), an Ecuadorian national living and working in the United States of America, originally joined the English Wikipedia to write about movies and cinema. She suddenly “felt the need” to translate all that content into her native language Spanish.

The other three participants also put forward similar reasons. Victor (L), for instance, started as a Mozilla Firefox<sup>30</sup> translator. He did not join Wikipedia until an acquaintance told him that there was almost no information on Firefox available in Spanish. Mario (S), who was an active blogger back in 2006, joined the Spanish-language Wikipedia because the article about blogs was incomplete in his native language. He also considered it as a good opportunity to improve his language skills. Finally, Felipe (S), who works as a secondary school teacher, said that he was “dragged into the project” by a colleague who was working on education-related articles in the Spanish Wikipedia.

The six participants joined the project between 2006 and 2007. Their main motivation seems to have been their desire to improve an article or to write a new article from scratch. Most contents were missing in the Spanish Wikipedia, which, between 2005 and 2007, only had 10% of the amount of articles that were available in the English Wikipedia. As of 2017, these figures are still low considering the large number of Spanish speakers (over 400 million). The Spanish Wikipedia, with over one million articles, accounts for 20% of the articles that the English Wikipedia currently has.<sup>31</sup>

#### **4.1.1.2 Number of translated articles in Wikipedia and main subject areas**

For this question, the six participants were asked to give an approximate number of their translated articles. Three hints were given, so figures are based on estimates rather than on exact numbers. The hints were: a) around 50, b) between 50 and 100, or c) more than 100 articles. For the second part of this question, the participants had to offer more information about the articles they had translated. Patricia (S) and Victor (L) translated around 50 articles from scratch, that is, articles that were not available in the Spanish Wikipedia until they translated

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<sup>29</sup> A transcript of this conversation is attached as Appendix C for further reference.

<sup>30</sup> Free-licensed search engine similar to Google Chrome or Internet Explorer.

<sup>31</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English\\_Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English_Wikipedia)

them. Soledad (L) translated between 50 and 100 articles from English into Spanish. The other three participants, Adriana (L), Mario (S) and Felipe (S) translated more than 100 articles.

Concerning their preferred topics or subject areas, the answers were diverse. Patricia (S) translated articles about LGBT people and their rights, as well as medical and health-related articles, with special emphasis on women’s health. Adriana (L) said she had no specific topics or subject areas, but that she had written mostly about biographies, movies and World Heritage. Soledad (L) also expressed to have an interest in movies and cinema. She also translated articles about arts and humanities, especially literature. Victor (L) translated articles on multiple topics such as music, digital rights, logics, neighborhoods of Mexico City, and chemistry. Mario (S) translated articles about arts, literature, cultural and material heritage, and history. As for Felipe (S), his preferred subject areas were history, physics and literature, among others. A list of subject areas is provided below. Topics are ranked according to user preference (see table 4-2 below):

Subject area	User(s)
Literature	Three
Arts (in general)	Two
Cinema/movies	Two
History	Two
Heritage	Two
Biographies	One
Chemistry	One
Health	One
LGBT	One
Music	One
Physics	One
Other	One

**Table 4-2. Most popular subject areas for Wikipedia articles by number of participants.**



## 4.2 Questions requiring a long answer

### 4.2.1 Automatic translation versus manual translation

Wikipedia has, since January 2014, a computer-assisted translation tool, machine translator or, as it is commonly known, content translator.<sup>32</sup> This software allows users to translate pages from one language to the other by only clicking on the text they want to translate. It is a beta feature<sup>33</sup> designed for users with a registered account in Wikipedia. Prior to the release of this tool, users – both registered and non-registered – could either translate manually or use other automatic translation tools available online (e.g. Google Translate). This software is being updated, and at present it is only available for some languages, including English, Spanish, German and French, among others.

When the six informants were asked about whether they preferred the content translator or the *old way*, 50% of them acknowledged that they use the tool quite often, while the other 50% opposed it. Among those who use the content translator is Patricia (S), who considers that it is much faster than translating manually. She also considers that editors who use the content translator tool do not have to deal with “complex wiki-codes anymore”.<sup>34</sup> Victor (L) also thinks that by using the tool one saves a lot of time and that it is very useful when dealing with links and categories in Wikipedia. Mario (S) employed the content translator but only for a few articles and with the sole purpose of showing newcomers during a workshop how the tool works.

Adriana (L), Soledad (L) and Felipe (S) represent the other 50% of the interviewees that do not use the tool. Neither Adriana nor Soledad gave any particular reason for their refusal. They both showed themselves skeptic about the usefulness of the content translator and the quality of the translation. Felipe, on the other hand, only used the tool for translations from Catalan to Spanish due to language similarity, but he refrains from using it for translations from other languages.

### 4.2.2 Common challenges during the translation process in Wikipedia

When it comes to the most common challenges the six participants have come across during the translation process, their answers converge to some extent but they also differ in many ways,

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<sup>32</sup> See [https://www.mediawiki.org/wiki/Content\\_translation](https://www.mediawiki.org/wiki/Content_translation)

<sup>33</sup> According to Wikipedia, Beta, named after the second letter of the Greek alphabet, is the software development phase following Alpha. At this stage, the software is usually complete but it is likely to contain a number of unknown or known bugs. For more information, see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Software\\_release\\_life\\_cycle#Beta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Software_release_life_cycle#Beta)

<sup>34</sup> Wiki code or wiki syntax is the specific language/format that wikis use, similar to html.

since they stem from their own personal experience. Five of the six interviewees acknowledged that they had had some important challenges, the only exception being Soledad (L). For most of them (four of six), one of the major problems is understanding and digesting the ST, which can contain a specialized language or some important gaps. Patricia (S) brought up the issue of bad grammar in the ST. For her, “poor grammar [in the articles] is always the greatest problem”.<sup>35</sup> She also pointed out that some English articles lack reliable sources, so the translator has to invest time in finding new sources. Another setback is that some articles from the English Wikipedia are not written by native speakers of the language, hence the texts are not always easy to read and process.

Finding corresponding lexical items is also challenging for most interviewees. Adriana (L), who translates articles on birds, had a hard time trying to find suitable Spanish terms for all these feathered creatures and their body parts. Concerning literature-related articles, one of the most important challenges for her was dealing with Old and Middle English expressions which are not currently in use. For Victor (L), reading about the topic one is writing about first and getting some background knowledge is essential. He avoids translating about things he is not familiar with, such as law or literature. He also claims to have a reader-oriented approach to the text, trying to make the concepts as clear as possible to the general readership.

Mario (S), who translates articles about English literature and history, said that “trying to express what the original author meant” is very demanding. He recalled when he was translating articles about Anglo-Saxon heptarchs. The original author(s) were “using a language, a register close to that of the chronicles of the time”. Other challenges include translating the names of kings and queens, architectonic terms and weapons. Of the six interviewees, Felipe (S) was the only one who, apart from acknowledging difficulties with the grammar of the ST, offered solutions. He said he uses a dictionary when he comes across a term he does not understand, and he tries to improve the grammar of both the ST and the TT. He also readapts the language of the ST into the TT; otherwise, “the translation seems forced [artificial, unnatural]”.

### **4.2.3 Translation of technical lexical items**

The translation of domain-specific or technical terms quite often poses challenges to translation experts. In Wikipedia, where most of the users that translate the articles lack a solid professional background, this task can be even more demanding. Cabré, in an article about translation and terminology, touches on some of the difficulties faced by translators when they come across a

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<sup>35</sup> See Appendix C for the interview.

technical lexical item (Cabr  2011). The author identifies three major problems, all related to the inexistence of a clear equivalent in the TL, and she comes up with possible solutions. The problems are: a) there is no accepted/consistent equivalent in the TL; b) specialists make systematic use of a borrowing; and c) no standard unit has been approved by standardization or normalization bodies, such as the RAE (Cabr  2011: 360). Cabr  goes on to suggest a series of possible solutions for translators dealing with domain-specific language, among which she includes consulting dictionaries or specialized databases, asking other professionals for advice, keeping the original technical term using quotation marks, or simply paraphrasing it. She also holds that the translator's own intuitions should be the last option. In any case, Cabr  adds, the term should be well documented in order to avoid the proliferation of neologisms adopted by individual translators (Cabr  2011: 363).

Question 11 focused precisely on the challenges that one may encounter when translating technical texts in Wikipedia. The interviewees were asked the following question: "What do you do when you have to translate a technical word?" Three hints were provided this time: a) Use a search engine, such as Google, and see what you can find, b) ask someone else for advice, and c) make your own decision based on common sense (intuition/gut feeling). As was expected, the six participants experienced difficulties translating articles with a (very) specialized language.

Their answers echoed Cabr  (2011) as regards to the use of dictionaries or databases. However, other options were also considered. Google – among other search engines – turned out to be the most popular option for the participants. All of them included it in their answers, although only Felipe (S) had it as his first choice. For Adriana (L), Soledad (L) and Victor (L), Google Scholar is handy and they often use it for searching technical lexical items which are, at first glance, difficult to translate. For Patricia (S), Google was her second option, and for Mario (S), his last. Dictionaries – which were not explicitly mentioned in the hints – are useful tools for three of the six interviewees (Soledad, Mario and Felipe). They said they use either general or specialized English monolingual dictionaries. Wikipedia came out as the third option. Again, of the six participants, three normally check if the article they want to translate is available in closely related languages such as Catalan, Italian, Portuguese, Galician and French.

Surprisingly, the three least popular options among the interviewees were journals, books and their own judgement. Only Soledad (L) and Felipe (S) acknowledged to have used books from a local library or from their collection. Other participants, while they may use, read and get information from printed or online books, did not include them amongst their preferred

sources.<sup>36</sup> Patricia (S) and Victor (L) have retrieved information from online journals and databases. As a final remark, of the six participants, five dismissed or regarded intuitions/own judgement or common sense as unreliable, risky and unprofessional. Felipe (S) had a neutral opinion. He said that “a bit of common sense is always necessary”.

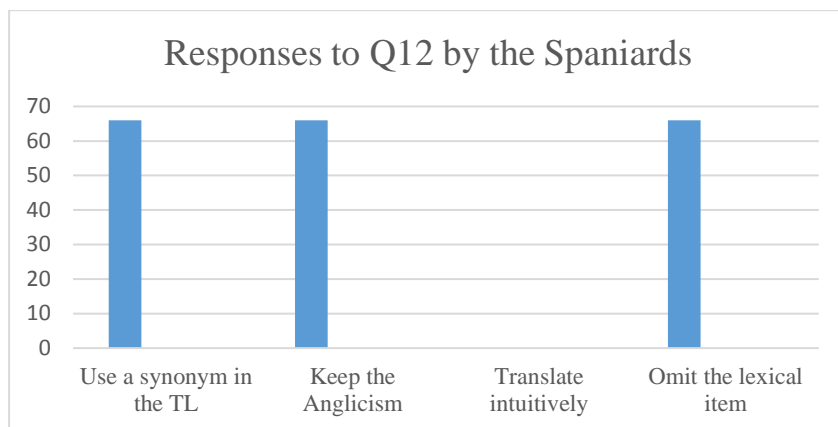
#### **4.2.4 Translation of lexical items without an equivalent in the TL**

In Question 12 the subjects had to answer what they would do if they came across lexical items – not necessarily technical – with no clear equivalent in Spanish. The informants were given four hints: a) use a similar term/concept in the TL (a synonym), b) keep the (original) English word or expression, c) translate the word/expression directly applying their own judgement, and d) omit/do without the word/expression.

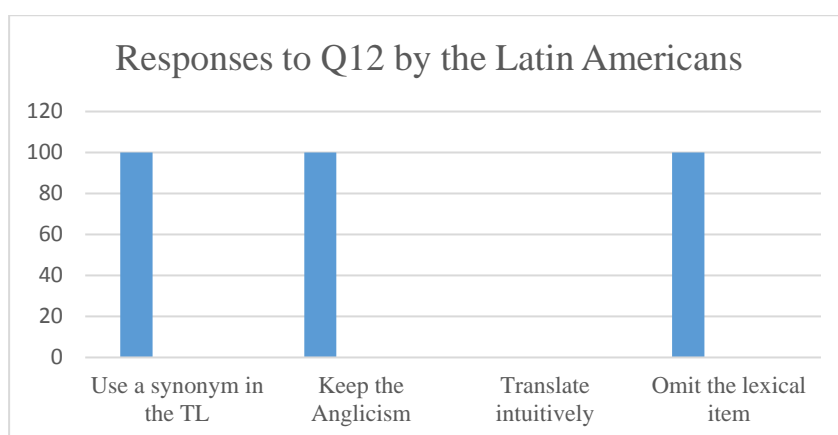
Three of the four options were chosen by at least five of the six participants, although their preferences varied. For example, b) to keep the original English word or Anglicism, was selected by five participants, three Ls and two Ss. However, only four of them – three Ls and one S – had it as their first option. The informants said that they normally keep the unincorporated Anglicism in italics and accompany it with footnotes or parenthetical explanations. Some of them, notably Patricia (S), Adriana (L), Soledad (L) and Victor (L), however, try to find a synonym in the TL only when the Anglicism is not well documented. Felipe (S), who chose a) as his first option, opposed keeping the original English term or expression. According to him, in a negative sense, that is “the easiest option”. He always goes with the “purest form” because he believes that the Spanish vocabulary is rich enough not to use foreign words. The rest of the interviewees (three Ls and two Ss), who seem to be a bit more flexible about the use of Anglicisms, praise textual meaning and tend to disregard word-for-word meaning as undesirable, believing that it leads to bad quality translations. For most of them, meaning in context – understanding what the sentence expresses – is more important than what a specific word means, the only exception being (very) technical words. The graphs below show how the six interviewees, split into two groups, normally face this challenging task (see Figures 4-1 and 4-2).

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<sup>36</sup> While Wikipedia encourages the use of reliable independent sources such as books, articles, other publications and websites, there seems to be a clear preference, among users, to include online sources – such as digitalized books – rather than printed ones. This ‘bias’ is somehow justified considering the fact that online references are both easier and faster to check, as they are accessible to everyone. Printed books, on the other hand, while they may still be available to readers, they are not easily accessible (for reasons of costs, etc.).



**Figure 4-1. Choices made by the Spaniards when there is no clear equivalent lexical item in the TL.**



**Figure 4-2. Choices made by the Latin Americans when there is no clear equivalent lexical item in the TL.**

Figures 4-1 and 4-2 above show the results respecting the order of the four hints provided for this question. For the Spaniards, three of the four options had exactly the same weight. Felipe prefers to use a synonym in the TL, whereas Patricia is for keeping the Anglicism or using a synonym in the TL in case the Anglicism is not well documented. Mario, unlike Patricia and Felipe, prefers to use a paraphrase, or ultimately keep the Anglicism if there is no plausible solution and only if the English word is very specific in meaning. For both Patricia and Mario, meaning in context – what the sentence means – is also important. Similar answers were provided by the Latin Americans, although their choices were more balanced: the three participants chose at least three of the four hints. Like the Spaniards, the three Latin American informants chose options b), a) and d) in this order. Interestingly, b) to keep the Anglicism, was the first option chosen by the three Latin Americans. Finally, the two groups did not consider intuitions to be a wise move.

#### 4.2.5 Most common errors found when revising other users' translations

Being a translator, both in and outside Wikipedia, often implies other tasks. For instance, Wikipedia users revise their own translations as well as other users' translations. Moreover, translators in Wikipedia are also editors/writers and could even take on more tasks such deleting articles, blocking user accounts, renaming pages, and so on. Some of these tasks are restricted to administrators.<sup>37</sup> Thus, question 13 was an interesting one from the point of view of this project, since it touches on the interviewees' reading skills and experience as revisers. The participants had to address the most common errors they had found while revising other users' translations. The hints given were: a) lexicon (e.g. English words instead of Spanish terms, false friends, etc.), b) unconventional syntax, c) lack of textual cohesion, and d) unrevised automatic translations including (large) chunks of text written in the SL.

The six interviewees pointed to automatic translations as being the most frequent sources of error. Indeed, all of them admitted to have come across purely automatic translations at least once during their 8-to-10-year experience in Wikipedia. Strictly connected with automatic translations were the word-for-word translations and the untranslated (English) words leading to lexical Anglicisms that some participants – including Patricia (S), Adriana (L) and Victor (L) – found repeatedly. This may well be one of the most distinguishable features of automatic translations but it is also expected, though to a lesser extent, in non-professional translators.

Other errors found in both automatic and manual translations are not as related to grammar as they are to lexicon. Adriana (L), Soledad (L), Victor (L) and Felipe (S) raised the issue of false friends depending on the context, e.g. “assault” as *asaltar* [to rob]. Adriana (L) also recalled the article about the Australian politician Bill Lamb (1889-1964), whose family name was translated into Spanish as Bill Cordero. *Cordero* in Spanish literally means “lamb”, but since it was a surname in this case, it should not have been translated.<sup>38</sup> This is one common error found in automatic translations, which sometimes fail to distinguish between literal and non-literal meaning. According to Felipe (S), “some people use Google Translator or the Content Translation Tool [in Wikipedia], and then rewrite a couple of phrases”. By doing so, he said,

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<sup>37</sup> Administrators, also known in Wikipedia as system operators or sysops, are users chosen by their local language communities, usually through a two-week election process in which different users vote for or against the candidate. Successful candidates receive special tools that ordinary users do not have. Administrators can delete and/or merge articles, block other users, and offer their advice in conflictive situations.

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix C for an excerpt of the interview (in Spanish).

“one still perceives a high dependency on the ST”, by which he means that the translation, the TT, “is of a poor quality”.

Other common errors mentioned include users who do not have a good knowledge of the language they translate from (SL), people who use word-for-word translations, and unconventional Spanish syntax – overuse of passive forms and the gerund, wrong punctuation, wrong abbreviations and acronyms, etc. Of the six respondents, Mario (S) was the only one who went into details. He mentioned a series of common errors, some of which were also addressed by the other five interviewees. Among those which were not explicitly mentioned by other fellow Wikipedia users were calque, localisms or regionalisms, structures common in speech but not in written language, orthotypography (F.C., FC, A.D., AD, etc.), and transliteration of names, sometimes from a third language (e.g. Dutch ‘Groningen’ → English ‘Groningen’ → Spanish \*‘Groningen’ [instead of the traditional form ‘Groninga’]).<sup>39</sup> Table 4-3 summarizes the most common sources of error mentioned by the interviewees:

<b>Source of error/ Common error detected</b>	<b>Number of interviewees who reported this problem</b>
Automatic translations <sup>40</sup> (source of error)	Addressed by five of the six interviewees.
Poor knowledge of the SL	This was touched on by Soledad (L), but it was implicit in other participants’ answers as well.
False friends	Mentioned by five of the six interviewees.
Word-by-word translation (semantic meaning is lost)	Four of the six participants included this in their answers.
Unfinished translations	As part of automatic translations, four of the six interviewees briefly mentioned this. As a separate error, also to be found in manual translations, it was addressed by one participant (Mario, S).
Poor/bad grammar	It was mentioned by four of the six respondents.

<sup>39</sup> The participant, Mario (S), used these technical terms.

<sup>40</sup> Some of them, such as Adriana (L), provided examples of distinctive features of recognizable automatic translations (see Bill Lamb vs. Bill Cordero above). Others implicitly alluded to unfinished translations, literal meaning instead of contextual meaning, etc. It is not always easy to draw a line between these features, and some of them are likely to overlap.

Unconventional/atypical syntax	It was mentioned by two of the six participants. Some examples include the overuse of passive constructions, gerund and punctuation.
Wrong abbreviations or acronyms	It was addressed by Mario (S). E.g. NATO instead of OTAN, USA instead of EE.UU, DNA for ADN, etc. <sup>41</sup>
Orthotypography	It was brought up by Mario (S). E.g. F.C. vs. FC, A.D. vs AD, etc.
Transliteration of names	Mario (S) also called attention to this issue. E.g. Queen Elizabeth I of England as <i>reina Elizabeth I de Inglaterra</i> instead of the proper Spanish name Isabel. It can also be found in names that come from a third language (Lat. ‘titanium’ → Eng. ‘titanium’ → Spa. ‘titanium’* [instead of ‘titanio’]).
Localisms or regionalisms	This was reported by Mario (S). Some translators use dialectal expressions instead of standardized forms in the TL.

**Table 4-3. Common errors and sources of error when translating Wikipedia articles as reported by the interviewees.**

#### **4.2.6 Degree of *faithfulness* to the ST**

As was previously addressed, the notion of *faithfulness* or closeness to the ST or LST takes on a special meaning in relation to Wikipedia, since translation is often intermixed with original writing in one and the same article. Thus Question 14, which was aimed at getting an approximate answer regarding faithfulness/closeness to the ST or LST. Although only three hints were provided, all the participants had to justify their choice. The question was formulated as follows: “How *faithful* are you to the original text (ST)?” After explaining to them what was meant by ‘faithful’ (that is, how close/similar is the TT to the ST) they were presented with three options: a) <50%, b) 50 to 70%, c) >70%. The follow up question “Why?” was specifically intended to get more information from them. Of the six participants, three – Patricia (S), Adriana (L) and Mario (S) – reported to be the most faithful (over 70%; Patricia went as far as

<sup>41</sup> All the examples, unless specified, are my own.



to say 90%) to the ST. On the other hand, Victor (L) and Felipe (S) revealed that they were 70% faithful to the text if not less. Soledad (L) acknowledged to be 50% loyal to the ST.

Those who considered themselves to be the most faithful translators<sup>42</sup> were also aware of possible shortcomings of the faithfulness approach. Patricia (S) recognized that some English metaphors are difficult to translate or reproduce in Spanish. She also said that, after or during the translation process, she included some extra information coming from other sources which were not originally part of the ST. For instance, if she finds that the ST includes statistical information about English-speaking countries (such as birthrate, mortality, etc.), she tries to complete and/or adapt those data by adding statistical information from Latin American countries or Spain to the TT. Adriana (L) also declared to be quite faithful, but she also suggested that there are technical terms which are difficult to translate and that she often leaves out (e.g. meticulous depiction of Egyptian pyramids). Mario (S) sometimes uses expressions which, according to him, sound “more natural in Spanish”.

After comparing their answers, it may seem that Latin Americans demonstrate a more relaxed practice. In other words, the three Spanish interviewees acknowledged to be more faithful to the ST (around or over 70%) in comparison with the three Latin American interviewees, whose degree of faithfulness to the SL did not surpass the 70%. This is the first patterned difference found between the two groups of participants.

#### **4.2.7 Differences in Wikipedia translation: Spain vs. Latin America**

Throughout the first 14 questions, the six respondents shared their experience as translators in Wikipedia. Questions 15 and 16 addressed the respondents’ attitudes to language in a more explicit way. The participants had to talk about perceived differences between English-to-Spanish translations – always within Wikipedia – carried out by Spaniards and Latin Americans. Question 15 connects with the next chapter, the textual analysis, and it also addresses directly one of the hypotheses of this project: 1) Wikipedia translators from Spain have a more conservative attitude to translation than their Latin American counterparts.

To start with, none of the six interviewees perceived any significant differences between translations performed by Spaniards as opposed to translations performed by Latin American users. Most of them seemed to agree that the inclusion of Anglicisms is more related to how experienced the user is and how much one knows about the language one is translating from

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<sup>42</sup> The participants understood ‘faithfulness’ or closeness to the ST or LST being aware that both STs and TTs are evolving entities in Wikipedia: they change over time. For this reason, percentages are not accurate.

(TL). However, Adriana (L) came up with a few illustrative examples of the Spain v. Latin America dichotomy. She said that “mouse”, the English word for the computer device, is used in most Latin American countries and this is more likely to be used in translation by Latin Americans, whereas in Spain people use the calque *ratón*, the Spanish word for “mouse”, as mentioned by Munday (2005). The same applies to *feedback* vs. *retroalimentación* (mostly in Spain), a typical example of a Spanish calque.<sup>43</sup> Victor (L) answered that Spaniards have “a more Baroque style” and that they use more complex phrases.<sup>44</sup> He also insinuates that Spanish users “use a more elaborate grammar”, whereas Latin Americans usually write in a “more vernacular way”. The latter, according to him, also have a more relaxed approach to translation. On the Spanish side, Patricia (S) said that “everyone is very careful about [including non-standard language]”, meaning that all users, regardless of their nationality or dialect, try to use a standard encyclopedic style.<sup>45</sup> Mario’s (S) and Felipe’s (S) stance concurs with Patricia’s. Mario argued that a global encyclopedia like Wikipedia *should* use a standardized language.<sup>46</sup> Mario (S) opines that these differences are traceable when the translators are not good or experienced. Felipe (S), who said that users from both sides of the Atlantic must follow encyclopedic standards, also brought up the example of *mouse* vs. *ratón* mentioned before.<sup>47</sup> He showed a clear preference for *ratón* over *mouse* (see 4.1.9).

This question also dealt with issues of less and more conservative attitudes to translation in Wikipedia. Depending on the culture and how translation is perceived within it, translators may adopt a conservative approach – giving preference to the TL over the SL – or a more flexible approach – prioritizing the SL and keeping more elements of the original text/culture. In order to see who, according to the six participants, had a more conservative approach to translation

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<sup>43</sup> See Appendix C for further reference.

<sup>44</sup> Idem above.

<sup>45</sup> Idem 44.

<sup>46</sup> Notice that this is not always the case. The over 280 language versions of Wikipedia dictate their own policy and rules when it comes to written language and the variety they stick to. The English Wikipedia, for instance, uses both British and American spelling. However, users rarely mix both spelling systems in the same article. This is actually strongly discouraged. Unlike the English Wikipedia, the Norwegian-language Wikipedia does have two separate wikis, one for bokmål and another one for nynorsk. Users from bokmål Wikipedia can also write in riksmål, an old-fashioned written variety of the same language. Nevertheless, they are not allowed to mix both bokmål and riksmål in the same article. If the article was originally written in riksmål, it must not be rewritten in bokmål. The original spelling used by the author(s) of the article has to be respected. Despite the number of speakers – over 400 million –, Spanish only has one spelling system common to all the speakers worldwide, and which is ruled by the Royal Spanish Academy of the Language (RAE). This institution was created in 1713 by King Philip V of Spain (1700-46).

<sup>47</sup> The *mouse* vs. *ratón* case was very controversial in the Spanish-language Wikipedia some years ago (2008-2009). As a result, some of the interviewees still talk about it as perhaps one of the clearest divisions between European Spanish and Latin American Spanish. It is noteworthy how most of the participants used the same example, since they were interviewed individually without any knowledge of who else was taking part in the project.

in Wikipedia, the interviewees were asked again to think in terms of Spain vs. Latin America. The ultimate goal of this follow-up question was to address the issue that, when it comes to translation, Latin American Wikipedia users are less conservative than Spaniards.

If in the first part of question 15 the interviewees perceived slight differences in translation, in this second half their answers seem to go into details. Of the six respondents, four – three Ss and one L – maintained that Spaniards are either slightly or far more conservative than Latin American translators. Patricia (S) said that for some Spaniards “the RAE [The Royal Spanish Academy] is like the Bible”.<sup>48</sup> She found this “quite limiting”. Latin Americans, on the other hand, according to her, are more flexible and they play more with possibilities; they go with the meaning rather than with the literal translation. Victor (L) also made a statement about Spaniards being more conservative translators: “Their emphasis is on the rules, on how the rules dictate it should be”.<sup>49</sup> Unsurprisingly, Victor used the example of *mouse vs. ratón* to show how Spanish Wikipedia translators are more “purist”. This points to a well-known debate in the Spanish-language Wikipedia regarding prescriptive rules vs. actual usage of some lexical items.<sup>50</sup>

Mario (S) also believes that Spaniards tend to give more priority to prescriptive grammatical rules, especially those coming from the RAE. From his point of view, Latin Americans might be more willing to accept foreign words, including unincorporated Anglicisms. Felipe (S) speculates that Spaniards may be more conservative translators. Some of them try to use *pure* Castilian<sup>51</sup> expressions. However, he adds that while this holds true for most Spaniards, it also applies to some Latin Americans. Last but not least, both Adriana (L) and Soledad (L) hold that being a more or less conservative translator has little to do with location; rather, it is up to the translators and the attitudes they may have, as well as their years of expertise, if any. Adriana also believes that some Wikipedia articles, especially those about music and artists, tend to “have a more relaxed syntax” when compared to articles on geography and history.

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<sup>48</sup> See Appendix C for further reference.

<sup>49</sup> *Idem* above.

<sup>50</sup> The *manual de estilo* [Manual of Style] establishes writing conventions for each Wikipedia [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Manual de estilo#Normas.2C\\_convenciones\\_y\\_acuerdos](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Manual_de_estilo#Normas.2C_convenciones_y_acuerdos) (see also the Talk Page, in Spanish, for the debate).

<sup>51</sup> Castilian (*castellano*) is an alternative name used to refer to the Spanish language. It makes reference to Castile, the region of Spain where the language was born. The preference of one term over the other varies depending on the country, region or even political affinities.

#### 4.2.8 Anglicisms vs. *pure Spanish lexical items in translation: Spain and Latin America*

The last question of the interview was intended to focus on the issue of Anglicisms, which had been previously introduced in question 15. It was originally designed to address the first and the second hypotheses: that 1) Wikipedia users from Spain have a more conservative attitude towards translation, and that 2) Latin American Wikipedia translators tend to use more Anglicisms in their texts. The six interviewees were asked a main question, accompanied by two follow-up questions. Question 16 was: “Have you found any Anglicisms in Wikipedia? If so, what do you normally do?”

Of the six participants, four – two Ls and two Ss – expressed their preference for a Spanish lexical item over an English word. Anglicisms seemed to have a negative connotation for all of them. Adriana (L) attributed them to bad translations. So did Soledad (L), for whom they are the result of unexperienced translators with a poor knowledge of the language they translate from (SL) as well as of the vocabulary of the language they translate to (TL). Both Mario (S) and Felipe (S) place more importance on correctness (words accepted by the RAE) over actual usage (Anglicisms that have not yet been accepted by the RAE). Mario even challenged the concept of what is more used as arbitrary and unreliable, for this criterion, he argues, is subjective. Like Soledad and Adriana, they prefer pure Spanish words, and they quote the RAE as their point of reference.

Patricia (S) and Victor (L), the remaining two participants, gave more importance to usage over correctness. According to Patricia, it is important to check first if the Anglicism is widespread in Wikipedia or if it is an isolated case. She said that if it is present in many articles, then it should be reasonable to leave it as it is instead of imposing a Spanish term which, sometimes, can sound artificial to some readers. Likewise, Victor (L) usually opts to keep the Anglicism if it is more used or familiar to readers than the Spanish word. In this sense, he confessed that he does not to follow what the RAE dictates.<sup>52</sup>

To sum up, four of the six informants dismissed Anglicisms as undesirable and showed their preference for Spanish lexical items. Only two participants, one from Latin America and one from Spain, adopted a more flexible – and less condemnatory – approach to Anglicisms. For the two latter, Anglicisms should be kept in the TT if they are widely used by most Spanish speakers – meaning that they made their way into the language – and/or if they appear in other

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<sup>52</sup> See Appendix C for further reference.

Wikipedia articles. However, some slight contradictions arose in their answers to the second part of this question, in which some informants who had previously manifested themselves against Anglicisms, showed a more positive attitude towards them when asked to choose between lexical items that were grouped in pairs, containing one Anglicism and one pure Spanish word.

A list containing lexical Anglicisms and their pure Spanish counterparts was prepared prior to the interview. These were used as examples in order to get a better grasp of the attitudes that the six participants had towards Anglicisms. Six pairs of words were designed for the interview, but only four pairs chosen at random were used with each participant. Thus the informants had to choose one lexical item out of each pair, either an Anglicism or a pure Spanish word. Three of the six examples that were used in the interviews are calques – except for *boom vs. auge*, *marketing vs. mercadotecnia*, and *chat vs. conversación por medios digitales* – and they are included in Table 4-4 below<sup>53</sup>:

Anglicism	Spanish alternative
Mouse	Ratón
VIP (Very Important People)	Personas Muy Importantes
Boom	Auge
Feedback	Retroalimentación
Chat	Conversación por medios digitales/Charla
Marketing	Mercadotecnia

**Table 4-4. Six pairs of lexical items in which the first element is an Anglicism and the second one its Spanish counterpart.**

Although the goal of this experiment was not to measure the participants' reaction time (*RT*), two Latin Americans – Soledad and Adriana – and one Spaniard – Patricia – took longer than others to process these words and make a decision. Surprisingly, some of interviewees who had previously said they were less tolerant and flexible about Anglicisms, showed a clear preference for Anglicisms over pure Spanish words. For instance, Patricia (S), who had admitted to

<sup>53</sup> “Boom”, “chat”, “marketing” and “VIP” have all been accepted by the RAE as incorporated Anglicisms in Spanish. This is not yet the case with “mouse” and “feedback”, which remain unrecognized by the RAE. See <http://dle.rae.es/?id=brxxDGE>, <http://dle.rae.es/?id=8er2fEZ>, <http://dle.rae.es/?id=ORrX73t> and <http://dle.rae.es/?id=5s2Tuh3> for further reference.

prioritize usage over correctness, said she would rather use *chat* instead of *conversación por medios digitales*, and *mouse* instead of the Spanish calque *ratón*. On the other hand, she chose *auge* over *boom*, and *personas muy importantes* (Spanish for *very important people*) over *VIP*, even though both are accepted by the RAE as incorporated Anglicisms.<sup>54</sup>

Adriana (L), who had previously placed herself in the group of those who preferred Spanish terms over foreign words, said, when asked about these pairs of lexical items, that her position was somehow atypical in preferring Anglicisms in particular cases. As a Latin American, she preferred *mouse* over *ratón*, *marketing* over *mercadotecnia*, *feedback* over *retroalimentación*, and *boom* over *auge*. Unlike Patricia (S), whose preference was 50%/50%, Adriana's was 100% for the English words. This seems to contradict her previous statement. She then added that "unless the Spanish word is widely used", she usually keeps the English word.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, Soledad (L), who had also shown a clear preference for Spanish terms, remained quite loyal to her original statement. She chose the Spanish words in three of the four pairs<sup>56</sup>, but she explained that as an editor she would accept a few individual exceptions such as *mouse* over *ratón*, especially if the Spanish Wikipedia article was originally written using the Anglicism.

Victor (L) chose the Anglicisms in the four cases.<sup>57</sup> He declared himself "against forced translations", and he strongly opposed to prescriptive rules. According to him, usage should prevail as the most important criterion. He also argued that his country, Mexico, has the largest Spanish-speaking population in the world – over 25% of the total amount of Spanish speakers. For this reason, he believes it is not reasonable to impose restrictive rules on language use, which ultimately reflect Spain's view of language (see Munday 2005). On the other hand, Mario (S) argued that the RAE was the best reference for him. He chose the Spanish words from the four pairs<sup>58</sup>, and he went on to say that the RAE was formed by consensus from all the Spanish-speaking academies in Latin America and Spain. Unlike Victor (L), he refused to consider usage as a valid criterion, because "it is hard to say what is more used and what is not".<sup>59</sup>

Finally, Felipe (S), who also selected the Spanish lexical items<sup>60</sup> and discarded the Anglicisms as "undesirable", reinforced his previous statement by adding that he was totally against

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<sup>54</sup> This is revealing, since the interviewee, a Spaniard, would have been expected to choose *ratón* instead of *mouse* to refer to the computer device.

<sup>55</sup> See Appendix C for further reference.

<sup>56</sup> *Mouse* vs. *ratón*, *marketing* vs. *mercadotecnia*, *boom* vs. *auge*, and *feedback* vs. *retroalimentación*.

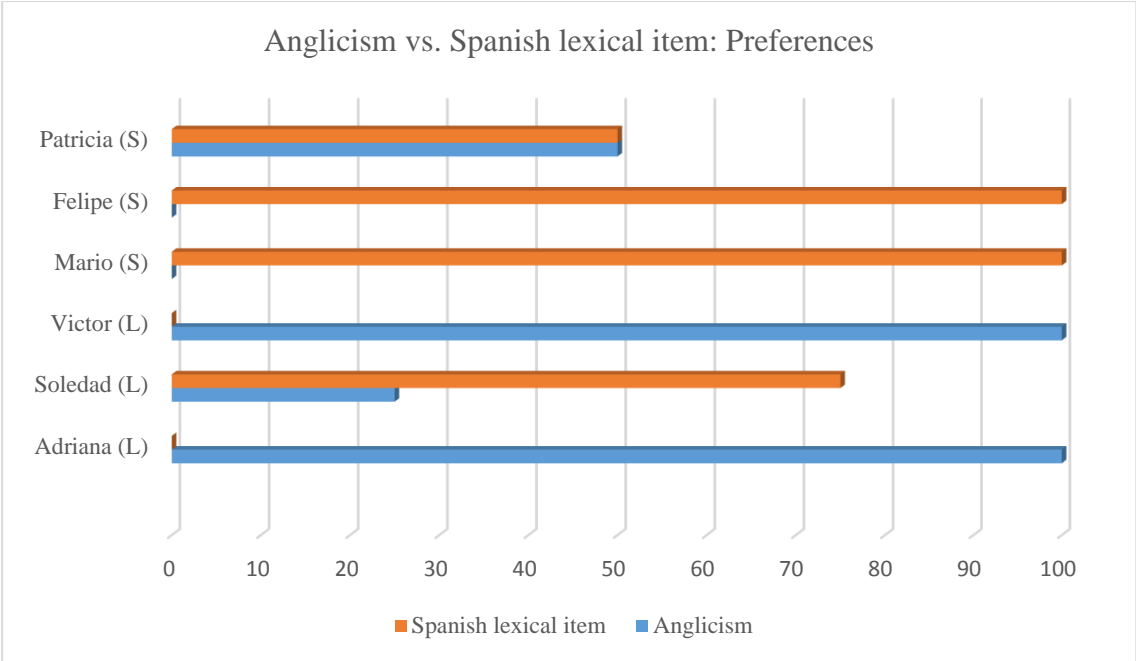
<sup>57</sup> *Mouse* vs. *ratón*, *chat* vs. *comunicación por medios digitales*, *marketing* vs. *mercadotecnia*, and *boom* vs. *auge*.

<sup>58</sup> Idem above, reversed order. Spanish lexical item first.

<sup>59</sup> See the Appendix for further reference.

<sup>60</sup> *Personas muy importantes* vs. *VIP*, *mercadotecnia* vs. *marketing*, *ratón* vs. *mouse*, and *auge* vs. *boom*.

language mixing, and that he always followed prescriptive rules. He had previously remarked that the RAE was his main reference, along with other dictionaries. Figure 4-3 below sums up the interviewees' preferences:



**Figure 4-3. Actual usage of Anglicisms vs. Pure Spanish lexical items: Preferences per group – Ss vs Ls.**

It seems clear, from this chart, that there is a tendency among Latin American translators to choose Anglicisms, whereas the opposite trend is found in the Spanish interviewees. Patricia (S), who considers herself a balanced English-Spanish bilingual, adopted a more flexible approach to English terms than her two fellow countrymen, who strongly opposed language mixing and regarded those words as intrusive. Another interesting pattern is that the three Spaniards' choices seem to agree with their previous statements about being more conservative – in the case of Mario and Felipe – and more flexible towards Anglicisms, as was the case with Patricia. This consistency was not found in two of the three Latin American interviewees. Adriana, in choosing the Anglicisms in the four pairs of words, went against her original claim about preferring Spanish words. Soledad, who remained quite loyal to her preference for the Spanish words, made some allowances as an editor if the Spanish article originally contained the Anglicism.

The third and last follow-up question – part b from Q16 – rounded off the issue of Anglicisms and their perceived use among Spanish speakers. The six interviewees were asked who, in their opinion, used more Anglicisms. Again, they had to choose between two options: Latin

Americans or Spaniards. As was expected, following what they had all previously stated, the six respondents agreed that Latin American translators are more likely to use Anglicisms.

Patricia (S) reinforced her previous statement by saying that Spaniards are more conservative. This belief was also shared by Mario (S) and Felipe (S). Adriana (L), who said that it depends more on the translator’s previous experience and skills, admitted when answering this question that Latin Americans might use more Anglicisms than Spaniards do. Soledad (L) and Victor (L) expressed no doubts about that. Soledad (L) argued that the United States has a much stronger influence on Latin America than on Spain, resulting in more English words entering into the lexicon of speakers from that region. For the sake of example, she came up with the pair *computadora* vs. *ordenador*. The first word, which is an incorporated Anglicism stemming from the English word “computer”, is used in Latin America. Spaniards use *ordenador* instead.

Table 4-5 below summarizes the participants’ attitudes to Anglicisms and translation on the one hand, and their actual use of Anglicisms on the other.

<b>Anglicisms: attitudes and actual usage</b>						
<b>Group</b>	<b>Latin Americans</b>			<b>Spaniards</b>		
<b>Interviewee</b>	Adriana	Soledad	Victor	Patricia	Mario	Felipe
<b>Attitudes</b>	Q15. Who, in your opinion, have a more conservative attitude to translation: Ss or Ls?					
A15	-	-	Ss	Ss	Ss	Ss
<b>Attitudes</b>	Anglicism or <i>pure</i> Spanish word?					
A16	Pure	Pure	Anglicism	Anglicism	Pure	Pure
<b>Use</b>	Actual use of Anglicisms and pure Spanish words					
Anglicism	100%	25%	100%	50%	-	-
‘Pure’ word	-	75%	-	50%	100%	100%

**Table 4-5. Anglicisms: Attitudes and actual usage. Differences between Ls and Ss.**



## 5 Textual analysis of Wikipedia articles

This chapter focuses on the study of English-to-Spanish translations of five GAs and one featured article. The analysis is performed on data (see Appendix D) extracted from an in-depth reading of both the original English articles (ST) and at least two versions of the Spanish translations (TT). As stated in the methods chapter, the Anglicisms presented here are divided into two categories: lexical Anglicisms and syntactic Anglicisms. Within the former, and taking Medina López's (2004) and Sánchez Mouriz's models (2015) as references, there are two subtypes: a) incorporated and b) unincorporated.<sup>61</sup> As was mentioned in the theory and methods chapters, the latter may also be considered codeswitches, whereas incorporated lexical Anglicisms can be regarded as borrowings.

All the articles have an approximate number of pages in the printable version. These are included in Table 3-1 in the methods chapter (see 3.1.2) and are again mentioned in the introduction to the analysis of each specific article. A page is comparable to approximately 350 to 450 words, excluding figures, photos, links and references. The number of pages per article is calculated by converting the web article into a PDF file. This option is available for all Wikipedia articles and can be found on the menu that appears to the left of each entry or article.<sup>62</sup> Wikipedia articles can also be measured in bytes or octets. While this is also included in Table 3-1, the choice of pages for measurement purposes is less technical and can contribute to a better understanding of the idea of density, that is, the number of lexical Anglicisms per article in relation to the article's length.

Finally, the six articles are presented in two different groups, with the first group containing three articles translated by Wikipedia users from Spain, and the second one comprising three articles translated by Latin American Wikipedia users. For each article there is a short introduction and a subsection tackling Anglicisms.<sup>63</sup> The examples referred to in this section

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<sup>61</sup> Sánchez Mouriz uses the term “unchanged Anglicism” for unincorporated lexical Anglicisms or codeswitches (Sánchez Mouriz 2015: 42).

<sup>62</sup> See

[https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Special:Book&bookcmd=rendering&return\\_to=Wikipedia%3AArticle+size&collection\\_id=1fc601c628d62ac300591ffe53ce34a6978e64b2&writer=rdf2latex&is\\_cached=1](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Special:Book&bookcmd=rendering&return_to=Wikipedia%3AArticle+size&collection_id=1fc601c628d62ac300591ffe53ce34a6978e64b2&writer=rdf2latex&is_cached=1)

<sup>63</sup> There are also instances of unintentional codeswitching in the articles, such as untranslated text or errors associated with translation. However, this analysis only includes examples of intentional written codeswitching, that is, instances of unincorporated Anglicisms that are likely to be the result of conscious decisions made by the translators.

are included in Appendix D, along with other instances of Anglicisms that are left out of the analysis for reasons of space.<sup>64</sup> All the examples discussed in this section of the analysis are translations from the ST into the TT, unless stated otherwise.

## 5.1 Wikipedia articles translated by Spaniards

### 5.1.1 Article 1: “Retrocausalidad”

“Retrocausalidad” is a four-page long article containing approximately 1,600 words that touches on the connection between philosophy and physics in relation to time travel. The article was first published on the English Wikipedia on October 18, 2006 under the title of “Retrocausality”. As of April 2017, it has been modified almost 400 times by 178 different users, 35.4% of which do not have a registered account.<sup>65</sup> The Spanish Wikipedia article, on the other hand, was created on April 17, 2007 based on a version of the English ST (LST). The first translator was an anonymous editor using a Spanish IP address. The Spanish article has been modified around 130 times during the past 10 years.<sup>66</sup> User Sürrell (Spain) was involved in the main translation process that gave the article its most recent shape (as of April 2017). The following analysis focuses on the May to August 2008 versions of the TT.

#### 5.1.1.1 Anglicisms

The main body of the text contains nine Anglicisms (five syntactic and four lexical) and some other instances of language mixing. One of the four instances of lexical Anglicism was introduced by a Latin American editor from Venezuela, Rjgalindo, who revised the article on August 20, 2008. The incorporated lexical Anglicism in question is the feminine singular adjective *americana* (see the Appendix), which is further discussed in 5.2.2.1.1 below. The remaining three lexical Anglicisms are unincorporated and are presented below.

##### 5.1.1.1.1 Lexical Anglicisms

There are at least three instances of unincorporated lexical Anglicisms (codeswitches) in the text. The Spanish translator intentionally kept some words in the source language. In the second paragraph of the TT, for instance, the author introduces the concept of *retrocausalidad* and, for informative purposes, he adds *conocida en inglés como retro-causation o backward*

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<sup>64</sup> The data presented in Appendix D are organized in 6-column tables: a) date [of the TT version], b) author/user [who edited that TT version], c) ST [where the translated items come from], d) TT, e) ETT [edited or modified TT, when appropriate], and f) category [of the item being described, e.g. Incorporated/Unincorporated (Lexical) Anglicism, Syntactic Anglicism, Calque, and Written codeswitching].

<sup>65</sup> [https://tools.wmflabs.org/xtools/wikihistory/wh.php?page\\_title=Retrocausality](https://tools.wmflabs.org/xtools/wikihistory/wh.php?page_title=Retrocausality)

<sup>66</sup> <https://es.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Retrocausalidad&action=info>

*causation*.<sup>67</sup> If the goal of this first instance of unincorporated lexical Anglicism was to inform the readers about the origin of the term, this is not clearly the case of the two other examples that are analyzed in the next paragraph.

One of the unincorporated technical terms that was originally kept in English is *delayed choice quantum eraser*. The author decided not to translate this term into Spanish and he used italics instead to highlight that it is a foreign word. The complexity behind this term and the lack of a well-documented use in the Spanish literature may have led the author to adhere to the ST. On the other hand, the third and last instance of lexical Anglicism is found in the *American Association for the Advancement of Science*. Again, the author chose not to translate the name of this association into Spanish. Nevertheless, both instances of lexical Anglicism were finally replaced by the Venezuelan editor Rjgalindo in August 2008.<sup>68</sup>

#### 5.1.1.1.2 Syntactic Anglicisms

The May 28, 2008 version of the Spanish TT contained five syntactic Anglicisms, all of them resulting from translation. There are two cases in which the gerund is used following a pattern that is consistent with the English grammar but atypical in Spanish. Perhaps the most illustrative example is the clause *la retrocausalidad iba siendo empleada*.<sup>69</sup> The auxiliary verb + gerund + participle combination is often found in English texts, but it is normally avoided in standard Spanish writing. A more natural syntactic structure would probably have been *se fue empleando* [itself was employing] or simply *se empleó* [itself employed].

There are also two instances of adjective/adverb fronting imported from English. In the clause *inusuales o poco conocidos fenómenos*<sup>70</sup>, the adjectives *inusuales* and *conocidos* premodify the plural masculine noun *fenómenos*. This is a translation of the clause “unfamiliar or unusual conditions”, found in some of the many versions of the English ST, where the pattern is adjective + noun. However, Spanish, as well as other Romance languages such as French and Italian, show a preference for the noun + adjective pattern, e.g. *fenómenos inusuales o poco conocidos*. While this is a clear case of a syntactic Anglicism resulting from translation, this

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<sup>67</sup> [known in English as retro-causation or backward causation].

<sup>68</sup> This user replaced *delayed choice quantum eraser* by the calque *borrador cuántico de elección retardada*, and *American Association for the Advancement of Science* by *Asociación Americana para el Avance de la Ciencia* (an incorporated lexical Anglicism).

<sup>69</sup> [BT: the retrocausality was being employed].

<sup>70</sup> [BT: unusual or little known phenomena].

pattern is occasionally used in Spanish, although slight differences in the word order may lead to important changes in meaning.<sup>71</sup>

### 5.1.2 Article 2: “Robert Falcon Scott”

Robert Falcon Scott, the featured article about the famous British explorer who led the Antarctic expedition, was first published on the English Wikipedia on June 7, 2001, which makes it one of the oldest articles in the online encyclopedia, with over 4,000 versions as of March 2017. According to *WikiHistory* statistics, the article was created by user Malcolm Farmer, but at least 1,771 Wikipedia editors have been involved in the writing process throughout the past 16 years, with an average of 20.86 edits per month.<sup>72</sup> The Spanish Wikipedia article on Robert Falcon Scott was created on January 10, 2006 by user BKTR from Spain. It originally had only one paragraph, but whether this was a translation from one of the so many versions of the English article or not cannot (easily) be attested. User Alonso de Mendoza, also from Spain, translated the whole article from the English Wikipedia between September and October 2012. Replacing, there are currently 420 versions of the Spanish Wikipedia article.<sup>73</sup> The analysis included here only focuses on those that go from September to October 2012, when the article was substantially modified and a lot of translated text was included by user Alonso de Mendoza.

#### 5.1.2.1 Anglicisms

The article is about 10 pages long (c. 4,000 words). In spite of its length, the number of Anglicisms found in the main body of the text is considerably low: around seven instances of Anglicism, 70% of which are due to anomalous syntactic constructions, with the remaining 30% being of a lexical nature. Within the latter, there are two instances of incorporated Anglicisms (borrowings). Both terms, *comfortable* and *cúter*, are recognized by the RAE, and they can be found in Appendix D. As for the syntactic Anglicisms, which are mainly attributable to translation, there are two instances of passive voice constructions, two involving the use of the gerund, and one concerning the wrong use of a preposition. Three of these five syntactic Anglicisms are briefly discussed below.

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<sup>71</sup> For instance, *pobre hombre* vs. *hombre pobre*. In the first example, *pobre hombre* [poor man] expresses sympathy for the man, whereas *hombre pobre* [man poor] refers to a man that lives in poverty.

<sup>72</sup> [https://tools.wmflabs.org/xtools/wikihistory/wh.php?page\\_title=Robert\\_Falcon\\_Scott](https://tools.wmflabs.org/xtools/wikihistory/wh.php?page_title=Robert_Falcon_Scott)

<sup>73</sup> [http://vs.aka-online.de/cgi-bin/wppagehiststat.pl?lang=es.wikipedia&page=Robert\\_Falcon\\_Scott](http://vs.aka-online.de/cgi-bin/wppagehiststat.pl?lang=es.wikipedia&page=Robert_Falcon_Scott)

### 5.1.2.1.1 Syntactic Anglicisms

The first two instances of syntactic Anglicism were traced on the September 28, 2012 version of the TT. They were later corrected by the same author, Alonso de Mendoza, on October 4, 2012. In the first case, the English passive “they had been preceded [by Roald Amundsen]” was literally translated into Spanish as *habían sido precedidos [por Roald Amundsen]*, resulting in a grammatical but still atypical Spanish sentence. For this reason, it was modified on the October 4, 2012 version. The new sentence, *[Roald Amundsen] se les había adelantado*<sup>74</sup> sounds more natural in Spanish. The second instance of syntactic Anglicism connected to the passive voice is found in *su leyenda fue evaluada*.<sup>75</sup> Although this sentence is arguably more acceptable than the first one, the Object + verb-EN + main verb structure found in the selected TT version was undoubtedly imported from the ST.

The last example of syntactic Anglicism that is discussed here targets the wrong use of the preposition *a* [to]. The sentence *De acuerdo a este historiador, Scott desapareció [...]*<sup>76</sup> found in the TT version under study mistranslates “According to” as *De acuerdo a*, importing the English preposition “to” into the target language, instead of replacing it with the correct Spanish preposition *con* [with]. This Anglicism did not go unnoticed and it was changed *a posteriori* by the Chilean user RoyFocker (L) on October 3, 2012. As reported by the RAE, *de acuerdo a* is also used in Spanish, especially in Latin America, but the preferred usage is *de acuerdo con* [according with].<sup>77</sup>

### 5.1.3 Article 3: “Lågskär”

The third article on the list is Lågskär, which was not published on the English Wikipedia until September 27, 2013. This relatively new article about the Finnish island also has a small number of versions – not even 130 – if compared with other Wikipedia articles. It has been modified by 23 different users throughout the last three years, with an average of 0.10 edits per day.<sup>78</sup> The content is only available in five other languages, including Finnish, Swedish and Spanish. User 5truenos, from Spain, translated the article on February 28, 2015. Since then, it has undergone

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<sup>74</sup> [Roald Amundsen himself them had advanced].

<sup>75</sup> [His legend was reassessed].

<sup>76</sup> [According to this historian, Scott disappeared...].

<sup>77</sup> <http://lema.rae.es/dpd/?key=acuerdo> (in Spanish)

<sup>78</sup> [https://tools.wmflabs.org/xtools/wikihistory/wh.php?page\\_title=L%C3%A5gsk%C3%A4r](https://tools.wmflabs.org/xtools/wikihistory/wh.php?page_title=L%C3%A5gsk%C3%A4r)

minor changes, although the number of versions – as of April 2017 – is 71.<sup>79</sup> It was approved as a GA on May 29, 2015.

Lågskär is a three-page long article (c. 1,200 words) that was upgraded to GA on May 29, 2015. Following an in-depth reading of the March 28, 2015 version of the TT, only two instances of Anglicism were found, both of which can be classified as lexical. The first one is the incorporated lexical Anglicism *ferry*, which appears in the sentence *Son numerosas las rutas de ferry que pasan a escasos kilómetros de su territorio*.<sup>80</sup> The RAE recognizes *ferry* as an incorporated Anglicism, but it recommends using the adapted spelling *ferri*.<sup>81</sup>

The second instance of lexical Anglicism tracked in the text is the unincorporated term *cairn*. The online dictionary wordreference.com defines “cairn” as a word of Scots Gaelic origin, meaning “a heap of stones set up as a landmark, monument or tombstone”.<sup>82</sup> The word is nowadays still used in English. The article about *cairn* on Wikipedia is available in more than 20 languages. The Spanish Wikipedia article is also titled *cairn* (in italics), making reference to its Gaelic origin, and points out to alternative ways of referring to the same concept in Spanish, such as *pilas de piedras* [piles of stones].<sup>83</sup> Due to its high degree of technicality or specificity, it can also be categorized as a technical Anglicism at the semantic level. This may be one of the reasons why the word does not show up in the DRAE.

## 5.2 Wikipedia articles translated by Latin Americans

### 5.2.1 Article 4: “Fedora (distribución Linux)”

“Fedora (distribución Linux)” is an article about free, open-source software. It has a relatively high number of lexical Anglicisms. The article was first published on the English Wikipedia by user Tero-wiki on November 6, 2003, and it has over 2,800 versions as of April 2017.<sup>84</sup> An independent, non-translated Spanish version of the article did not appear until September 21, 2004. It was uploaded under the title of “Fedora (distribución Linux)”. Since then, it has been modified almost 800 times on the Spanish Wikipedia, with the most recent version – at the time of writing this project – dated on March 4, 2017.<sup>85</sup> It would take a lot of time and space to go

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<sup>79</sup> <http://vs.aka-online.de/cgi-bin/wppagehiststat.pl?lang=es.wikipedia&page=L%C3%A5gsk%C3%A4r>

<sup>80</sup> [Numerous ferry routes pass within a few kilometers of its territory].

<sup>81</sup> <http://dle.rae.es/?id=HoPuohU>

<sup>82</sup> <http://www.wordreference.com/definition/cairn>

<sup>83</sup> <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cairn>

<sup>84</sup> [https://tools.wmflabs.org/xtools/wikihistory/wh.php?page\\_title=Fedora\\_\(operating\\_system\)](https://tools.wmflabs.org/xtools/wikihistory/wh.php?page_title=Fedora_(operating_system))

<sup>85</sup> [http://vs.aka-online.de/cgi-bin/wppagehiststat.pl?lang=es.wikipedia&page=Fedora\\_\(distribuci%C3%B3n\\_Linux\)](http://vs.aka-online.de/cgi-bin/wppagehiststat.pl?lang=es.wikipedia&page=Fedora_(distribuci%C3%B3n_Linux))

through all the different versions of the Spanish Wikipedia article, so the following analysis takes January 13, 2008 as the point of departure for both the ST and the TT. At this point in time both articles – one of the versions of the English ST and one of the versions of the Spanish TT – were similar in structure and content. The reason why the TT was close to the LST is because the Spanish Wikipedia user Alberto Maria, who says to be from Colombia, translated one of the 2007/2008 versions of English ST (a LST) into Spanish in January 2008, adding substantial content of his own, and this version replaced the earlier independent, non-translated version.

The January 2008 version of the Spanish TT was around eight pages long (c. 3,200 words), and it was divided into eight different sections, including references and external links. A total of ten Anglicisms were found across the main body of the text, 90% of which can be labelled as lexical Anglicisms. Of these eight lexical Anglicisms, three were incorporated and five were unincorporated. There is also one instance of syntactic Anglicism.

### 5.2.1.1 Lexical Anglicisms

#### 5.2.1.1.1 Incorporated

Some of the Anglicisms in this TT have not yet been recognized by the RAE as incorporated into the Spanish language. Three of the nine lexical Anglicisms analyzed here have been included in the dictionary. One of them is the verb *descontinuar* [to discontinue]. It is found in the following sentence: “The Fedora Project was created in late 2003, when Red Hat Linux was discontinued” (ST). The Spanish translation is *El Proyecto Linux fue creado a finales del 2003, cuando Red Linux Hat fue descontinuado* (TT).<sup>86</sup> According to the RAE, the verb *descontinuar* means “to cease or to interrupt something”.<sup>87</sup> However, the Latin American use of the verb is analogous to that of the English verb “discontinue”, that is, “to cease using or producing something”.<sup>88</sup>

The second and third incorporated lexical Anglicisms are the nouns *set* and *software*, both translated from the ST into the TT as *un set de paquetes de software específico*.<sup>89</sup> The RAE recognizes *set* as a fully incorporated lexical Anglicism used in three different contexts: a) as a group of elements sharing similar features; b) as a concept used in tennis and other sports; and

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<sup>86</sup> [The Project Linux was created to finals of the 2003, when Red Linux Hat was discontinued].

<sup>87</sup> <http://dle.rae.es/?id=CjFgLG8> (in Spanish)

<sup>88</sup> <http://www.wordreference.com/definition/discontinue>

<sup>89</sup> [a set of packages of software specific].



c) as a synonym of stage (on television).<sup>90</sup> The use of the term in the Spanish TT is the first one described by the RAE. As for *software*, the RAE also includes it as a fully accepted and incorporated Anglicism used in the field of IT. For this reason, *software* – as well as the fourth item included in Appendix D, *hardware* – can be further subcategorized as technical Anglicisms.<sup>91</sup> Its situation is similar to that of *software*, but it differs from the latter in that the RAE redirects its definition to the Spanish noun *equipo* [equipment], specifying its use in IT. This means that whereas the word has been incorporated into the language and it is widely used by native Spanish speakers, the RAE shows preference for a purist alternative against the Anglicism.<sup>92</sup> However, it is worth noting that the use of *equipo informático*<sup>93</sup> is common in Spain, and slightly marginal in most of Latin America. Since both forms coexist in Spain and the Anglicism is more popular in Latin America, the Spanish Wikipedia article about the topic is titled “Hardware”, introducing the word in italics.<sup>94</sup>

#### 5.2.1.1.2 Unincorporated

Five of the nine lexical Anglicisms found in the article can be labelled as unincorporated Anglicisms or codeswitches (two general and three technical or domain-specific words). The first one is the verb *soportar* [to support], as in *soportada por una comunidad internacional*.<sup>95</sup> Even though the word does occur in the DRAE, the Spanish verb *soportar* is more restrictive in meaning than its English counterpart “to support”. The RAE only recognizes two possible uses of the verb *soportar*, a) to carry on weight and b) to tolerate, and none of these accepted uses are found in the Spanish TT. Nevertheless, the term cannot easily be discarded as a false friend, since its use in IT is well documented in Spanish.

The second unincorporated Anglicism is the adverb *eventualmente* as the literal translation of the English adverb “eventually”. The ST states that “Fedora Linux was eventually absorbed into the Fedora Project”, which in the TT is *Fedora Linux fue eventualmente absorbido por el Proyecto Fedora*. If the first unincorporated Anglicism could not be regarded as a mere false friend, the adverb *eventualmente* is a typical case of false friend in Spanish. Whereas in English “eventually” is a synonym of “finally”, in Spanish *eventualmente* means “occasionally”.

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<sup>90</sup> <http://dle.rae.es/?id=XjWv70c> (in Spanish)

<sup>91</sup> For the importance of technical terminology, see the discussion chapter below.

<sup>92</sup> <http://dle.rae.es/?id=K1Wwkf7> (in Spanish)

<sup>93</sup> [Gloss: equipment informatics]

<sup>94</sup> <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hardware>

<sup>95</sup> [Supported by a community international].



Consequently, the adverb *finalmente* [finally], would have corresponded more closely to the meaning of the original.

There are two unincorporated technical Anglicisms in the article. The first one is *spins*, as in *Fedora spins*. It is one of the editing features of this open-source software. Although it is not recognized by the RAE, its use is well documented by the amount of hits on Google search engine. The second technical Anglicism is *buffer*, found in the TT excerpt *prevenir la sobrecarga del buffer*.<sup>96</sup> Its usage is restricted to IT jargon, so it does not appear in the general dictionary as an incorporated Anglicism. Finally, the third and last technical Anglicism is the compound *kits de roots*. Again, it is highly specialized language.<sup>97</sup>

### 5.2.1.2 Syntactic Anglicisms

As Medina López (2004) observes, syntactic Anglicisms are probably more common in translation than in non-translated texts, regardless of the language in which they are written. As previously mentioned in the theory chapter, some academics such as Snell-Hornby (2001) and Simon (2001) include unconventional syntax as part of their definition of hybrid texts resulting from translation. However, as far as this text is concerned, there was only one clear instance of syntactic Anglicism, leading to an ungrammatical Spanish sentence: *\*Estos son construidas*.<sup>98</sup> The previous sentence has two important issues. First, the plural, masculine pronoun *estos* (these) does not show gender agreement with the plural, feminine participle form of the verb *construir* [to construct].<sup>99</sup> The second issue is the atypical passivized structure imported from English and composed by *ser* [to be] + participle. The Spanish language tends to use impersonal constructions in these cases. E.g. *Estas/estos se construyen*.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> [To prevent the overflow of the buffer].

<sup>97</sup> The Anglicism *kit* has been incorporated into the Spanish language. However, the whole expression *kits de roots* has not. See the DRAE <http://dle.rae.es/?id=MhziDJ1> (in Spanish)

<sup>98</sup> [These are constructed].

<sup>99</sup> The grammaticality of this sentence depends on gender agreement. Either Plural feminine pronoun + feminine participle (*estas son construidas*), or Plural masculine pronoun + masculine participle (*estos son construidos*).

<sup>100</sup> [Gloss: These themselves-construct].

## 5.2.2 Article 5: “Mary Higgins Clark”

The English Wikipedia article on the famous American crime fiction novelist Mary Higgins Clark (b. 1927) was created on February 21, 2004 by user Stan Shebs. It has undergone multiple changes in the past 13 years, with the number of different versions being close to 810.<sup>101</sup> The first version of the Spanish Wikipedia article was published on November 26, 2005 as an independent, non-translated article. Like the English Wikipedia article, it has been modified several times (>300) by around 100 different users, including those who do not have a registered account in the project.<sup>102</sup> The most significant changes in content took place between June 2008 and May 2009, when user Mel23 from Argentina translated the April 29, 2008 version of the English Wikipedia article, which replaced the independent article. The printable version of the Spanish Wikipedia article is about five-to-eight pages long (c. 2,000 words). The following analysis focuses on the 2008 to 2009 versions of the Spanish TT, when it became a GA.<sup>103</sup>

### 5.2.2.1 Anglicisms

This article contains a considerable number of Anglicisms. After the main translation performed by user Mel23 (Argentina) in 2008, upon which the analysis is based on, the estimated amount was 17: ten syntactic and seven lexical, and, within the latter category, four unincorporated and three incorporated. However, this number decreased to 12 after subsequent revisions by the main translator herself and two other users from Spain, Billyrobshaw and Rupert de hentzau. Some of these changes were discussed in the talk page of the article during a collaborative process in which the translator received feedback from other users who revised the TT.<sup>104</sup> For reasons of space, only a few relevant examples of Anglicisms are included in the analysis (see Appendix D for further examples).

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary\\_Higgins\\_Clark&dir=prev&offset=20110204195252&limit=500&action=history](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary_Higgins_Clark&dir=prev&offset=20110204195252&limit=500&action=history)

<sup>102</sup> [https://es.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary\\_Higgins\\_Clark&offset=&limit=500&action=history](https://es.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary_Higgins_Clark&offset=&limit=500&action=history) (in Spanish)

<sup>103</sup> In spite of the large number of versions, the Spanish Wikipedia article has kept more or less the same structure and content that the 2009 version that is being analyzed here.

<sup>104</sup> [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Discusi%C3%B3n:Mary\\_Higgins\\_Clark](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Discusi%C3%B3n:Mary_Higgins_Clark) (in Spanish)

### 5.2.2.1.1 Lexical Anglicisms

Lexical Anglicisms were outnumbered by syntactic Anglicisms. Among the seven lexical Anglicisms that were found in the main body of the text, only three were incorporated. The most important incorporated Anglicism is perhaps the singular masculine adjective *americano* and the related forms in feminine (*americana*) and plural (*americanos*). The same term is found at least six times in the text, in sentences like *escritores de misterio y suspenso de ficción americanos*.<sup>105</sup> While the English adjective “American” refers primarily to the United States, the Spanish adjective *americanos* denotes people from the (supercontinent of the) Americas. In fact, the Spanish language has the adjective *estadounidense* [State Unitarian] that fulfills the same function as the English “American”. Nevertheless, as a result of globalization and the influence of the United States in the political and cultural arena, the adjective *americano* – as an equivalent to the English “American” – has become increasingly popular, while *estadounidense* is falling into disuse. The RAE has incorporated “American” as the fourth meaning of *americano*, while recommending to use *estadounidense*.<sup>106</sup>

The other two incorporated Anglicisms are the verb *enlistar* [to enlist] and the noun *chance*. The latter was not imported from any of the versions of the ST, since it was not found across the different versions from 2008. The Spanish word *chance*, as a synonym of *oportunidad* [opportunity], is commonly used in Latin America but rare in Spain. In fact, user Mel23 later replaced it by the more neutral *oportunidad* upon request from the Spanish reviser Billyrobshaw.<sup>107</sup> As for the verb *enlistar*, used in *Inmediatamente se enlistó en la Marina*<sup>108</sup>, it is used in some Latin American countries as an incorporated Anglicism instead of the pure Spanish verb *alistar*.<sup>109</sup>

Interestingly, another incorporated Anglicism that was not part of the original translation was introduced following a debate between the main translator, Mel23, and Billyrobshaw. The Anglicism in question is *suspense*, used in Spain to refer to a literary genre but not in Latin America, where the calque *suspenso* is the preferred form. The latter was replaced throughout all the text, and, as can be observed in the Appendix, it has been changed multiple times since then, with some Latin American users objecting to the use of *suspense*. It is worth noticing that

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<sup>105</sup> [Writers of mystery and suspense of fiction Americans].

<sup>106</sup> <http://dle.rae.es/?id=2KRSL3V> (in Spanish)

<sup>107</sup> [https://es.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary\\_Higgins\\_Clark&diff=prev&oldid=26228129](https://es.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary_Higgins_Clark&diff=prev&oldid=26228129) (in Spanish)

<sup>108</sup> [Immediately he/she himself/herself enlisted in the Army].

<sup>109</sup> <http://dle.rae.es/?id=FULMzqg> (in Spanish)

there is a seeming contradiction between who proposes it (a Spaniard) and its closer similarity to the English word.<sup>110</sup>

If the RAE has reluctantly recognized *enlistar* and *americano* as incorporated Anglicisms, it has not yet approved the use of the corresponding nouns *\*enlistamiento* and *América* as equivalent to the English “enlistment” and “America”. Both were found in the April 27, 2009 version of the TT and later changed by user Mel23 herself and the Spanish user Rupert de henzau. *\*Enlistamiento* is a common, unincorporated Anglicism that competes against the Spanish noun *alistamiento*. The second item on the list, *América*, only refers to the Americas, the continental landmass, and not to the United States. However, it was used as a synonym of the latter in the April 27, 2009 version of the TT. It was changed *a posteriori*, on May 10, 2009, by the word *Estados Unidos* [States United].

### 5.2.2.2 Syntactic Anglicisms

This article is characterized by its high frequency of syntactic Anglicisms. Some of the sentences show a hybrid pattern, mixing English and Spanish syntax, while others are directly translated from English into Spanish, resulting in ungrammatical or unnatural constructions. There are two anomalous sentences in which the gerund is used to describe past events. E.g. *Componiendo su primer poema a los 6 años de edad*<sup>111</sup> and *creando obras de teatro cortas*.<sup>112</sup> Both sentences in the TT were directly translated from English, keeping more or less the same structure. The Spanish language would normally use the simple past tense in these cases, sometimes preceded by an adverb or a conjunction. E.g. *(Y) compuso su primer poema a los 6 años de edad*.<sup>113</sup>

Another example of syntactic Anglicism that was found in the article has to do with the wrong use of prepositions. These account for three of the ten instances of syntactic Anglicism that were detected in the text. Quite often two verbs look alike in both languages but they are preceded and/or followed by a different preposition. This is the case of *interesar(se)* [to be interested], *relacionar* [to relate], and *descubrir* [to discover]. The English verb “to be

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<sup>110</sup> The word *suspense*, which also exists in European/Peninsular Spanish, comes from the Latin *suspensus*. Apart from denoting something as “being suspended”, it also means “unsatisfactory grade or fail [as in a course or test]”. In Latin American Spanish, however, the word *suspense* is not used as a synonym of “having failed an exam”; it primarily refers to something as “being suspended” and to the fictional genre *suspense*.

<sup>111</sup> [Composing her first poem at the 6 years of age].

<sup>112</sup> [Creating plays of theater short].

<sup>113</sup> [Gloss: (And) she composed her first poem at the 6 years of age].

interested” is followed by the preposition “in”, as in “She is interested *in* sports”. The Spanish verb *interesar(se)*, however, is normally followed by the preposition *por* [by/for]. The sentence *Mary se interesó en la escritura* [Mary was herself interested in the writing] appears in the TT version edited by the main translator Mel23, but it is soon corrected by user Rupert de hentzau (Spain), who replaces *en* [in] with *por* [by/for]. Other instances of the wrong use of prepositions are included in Appendix D.

Finally, there are a few cases of odd or ungrammatical constructions resulting from a literal translation. The following sentence is both ungrammatical and semantically odd: *\*La imaginación de Clark estaba encendida por un comentario casual*. This was literally translated from the ST sentence “Clark’s imagination was sparked by a casual comment”. The idiomatic meaning behind “sparked by” cannot be directly translated into *encendida por*. The overall structure of the TT sentence also resembles that of the English passive construction. The user also failed to translate the English verb “to be” as *ser*, since this verb can either be translated as *ser* or as *estar*, depending on the context.

### 5.2.3 Article 6: Guilford Dudley

The article on Guilford Dudley, an English nobleman from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, was first published on the English Wikipedia under the title of Lord Guildford Dudley. It was originally written by user Deb from Wales on January 9, 2003. The article has been modified at least 550 times by more than 165 users during the past 14 years.<sup>114</sup> The Spanish Wikipedia article was uploaded more than seven years later, on October 18, 2010, as a translation of the October 17, 2010 version of the English ST. The main user involved in the translation is Rosymonterrey, who identifies herself as Mexican. Unlike its English counterpart, the Spanish Wikipedia article on Guilford Dudley has less than 80 versions, although, according to the statistics tool, it is accessed by an average of 23 readers a day.<sup>115</sup> For reasons of space, the analysis only considers those versions spanning from October to November 2010, when “Guilford Dudley” was promoted to GA.

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<sup>114</sup> [https://tools.wmflabs.org/xtools/wikihistory/wh.php?page\\_title=Lord\\_Guildford\\_Dudley](https://tools.wmflabs.org/xtools/wikihistory/wh.php?page_title=Lord_Guildford_Dudley)

<sup>115</sup> [https://tools.wmflabs.org/pageviews/?project=es.wikipedia.org&platform=all-access&agent=user&range=latest-20&pages=Guilford\\_Dudley](https://tools.wmflabs.org/pageviews/?project=es.wikipedia.org&platform=all-access&agent=user&range=latest-20&pages=Guilford_Dudley)

### 5.2.3.1 Anglicisms

The article is about three pages long (c. 1,200 words), and it contains eight Anglicisms, four of which are lexical (three unincorporated and one incorporated). The main author, Rosymonterrey (Mexico), took also an active role in correcting her own errors. The Spanish user Goldorak was in charge of revising the translation and upgrading the article's status. In the following subsections, the four lexical and the four syntactic Anglicisms are analyzed closely, paying special attention to their degree of acceptability and grammaticality.

#### 5.2.3.1.1 Lexical Anglicisms

Unincorporated Anglicisms or codeswitches account for 80% of the lexical Anglicisms found in the text. The first one appears in the subsection *Consorte real* [Royal Consort], included in the following sentence: *[El rey Eduardo] estableció que la corona sería para su prima una vez [...]*.<sup>116</sup> The concept “cousin once removed” was literally translated into Spanish as *prima una vez*. While *prima* [female cousin] is a valid translation, the modifier *una vez* [one time] does not work in Spanish. It is both semantically odd and culturally ambiguous, since the language has other ways of expressing family relationships, e.g. *prima en segundo grado* [female cousin in second grade/degree].

The second unincorporated Anglicism is related to the use of the verb *nombrar* [to name]. The user translated “Jane...wished the child's name to be Guildford” as *Jane...deseaba que el niño fuera nombrado Guilford*. The noun “name” has been turned into the verb *nombrar* in the TT version analyzed. However, this verb has a slightly different meaning in Spanish, closer to the English verb “to appoint”. E.g. *El político conservador fue nombrado ministro*.<sup>117</sup> Considering the context of this sentence, the Spanish verb *llamar(se)* (to be called) would have been a more natural form.

The third and last unincorporated Anglicism targets the idiomatic expression “at the height of” and its Spanish calque *a la altura de* (see Appendix D). As it happens with most idiomatic expressions, which cannot be – but yet often are – directly translated into the target language, the prepositional phrase *a la altura de* fails to convey the meaning of the original sentence. A more natural translation would have been *en plena* [in full], whose idiomatic nature makes it

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<sup>116</sup> [[King Edward] settled the Crown on his cousin once removed...].

<sup>117</sup> [Gloss: The conservative politician was appointed minister].

also untranslatable (at least literally) into English. *A la altura de* is often used in Spanish as an adverbial of location, devoid of any idiomatic connotations.

### 5.2.3.1.2 Syntactic Anglicisms

Of the four syntactic Anglicisms that were traced in the article, two have to do with the position of the verb in the sentence, one with the absence of a matrix verb, and the remaining one relates to the ungrammatical fronting of an adverb. While the first two instances of syntactic anomalous constructions *per se* do not affect the grammaticality of the TT sentences, the two latter do – both by the absence of a main verb and by the fronting of an adverb up to the wrong slot.

In the sentence *John Dudley de facto gobernó Inglaterra de 1550 a 1553*<sup>118</sup>, the modifier *de facto* precedes the main verb *gobernar*, just like in the English ST. However, it should normally follow the verb, e.g. *gobernó de facto*. The same applies to *tres bodas se celebraron* [three weddings were celebrated], which imitates the syntactic pattern found in the ST. Again, the Spanish language tends to place the passive subject after the verb, especially in impersonal sentences, e.g. *se celebraron tres bodas*. Nevertheless, since syntactic rules in Spanish are more flexible than in English, these sentences are grammatical in spite of being unidiomatic and displaying an unusual or less frequently used construction.

Finally, the last two instances of syntactic Anglicism tackle issues of grammaticality. In *\*su abuelo [fue] Edmund Dudley, quien fue ejecutado después de la muerte del Rey*<sup>119</sup>, there is only one verb embedded in the relative clause introduced by *quien* [who]. The matrix verb *ser* [to be] is missing. This ellipsis is also found in the last example of syntactic Anglicism analyzed here. In the sentence *[tan] fui engañada por el Duque y el Consejo*<sup>120</sup>, the adverb *tan* [so] is omitted. Nevertheless, the position of the adverb in the Spanish sentence makes it ungrammatical if the adverb was to be pronounced. In other words, while in the English sentence the fronting of the adverb “so” is grammatical, in Spanish the adverb must be placed between the main verb *ser* [to be] and the participle form of *engañar* [to deceive], or even after the participle under the form of *tanto*, e.g. *Fui tan engañada* or *Fui engañada tanto por el Duque como por el Consejo*.

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<sup>118</sup> [John Dudley *de facto* ruled England from 1550 to 1553].

<sup>119</sup> [His grandfather [was] Edmund Dudley, who was executed after the death of the King].

<sup>120</sup> [[so] was I deceived by the Duke and the Council].

Table 5-1 below sums up the results of the text analysis. As can be observed, the three articles translated by the Latin Americans account for 62.5% of the Anglicisms found in the texts. Surprisingly, the number of syntactic Anglicisms is similar in the two groups, ten in the articles translated by the Spaniards, and 14 in the articles translated by the Latin Americans. This similarity suggests that syntactic Anglicisms, as Medina López (2004) and Gottlieb (2005) argue, are more likely to be the product of translation, whereas lexical Anglicisms can be associated to preferences in language use among speakers (see 6.2. below). Indeed, the findings reveal that those Wikipedia articles translated by Latin Americans contain more lexical Anglicisms than those translated by their Spanish counterparts.

Number of Anglicisms found in the six translated Wikipedia articles						
Group	Latin Americans (Ls)			Spaniards (Ss)		
Article	Fedora	Mary H. C.	G. Dudley	Retrocaus.	R. F. Scott	Lågskär
N. of pages	8 pp	5 pp	3 pp	4 pp	10 pp	3 pp
Synt. Angl.	1	9	4	5	5	0
Lex. Angl.	9	8	4	6	3	2
<i>Incorp.</i>	4	4	1	3	2	1
<i>Unincorp.</i>	5	4	3	3	1	1
Total art.	10	17	8	11	8	2
Total num.	35			21		
Percentage	62.5%			37.5%		

**Table 5-1. Results from the textual analysis of the translated Wikipedia articles. Number and types of Anglicisms per group.**



## 6 Discussion

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first section addresses the most relevant findings from the two analysis chapters, both the interviews and the analysis of Wikipedia articles, held up against the two hypotheses of the project. The second part tackles issues of language mixing and collaborative translation strategies on Wikipedia held up against the third research question regarding Wikipedia as a third space.

### 6.1 Expressed attitudes

As the results show, four of the six interviewees – one L and three Ss – reported that Spaniards are likely to be more conservative users in Wikipedia when it comes to language use. The three Spaniards reported that they themselves were more conservative, although Patricia stated that she was more flexible than the average Spanish translator. For two of the three Spanish interviewees – Mario and Felipe – the RAE was their main reference. Of the three Latin American participants, only Victor reported that he thought members of the other group were more conservative. Neither Soledad nor Adriana perceived any significant differences between the two groups. The Spaniards acknowledged that while Latin Americans are generally more open and flexible about language use, there are some notable exceptions. Victor was, again, the only Latin American interviewee that thought members of his group were more flexible translators.

Anglicisms seem to have a negative connotation for both Mario and Felipe – Ss. The former prefers to use a paraphrase when he finds that there is not a clear equivalent in the TL, whereas the latter goes as far as to avoid using Anglicisms at any expense. While Mario may use an Anglicism accompanied by footnotes if there is no other solution, Felipe claims that the Spanish language is rich enough and that using an Anglicism is, in his own view, “the easiest option”. Even Patricia, who had a more neutral attitude towards Anglicisms than her two countrymen, declared that she includes Anglicisms in her translations only if they are well documented, that is, if their use is extensive among Spanish speakers regardless of their status as incorporated or unincorporated.

On the Latin American side, only Victor perceived language purity as something undesirable, and vouched for less complex syntax and grammar. The other two Latin Americans, Adriana

and Soledad, believed that any differences in attitudes to language use were strictly connected to factors such as experience in translation, knowledge of the SL, and issues related to the subject matter covered by the ST. In spite of being unable to perceive any significant differences between the two groups, the three Latin Americans stated that they chose to keep the Anglicism in their translations when there was no clear equivalent in the TL (see 4.2.3).

In Question 16, which consisted of two parts, the participants had first to say if they preferred to use a widespread Anglicism or a Spanish synonym, and then choose between an Anglicism and a near Spanish equivalent in the four coupled pairs they were presented with. Four participants – two Ls and two Ss – leaned towards the pure/prescriptive Spanish lexical item in the first part of the question, although some contradictions arose in the second half (see 6.2 below). Of the Spaniards, only Patricia showed a more favorable attitude to Anglicisms, while Victor was the only Latin American who questioned the prescriptive option.

## **6.2 Actual translational-decision making**

The second half of Question 16, which placed the emphasis on the actual usage of Anglicisms, marked the difference between the two groups, Ls and Ss. If four of the six interviewees had previously supported the use of pure Spanish lexical items in their translations against the inclusion of widespread Anglicisms, only two of them selected the *pure* items in the four coupled pairs. Of the Spaniards, only Mario and Felipe picked out the Spanish lexical items in 100% of the cases, whereas Patricia's choices were more balanced, opting for the Anglicisms in 50% of the examples. When it comes to the Latin Americans, Victor and Adriana embraced the Anglicisms in 100% of the cases, and Soledad did the same in three of the four pairs (75%).

The findings from the text analysis of the Wikipedia articles seem to match the afore-mentioned attitudes among translators. The total number of Anglicisms found in the sample TT versions of the six translated articles was 56, excluding posterior changes by users that revised the texts. Of these 56 Anglicisms, 35 were found in the three articles translated by Latin American users, and 21 in the three articles translated by the Spaniards. This means that 62.5% of the Anglicisms traced in the texts were in articles translated by Latin Americans. Moreover, the number of pages of all the articles combined is almost identical in the two groups: 17 pages (6,800 words) for the Spaniards and 16 pages (6,400 words) for the Latin Americans. This also points to a higher density of Anglicisms in the articles – the TTs – translated by the Latin Americans.

The number of incorporated lexical Anglicisms (borrowings) – those accepted by the RAE – was also proportionally higher in the three articles translated by Spanish users ( $S = \text{incorp. } 6,$

*unincorp.* 5; L= *incorp.* 9, *unincorp.* 12). Most of the unincorporated lexical Anglicisms or codeswitches found in both groups were related to information technology (5/12) and scientific jargon (3/5), respectively. Bearing in mind the high degree of technicality and specialization of some of these words, not all of them were expected to show up in the official dictionary approved by the RAE. Yet, these words are treated as unincorporated (codeswitches) in congruity with the criteria that were introduced in Chapter 3.

### 6.3 Convergences and contradictions

The answers given by the six informants as to who in their opinion had a more conservative attitude to language and translation hold with the choices made by the two groups in the second part of Question 16. Four of the six participants considered Spaniards to be more conservative translators, something that is consistent with the fact that two of the three Spaniards chose to use Spanish lexical items, whereas the three Latin Americans favored the use of Anglicisms in 75% to 100% of the cases. The third Spaniard adopted an ambivalent position, going for the Spanish lexical items only in 50% of the examples.

There seems to be a correspondence between the actual usage of Anglicisms among the interviewees with the number of Anglicisms found across the five GAs and the featured article. The results revealed that the three articles translated by the Latin American users contained no less than 35 of the 56 Anglicisms, that is, 62.5% of the instances of syntactic and lexical Anglicisms found in the six translated Wikipedia articles. Additionally, considering that the two groups had a similar number of syntactic Anglicisms (Ls=14, Ss=10), it also seems reasonable to suggest that this type of Anglicism is more likely to be the unavoidable outcome of (a first and unrevised) translation, as Gottlieb points out in his paper (Gottlieb: 2005: 177). This similarity in the number of syntactic Anglicisms in the two groups can be explained by the fact that syntactic Anglicisms are also more difficult to spot than lexical Anglicisms, requiring a close reading of the text accompanied by native-speaker intuitions (Devitt 2006, Durand 2009).

The difference in attitudes towards Anglicisms between Latin Americans and Spaniards became even more noticeable when editors from Spain revised and replaced some of the Anglicisms that originally appeared in the three articles translated by the Latin Americans, e.g. *americano* [American] → *estadounidense* [State Unitarian] or *enlistamiento* [enlistment] → *alistamiento* [enlistment] in the article on Mary Higgins Clark (see 5.2.2.1.1). Surprisingly, an exception to this trend was found in the talk page associated to the same article, when a Spanish user advised

the Latin American translator to replace the calque *suspense* [suspense] – a more adapted Anglicism – with the bare, incorporated Anglicism *suspense*, something that would have been expected of a Latin American, but which agrees with the use of the noun in Spain (see 5.2.2.1.1). Some other contradictions arose when the informants were asked to choose between an Anglicism and its Spanish counterpart. Two of the Latin Americans, who had before shown their preference for the pure word, chose Anglicisms in their answers. While Soledad's choice of an Anglicism in one of the four pairs slightly contradicts her previous response, Adriana's (L) selection of the Anglicisms in all the pairs shows an active use of them on her side in spite of the negative attitude she seems to have towards them. This can be explained by means of the Hawthorne effect, according to which the informants may provide what they consider the most suitable answer (e.g. Spanish words are ideally better than Anglicisms), even though this is not what they actually stick to (Saldanha and O'Brien 2014: 153).

The afore-mentioned inconsistencies can also be related to the interviewees' own definitions of Anglicism. None of the interviewees were explicitly asked to state what they understood by Anglicism. If this question has quite often bedeviled linguists, it seems reasonable to believe that each individual may have a different idea of what the term stands for. This can be compared, for example, to how some people perceive and understand abstract concepts such as borrowing and codeswitching, often showing a negative attitude towards the latter (Gardner-Chloros 2009, Auer and Eastman 2010). Interestingly, only incorporated lexical Anglicisms or borrowings were kept in the revised translated Wikipedia texts, whereas unincorporated lexical Anglicisms or codeswitches were quite often replaced by a (pure) Spanish word, the exception being technical words or scientific jargon (see for instance "Retrocausalidad" and "Fedora").

In general terms, the findings from the interviews and the text analysis show that Spaniards tend to have a more conservative attitude in Wikipedia, thus confirming the first of the two hypotheses. This concurs with Munday's statement that Spaniards in general and the RAE in particular have a more conservative view of language than the Latin Americans (Munday 2005: 61). The participants' attitudes also fall with the three different stances towards the use of Anglicisms described by Medina López. Two of the Spanish participants – Mario and Felipe – and two of the Latin Americans – Adriana and Soledad – had a purist stance, the other Spaniard – Patricia – had a moderate stance, and the third Latin American – Victor – embraced an open stance (Medina López 2004: 16).

The second hypothesis is also confirmed by means of the higher number of Anglicisms found in the three Wikipedia articles translated by the Latin Americans in comparison with a relatively

small percentage of Anglicisms (37.5%) detected in the articles that had been translated by the Spaniards. In spite of the mismatch between some of the interviewees' attitudes to Anglicisms and the use they made of them in non-contextualized situations, the results show that Latin Americans use more lexical Anglicisms in their translations, whereas the number of syntactic Anglicisms (Ls = 14, Ss = 10) was quite similar for the two groups, suggesting that the latter are more difficult to spot by native speakers regardless of their nationality. Finally, the findings also agree with Haensch's remark that Latin American speakers use more Anglicisms than the Spaniards, including his argument that those countries that are geographically closer to the United States tend to embrace them more actively. This was the case with Victor, from Mexico, who throughout the interview showed a more open stance to Anglicisms than the other two Latin American participants from Argentina and Ecuador (Haensch 2005: 250-251).

#### **6.4 Wikipedia as a third space: Hybridity and collaboration**

Following Schäffner and Adab (2001), Snell-Hornby (2001), Nouss (2001), Simon (2001) and Zauberga (2001), the six translated Wikipedia articles included in the analysis can be considered hybrid. All of them contain instances of language mixing such as incorporated Anglicisms or borrowings and unincorporated Anglicisms or codeswitches. For instance, five of the six articles<sup>121</sup> show unconventional Spanish syntax – passive voice, overuse of the gerund, etc. – as well as some (intentionally and unintentionally) untranslated words and expressions. This put together amounts to what both Simon (2001, 2011) and Snell-Hornby (2001) regard negatively as hybrid text, although this thesis adopts a more neutral and conciliatory stance in avoiding the association of hybridity to faulty translation and meaningless syntax, defended by Simon and Snell-Hornby. Instead it agrees with Schäffner's and Adab's view of the translated hybrid text as displaying atypical syntax, such as the afore-mentioned syntactic Anglicisms (Schäffner and Adab 2001b: 279).

In the theory chapter, it was argued that linguistic and cultural hybridity characterizes the third space (Bhabha 1994) or as, Snell-Hornby calls it, the “space in-between” (Snell-Hornby 2001: 210). This space is an arena where different voices and identities converge and where meanings are always in flux (see Bhabha 1994, Snell-Hornby 2001). The third research question asks whether the Internet in general and Wikipedia in particular could be good examples of what the third space stands for. Both the interviews and the analysis of the Wikipedia articles demonstrate clearly that there is no such thing as a fixed text on Wikipedia; rather, there are

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<sup>121</sup> “Lågskär” excluded.

multiple versions of the ST and the TT, with several authors taking part in the collaborative editing process. Hence that the terms ‘X version of the ST/TT’ or LST were used throughout the analysis.

The idea of Wikipedia as a third space is characterized by the collaboration between its users. Since one of the guiding principles of the project is that no one can claim sole authorship and rights over the articles, anyone is welcome to modify – edit, delete, expand, improve – the content at any time. This not only reinforces the idea of the third space as a point of encounter, convergence and negotiation between different voices from different cultures, but also sheds light on the importance of the collaborative process behind the construction and improvement of Wikipedia. In fact, as the analysis revealed, several Anglicisms and translation errors are replaced and/or corrected a posteriori by other users who revise the texts. The talk pages linked to the articles, for instance, work as places where Spanish and Latin American editors and translators negotiate meaning. The replacement of the Latin American calque *suspensio* by the bare, incorporated Anglicism *suspense*, used in Spain, was discussed and negotiated a posteriori in the talk page of the article on Mary Higgins Clark. A similar and more controversial case, mentioned by some of the interviewees, was that of the incorporated Anglicism *mouse*, used in Latin America for the computer device, as opposed to the calque *ratón*, the preferred term in Spain. This and other changes are often addressed and negotiated in talk pages. This holds with the other five articles analyzed in Chapter 5, especially since most changes suggested by the revisers of the main translation were treated before in each of the talk pages of those articles. This process of revision through which users get feedback from other peers is even more pronounced in GAs and featured articles. The most important issues are addressed in the discussion or talk pages of each article. Hautausaari and Ishida already pointed out the importance of talk pages for translation in Wikipedia, especially when it comes to naming and titles (Hatausaari and Ishida 2012: 59). The present study corroborates Hatausaari’s and Ishida’s findings in so far as the talk pages are important spaces for providing feedback on the translation, further strengthening the concept of Wikipedia as a collaborative third space.

## 7 Conclusion

Translated articles in Wikipedia are linguistically and culturally hybrid since they display features from both the source and the target cultures and their respective languages. This study has demonstrated that within the Spanish Wikipedia, one of the 290 language versions of the largest online encyclopedia ever, there seems to be two differentiated groups of users – Spaniards and Latin Americans – whose attitudes towards Anglicisms and translation vary considerably. Moreover, the findings from the interviews and the text analysis revealed that the Spaniards tend to have a more conservative attitude to translation, preferring *pure* Spanish words instead of Anglicisms. The results also showed that Latin Americans use more Anglicisms in their translations, since the articles translated by them accounted for 62.5% of the total number of Anglicisms in contrast with the 37.5% of Anglicisms traced in the three articles translated by the Spaniards. Additionally, cultural and linguistic hybridity is also related to the idea of Wikipedia as a third space, in which users from multiple backgrounds and cultures, such as Spaniards and Latin Americans, collaborate and negotiate meaning or make other decisions that could involve the omission or addition of an Anglicism in a given article.

Finally, the question of whether this can be extrapolated to other users and translations the Spanish Wikipedia remains open. An in-depth study with more participants and articles would be essential. While this study has contributed to deepen the understanding of language attitudes, especially regarding Anglicisms in non-professional translations, the findings should only be considered as illustrative examples of two groups of users whose attitudes need to be studied further. Future research on Wikipedia and translation could focus on talk pages and language policy in any of the 295 language versions of the encyclopedia, paying attention to its particularities and the way in which language and attitudes towards it is largely influenced and shaped by the hybrid, dynamic and fast-changing world people live in. A more detailed and quantitative analysis of the data could be done in the future in order to extrapolate these findings to a larger and more representative part of the Wikipedia community, including languages other than English and Spanish.





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## Appendix A – Informed Consent Form

This is an informed consent form for projects not dealing with medical research, children & young adults, people with learning difficulties, crime and/or research within organization/workplace.

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet dated _____.	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalized for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymization of data, etc.) to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	If applicable, separate terms of consent for interviews, audio, video or other forms of data collection have been explained and provided to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
8.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	<input type="checkbox"/>
9.	Select only <b>one</b> of the following:	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I would like my name used and understand what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognized.</li> <li>• I do not want my name used in this project.</li> </ul>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
10.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	<input type="checkbox"/>

### Participant:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

### Researcher:

## Appendix B – Questionnaire

1.	Where do you come from?
2.	How old are you?
3.	What's your level of education?
4.	What's your level of English? A. Beginner. B. Intermediate. C. Advanced.
5.	Do you have any job/profession outside Wikipedia? If so, which one?
6.	When did you start writing in Wikipedia? Why?
7.	What's your experience with translation? Were you a translator before joining Wikipedia? If so, what did you translate and/or for which purpose?
8.	How many articles have you translated from English into Spanish? A. <50. B. 50 to 100. C. >100. What were the articles about?
9.	Do you use the Content Translation tool in Wikipedia or do you translate manually?
10.	What are the most important challenges you have come across during the translation process? A. Obscure terms. B. Complex grammar and/or syntax. C. Finding an equivalent term or expression in your own language.
11.	What do you do when you have to translate a technical term? A. Google it and see what you can find. B. Ask someone else for advice. C. Make your own decision based on common sense.
12.	What do you normally do if you find a term/expression in English that does not have a literal translation into Spanish? A. Use a similar term (e.g. synonym). B. Keep the original (English) term. C. Translate the term/expression intuitively. D. Omit the term/expression.
13.	Have you revised and/or corrected other users' translations? If so, what are some of the most common 'errors' you have seen? A. Lexicon (e.g. English terms instead of Spanish ones, false friends, etc.). B. Unconventional (English) syntax. C. Lack of textual cohesion. D. Untranslated chunks of text.
14.	How loyal/faithful are you to the original text (ST, LST)? A. <50%. B. 50% to 70%. C. >70%. Why?
15.	Who, in your opinion, have a more conservative attitude to language and translation in Wikipedia: Spaniards or Latin Americans? Why?
16a.	Have you found any Anglicism in Wikipedia? If so, what do you normally do? A. Keep it [the Anglicism]. B. Replace it with a <i>pure</i> Spanish lexical item.
16b.	Which of the following words do you prefer? Please, choose one and only one from each pair.

<b>Pair</b>	<b>Anglicism – Spanish lexical item<sup>122</sup></b>
1.	Mouse or Ratón
2.	VIP or Personas Muy Importantes
3.	Boom or Auge
4.	Feedback or Retroalimentación
5.	Chat or Conversación por medios digitales/Charla
6.	Marketing or Mercadotecnia

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<sup>122</sup> Only four of the six pairs of lexical items were used with each participant.

## Appendix C – Audio transcripts from the interviews

Participant 1: Patricia (Spain)

Full interview<sup>123</sup>

[00:00] [phone ringing]

**Interviewer:** [00:06] Hello?

**Patricia:** [0:08] Hey there.

**Interviewer:** [00:09] [laughs] How are you Patricia?

**Patricia:** [00:12] I'm good. How are you?

**Interviewer:** [00:14] I'm fine, thanks. Thanks for taking part in this project.

**Patricia:** [00:19] No problem.

**Interviewer:** [00:20] I'm going to ask you a couple of questions. I beg your patience with some of them, because they are long. So let's go with the easy ones.

[00:34] [laughter]

**Interviewer:** [00:35] Where do you come from Patricia?

**Patricia:** [00:38] I'm from Madrid, Spain.

**Interviewer:** [00:41] How old are you?

**Patricia:** [00:42] I'm 33.

**Interviewer:** [00:45] Can you tell me? What's your level of education?

**Patricia:** [00:50] Post-grad.

**Interviewer:** [00:54] How would you define your level of English? Do you consider yourself a beginner, intermediate or advanced user?

**Patricia:** [01:03] I consider myself bilingual.

**Interviewer:** [01:07] Do you have any profession or a job outside Wikipedia? If so, which one?

**Patricia:** [01:12] Yeah, I am a professor at the Spanish Public University.

**Interviewer:** [01:20] When did you start writing in Wikipedia and why?

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<sup>123</sup> Full interview with Patricia. Excerpts from the interviews with four of the five participants. The full interviews are available in mp3 files. The wording of the questions may vary slightly.



**Patricia:** [01:24] I started more than 10 years ago. I started writing because my younger sister introduced me to this site, in which you could add information yourself. If I recall correctly, I added some information in an article about a science fiction book. Someone reverted me. So, I insisted. Then somehow in the process, I got hooked.

**Interviewer:** [01:57] Tell me. What's your experience with translation? Were you a translator before joining Wikipedia?

**Patricia:** [02:09] No, not really. It was, when I started writing on Wikipedia that I started doing translations for fun, really.

**Interviewer:** [02:24] Tell me. How many articles have you translated?

**Patricia:** [02:31] I don't know. You mean from scratch, sections, or...?

**Interviewer:** [02:35] Well, maybe a combination. Here I have three different parameters. You don't have to tell me just the right number. You can...Less than 50, 50 to 100, or more than 100.

**Patricia:** [02:49] I would say that from scratch, I've probably created more than 50 articles that aren't translations. But if we're talking about adding significant portions of translations to articles that are already existing, that could be more than 1,000.

**Interviewer:** [03:09] Can you tell me what were they about? Were they about any specific topic or...?

**Patricia:** [03:19] I usually do my translations, English to Spanish. At the beginning, it was mostly articles that had to do with psychology. Then I moved on to LGBT topics. Lately, I've been dealing with medical and health articles, specifically those relating to women's health.

**Interviewer:** [03:45] Tell me. Do you use the automatic translation tool on Wikipedia, or do you translate manually?

**Patricia:** [03:56] I used to translate manually. Now that we do have the Content Translation tool, I absolutely love it.

**Interviewer:** [04:07] Do you notice any difference between the translation tool and doing it yourself?

**Patricia:** [04:13] Yeah. The issue with doing it manually is not that you have to do the translation per se. It's that you also have to do it with a Wiki code. That was always something that always delayed you so much, because you had to search for the relevant article, if you're adding a Wikilink or you had to search for the categories in Spanish. With that kind of stuff, it doesn't seem like much. But it was easy to lose an hour doing the easy stuff of formatting.

[04:53] The Content Translation tool does this automatically. It's so much easier. The greatest advantage it has is that, it saves you a ton of time.

**Interviewer:** [05:07] This one is slightly more difficult. What are the most important challenges that you have come across during the translation process? For example, obscure terms, complex grammar, and syntax, to find an equivalent expression in your language, or something like that.

**Patricia:** [05:24] You mean using the tool, or in general?

**Interviewer:** [05:27] In general, when you are translating.

**Patricia:** [05:30] In general, some of the problems I've had is that, I would be translating something very important, something basic. The problem is that, maybe the original article didn't have that good quality to start with, or it had poor grammar. You have to guess a little bit at the meaning that the original author is trying to give it, which makes you have to double and triple check.

[05:59] Sometimes it's the sources you'll have available. Poor grammar is always the greatest problem. That's why, sometimes it's easier just to go with the featured articles and translate them. Because it's true that in English Wikipedia, when they mean that to be a featured article, an article has to have brilliant prose. They do mean that.

[06:27] The problem is that, in English Wikipedia, you can have the absolute best, and then you can have articles that you can tell that have been created by people whose native language is not English. They are trying to construct the grammar. They make mistakes. The syntax can be difficult. It's not so much obscure terms or technical terms, because usually people are good at using wikilinks.

[06:59] If you're lucky, the wikilinks also exist in your language that facilitates translation. Actually, at the beginning we used the Interlinks. Now we have Wikidata. So it's much more centralized. For example, it's something you can tell very easily with the Content Translation tool. It's a beta feature. It's a beta tool and you can tell, because sometimes the automatic translation.

[07:33] It's really bad if the original article didn't have such good quality to start with. You have to be very, very careful. It saves you a lot of time. But that doesn't mean you don't have to triple check the automatic translation.

**Interviewer:** [07:51] We are approaching the end. But we still have a few questions left. The next one is related to what you told me. It says. If you find an expression in English that has no literal translation to Spanish, what do you normally do? Do you use a similar concept, do you keep the English word, do you just translate it intuitively, or you just decide to omit the word?

**Patricia:** [08:15] Sometimes it depends. I try to be flexible about this. If I'm translating a quote, I try to be as near as possible to the meaning that the author is trying to give it. I don't care so much for giving a very exact translation, word by word. I'd rather go with the meaning.

[08:36] There are some words, however, that you just cannot translate. I remember this specific example, very long ago, seven or eight years ago, when we came across the word "kitsch." That's a really, difficult one, when the article didn't exist in Spanish. We had two choices.

[08:57] We either translated it to another word, a new word at the time, when it wasn't in the Spanish dictionary or anything, or we leave it there as a red link. Then we used parenthesis and try to give some explanation to the reader. We opted for that, because at the end of the day, what's important is that the reader understands what they are reading. We didn't translate the term. It depends very much on each case.

...

**Interviewer:** [11:21] Because you have written articles, have you revised and corrected other users' translations? For example -- If you have done so, what have you found -- Lexicon problems, false friends, unconventional syntax, or something like that?

**Patricia:** [11:42] I guess that the most usual problem is the literal translations. By that, I mean really literal, word by word. The meaning is lost. Yes, you'll have false friends. But the biggest problem is really literal translations that lose the meaning. You lose the entire meaning.

[12:02] Some of the worst translations I've seen, I don't know if they were using some kind of Google auto translate tool or something. But there were entire paragraphs that you could tell that someone, either they'd put a sentence in Google Translate and then they translated it, put it back, then next sentence and the next sentence. You just cannot do literal translations. You lose too much feeling along the process.

**Interviewer:** [12:32] This goes in hand with what you told me before. How loyal are you to the original text? Would you say less than 50 percent, between 50, 70, or over 70 percent? Why?

**Patricia:** [12:43] I try to be as loyal as possible. But some expressions in English. Some phrases do not have an equivalent in Spanish, especially when you have editors that try to use metaphors that are very common in English. Then I will use one that is common in Spanish. I'm not going to translate the English metaphor, because that makes no sense.

[13:11] If you have an article that uses and abuses that literary device, it's probable, I will not be that faithful, because I care much more about the meaning being translated correctly, particularly now that I'm dealing with the health articles. For me, the meaning is...It's so much more important that it gets across clearly than trying to get word by word, whatever the original editor was trying to say.

[13:45] I'm not that loyal in the sense that, I try to add more information. For example, if the original article says that, "In the United States, this rate is of X." I try to add, "And in Latin America, the rate is X. In Spain, it's X. etcetera." I try to add a little bit more information.

**Interviewer:** [14:12] I'm going to give you a list of words, which...Because sometimes we get the impression that English has a big influence on Spanish. Sometimes we use English words without even realizing. For example, on Wikipedia articles, would you use the word "Casting" or "*audición*?"

**Patricia:** [14:45] I would use "*audición*". Unless I'm trying to wikilink to the article, because the article has been renamed "casting." It depends a little bit also, on how the other article is called in the Spanish Wikipedia.

**Interviewer:** [15:02] For example with a word "Chat". Would you use "*conversación por medios digitales*?"

**Patricia:** [15:06] I'd probably use "Chat" in the sense..."If it was happening in a chat." It makes more sense to say, "It happened in a chat." as opposed to...It seems very forced.

**Interviewer:** [15:29] VIP or *personas muy importantes*?

**Patricia:** [15:31] I would probably use *personas muy importantes*. Unless it's something that includes the word VIP like [Spanish]. Unless it's something like that, I would go with...Because I understand that not everyone understands that one in particular.

**Interviewer:** [15:54] Boom or *auge*?

**Patricia:** [15:56] Sorry?

**Interviewer:** [15:57] Boom or *auge*?

**Patricia:** [15:58] *Auge*.

**Interviewer:** [16:03] Finally, mouse or *ratón*? [laughs] You remember this one.

[16:07] [laughter]

**Patricia:** [16:07] Yes, [laughs] I'm tempted to say, *pasapalabra*.

[16:13] [laughter]

**Patricia:** [16:16] I would probably say mouse. But don't say this too loud. [laughs]

**Interviewer:** [16:21] OK. [laughs] I will keep the secret. This takes us to question 15, which is, who has, in your opinion, a more conservative approach to translation, Spanish people or Latin Americans?

**Patricia:** [16:39] The Spaniards are very conservative. In a sense, this could be because of the Spanish dictionary. For some of the Spaniards, it's like the Bible. That can be very limiting. People from other countries are actually more flexible with translations. They like to play more with possibilities, with words, with going for the meaning instead of the literal meaning.

[17:13] I don't know. But I think Spaniards are much more conservative, in general, including translations.

**Interviewer:** [17:18] Finally, I have one question left. If you find an Anglicism, what do you normally do? Do you perceive any significant differences in translations between Spaniards and Latin Americans regarding the use of Anglicisms?

**Patricia:** [17:49] It depends on the situation, but I usually keep it. Also, I have to say that, I think that the Latin Americans are very careful with the translations. My perception is that, they try very hard to avoid regionalisms, and to enter the articles in their translations. I haven't noticed. It's been years, at least since I've seen an article that I can easily say, "This has been translated by an Argentinian." Because it has a lot of Argentinian colloquialisms.

[18:16] People are very good about that. I don't think there's a clear divide between Spaniards and rest of the world in that sense, although Spaniards may be more conservative. I think that

Spaniards also try to avoid that for the most part. Because we know that some of the expressions can be very particular to Spain and mean nothing to the rest of the world.

[18:33] That doesn't mean that I haven't checked every single translation. It could be happening. My perception is that everyone tries to be very careful with translations, and not give them the particular brand of the Spanish.

**Interviewer:** [18:45] Well, that was the last question of our interview for this project, carried out by NTNU about hybridity in the form of language mixing in English-to-Spanish translations of Wikipedia Articles. I would like to thank you for your participation, for your time, and for your support.

**Patricia:** [19:06] No problem, it was my pleasure.

**Interviewer:** [19:09] Thank you very much, Patricia. Have a nice day.

**Patricia:** [19:15] [laughs] OK, goodbye.

**Interviewer:** [19:19] [laughs] Goodbye.

## Participant 2: Mario (Spain)

Excerpt from Questions 15 and 16a (in Spanish)

**Interviewer:** [29:42] Nos quedan sólo dos preguntas y las últimas dos son de aspectos contrastivos. Vamos con la primera de ellas.

[29:52] ¿Percibes algunas diferencias importantes o significativas entre traducciones que se han hecho por españoles y traducciones hechas por latinoamericanos, iberoamericanos?

**Mario:** [30:05] En traducción, diferencias hay, pero no son muy significativas. Obviamente como he dicho antes, hay cierto vocabulario que no es el mismo, ciertas estructuras que a lo mejor no serían igual.

[30:23] Al venir en una traducción esto se nota menos, porque el traductor, muchas veces, tiene a la mano un lenguaje más formal, tiene a la mano el diccionario, y tiende a usar menos localismos que cuando, en mi opinión, uno redacta el artículo original desde cero.

[30:44] Cuando es una traducción se nota menos que cuando es un artículo original.

[30:48] Después, antes ya he puesto el ejemplo, precisamente, de las diferencias idiomáticas de diferentes dialectos del español. Para mí no sería sólo Iberoamérica versus España, sino que también hay, obviamente, diferencias entre Chile y México, entre Colombia y Uruguay.

[31:10] Hay diferencias entre todos estos países. Luego ves que esas diferencias son más en el oral que en el escrito. ¿Vocabulario distinto? Sí, va haber alguno, pero no es lo mejor igual. Se detectan más cuando el traductor no es muy bueno.

[31:27] Normalmente, el traductor que no es muy bueno es precisamente porque es una persona que tampoco tiene unos niveles de redacción demasiado elevados y va a tener problemas con la traducción, pero también los va a tener redactando un artículo en español sin tener que hacer una traducción.

[31:46] Son redactores, realmente, que tienen un nivel de lengua bastante elevado, al menos aceptable, fácilmente un nivel estándar sin cometer errores. Como al ser una enciclopedia global, yo creo que la gente tiende a usar un lenguaje bastante estándar sin usar localismos y entonces las diferencias son pocas.

**Interviewer:** [32:11] La última pregunta está muy relacionada a esta que te he hecho ahora y es, ¿quién tiene, en tu opinión, una aproximación más conservadora a la traducción?

[32:23] De nuevo, pongo como ejemplo España o Iberoamérica y, ¿por qué? Por conservadora, me refiero sobre todo a evitar usar anglicismos y este tipo de cosas. Si te viene a la mente o si piensas que existen o no.

**Mario:** [32:44] Obviamente, eso va a depender del traductor, pero si pudiésemos generalizar algún modo, a mí no me gusta demasiado generalizar, yo diría que en general en España se tiende a usar menos anglicismos que en otros países. Es la percepción que tengo yo.

[33:05] Los motivos los desconozco, no sé, porque por ejemplo en otros idiomas es distinto. Por ejemplo en francés, la percepción que yo tengo es que en Francia suelen tender a usar más anglicismos que a lo mejor en las zonas francófonas.

[33:23] Es hacia la metrópolis, podríamos decirle, lingüística. En España, como que el lugar original donde partió la lengua tiende a ser más conservadora comparada con la francofonía.

[33:37] Creo que tiende los redactores españoles en general, eso ya depende de cada uno, españoles y ya no sólo no tienen porque ser nativos hispanohablantes, porque hay muchísimos redactores en español que editan en la Wikipedia en español, españoles que a lo mejor no son hispanohablantes como lengua materna, sino que su lengua materna puede ser el catalán o el gallego [inaudible 34:03] y que son de también varios idiomas.

[34:07] Sin embargo, pese a poseer otra lengua por lengua materna cuando usan español son bastante conservadores también. En otros países de Hispanoamérica, por ejemplo en Argentina o México por poner los dos casos, a lo mejor, con más editores que hay en Wikipedia serían esos dos países, a lo mejor España, pues se aceptan más los anglicismos y se usan más.

[34:35] Ahí es donde también es lo que provoca ciertas disputas. Si se sigue a la RAE, la Real Academia Española, o no se sigue. Algunos están a favor de seguir lo que dice, otros no. Luego también hay problemas con los topónimos, discusión que aparece.

[34:55] Ahora ya hace tiempo que no aparece esa discusión, pero hubo un tiempo en que cada equis meses volvía a aparecer el tópico bastante usual, tiende a repetirse. Yo creo que por hacerlo breve ya que la respuesta se me está yendo de las manos.

[35:16] En general, creo los que proceden de España suelen ser más conservadores en el idioma. El por qué, no lo sé.

[35:26] Creo que simplemente porque, realmente, el idioma de la lengua en España tiende a usar menos anglicismos también, eso se ve reflejado a la hora de redactar artículos o porque nos han enseñado a que si hay una palabra en tu misma lengua que significa lo mismo, pues usa la de tu lengua frente a la que sería de una lengua extranjera.

[35:49] Eso [inaudible 35:49] ligándolo con lo que decía anteriormente de que hay muchos, también, redactores en español que tiene otra lengua materna, es algo también que sucede habitualmente en el catalán por ejemplo.

[36:04] El tema de los barbarismos es muy habitual, y siempre cuando estudies la lengua, obviamente te están enseñando a que no uses barbarismos de otra lengua, principalmente castellanismos, no los uses. Usa las formas propias de tu idioma.

[36:22] Yo sé que también esto se ve influenciado, esta tendencia a usar las formas propias, también luego en el castellano también. Obviamente, tienden a usar las formas propias del catalán.

[36:33] Por ejemplo, cuando hablas en castellano, también tienden a usar las formas propias del castellano frente a otras de otros idiomas.

**Interviewer:** [36:41] Sólo como última pregunta para conocer un poco cuál es tu postura sobre el tema. Ahora me viene a la mente el caso conocido de *mouse* y ratón que fue muy polémico en su momento.

**Mario:** [37:34] Yo posiblemente, precisamente por lo que comentaba antes, suelo tender a usar la forma vernácula, como lo podríamos decir, que había original en la lengua en la que estoy escribiendo, ya sea catalán, sea español, o sea la que sea.

[37:55] Si hay una palabra en esa lengua que sirve para expresar lo mismo, prefiero la propia. Obviamente, ratón no se refiere a un...originalmente no se refería un componente electrónico para un dispositivo informático.

[38:15] Por analogía, es un calco del inglés. Mouse, hay una palabra en español que significa mouse que significa lo mismo que es ratón y se usa en lo mismo. Yo prefiero siempre usar la que es propia del idioma.

[38:33] También, obviamente, porque en el idioma que hablo, la lengua que hablo, diariamente en España muy poca gente, muy poca, va a usar mouse y se ve influido uno en el contexto en el que vive. No dudo que en otras partes del mundo la gente dirá ratón y no pensarán nunca en el dispositivo del hardware, pero en España es al revés.

[39:03] Una persona dice, "Mouse," y a lo mejor se queda pensativo, "¿De qué me está hablando? Que no liga." Eso es lo que estaba hablando de este elemento informático.

[39:16] En el caso de mouse y ratón, yo tendería por la opción del ratón, pero sobre todo, claro decíamos, seguimos la norma o el dictamen, una norma porque aquí no sería norma sino que es un diccionario, solamente la forma más ajustada o recomendada por la academia o la más usada.

[39:40] Ahí es donde entramos en cierta polémica que es cómo decidimos si es lo más usado sin convertirnos en fuente primaria. Puede haber casos en los que sí que haya un texto que nos indique una referencia y que nos indique que mouse es más usado.

[40:02] De ahí surge un debate y sería la comunidad la que debería de decir, "Yo preferiría la forma que venga respaldada por las academias." Es cierto que no todas las academias siempre están de acuerdo en el mismo término, porque cada diccionario, se llama diccionario de la Real Academia Española, pero el diccionario está realizado en consenso de todas las academias.

[40:26] Eso es un problema porque muchas veces hay cierta academia de un país determinado no está de acuerdo con lo que había en el diccionario publicado hasta ese momento. Estos son problemas de las academias en sí.

[40:39] Creo que los redactores de Wikipedia tenemos ya bastante problemas como para tener que nosotros decidir qué término cuando hay ciertas instituciones que todos los países hispanohablantes tienen una, todos tienen una academia, pues son ellas las que están diciendo, o sea, están haciendo su trabajo pues dejemos que hagan ellas ese trabajo y nosotros hacemos otros trabajos que tenemos muchos por los cuales dedicar mucho tiempo desde decidir también muchas veces qué nombre [indecipherable 41:11] a usar cuando las academias no lo hacen porque en ciertos aspectos, ciertos vocabularios técnicos, las academias no publican nada.



[41:22] Tienes que buscar e ir más allá y es bastante trabajo. En este caso, por ejemplo lo del mouse ratón, me gustaría por seguir lo que dice la academia, pero empujo también por zanjar una polémica y decir, "No perdamos tiempo," también.

[41:38] Obviamente, me favorecen los que usan mi dialecto, pero siempre puede ser al revés, han habido algunos casos contrarios.

[41:50] Si por zanjar una polémica que no lleva a ninguna parte y que en ciertos casos ha sido bastante larga, no sólo el mouse, han habido otros también. Incluso si se intentaran hacer votaciones para ver en cuántos países se usa más una forma u otra.

[42:10] Claro, si es más usado o no es muy relativo, porque podría ser el más usado en cuanto al número de países en cuanto a millones de hablantes, en cuanto a referencias públicas en una red, referencias públicas.

[42:25] Es bastante complicado determinar qué es lo más usado o no es lo más usado. Si se puede zanjar una forma más directa que son las academias, porque no es solo la Real Academia Española, sino las academias de todos los países, dicen esto y ya está.

**Interviewer:** [43:30] Muchas gracias. Esa era la última pregunta. Muchas gracias por tu tiempo, por prestar un poco de tiempo a este trabajo y por darnos tu punto de vista de tu experiencia, por compartirla con nosotros y por participar en este proyecto de la NTNU.

Participant 3: Felipe (Spain)

Excerpt from Questions 11, 15 and 16a (in Spanish)

**Interviewer:** [04:23] La siguiente pregunta está muy relacionada. Si encuentras una expresión en inglés que no tiene traducción literal al español, ¿qué es lo que normalmente haces? ¿Utilizas un concepto similar, o mantienes la palabra en inglés, o la traduces directamente, o eliminas la palabra?

**Felipe:** [04:41] Intento utilizar una expresión similar. En general no me gusta utilizar palabras en inglés, si estoy escribiendo en castellano y viceversa y en otras lenguas, me parece que es, pues una forma demasiado facilona de resolver el problema. Creo que el castellano tiene una riqueza en el vocabulario suficiente como para no tener que utilizar palabras inglesas, aunque en algunos casos pues es... Es irremediable, sobre todo igual en textos más científicos o en palabras más así. Pero en general intento que... Que sea una traducción de una cierta calidad en lengua... En lengua castellana y entonces busco equivalentes.

**Interviewer:** [09:34] Ya nos vamos aproximando al final, nos quedan dos preguntas. La penúltima es si has percibido alguna... Alguna o algunas diferencias importantes entre traducciones que se han hecho... Bueno, por españoles y por latinoamericanos.

**Felipe:** [09:56] En general en Wikipedia en mi experiencia, la diferencia se nota entre... Pues un traductor latinoamericano y un traductor español es pequeña porque en general se mantiene el lenguaje enciclopédico y se... Bueno, pues se intenta hacer una traducción lo más fiable, enciclopédica, conceptual posible. Entonces, yo en general no he encontrado grandes diferencias, más allá pues de algunas polémicas que son aquí seculares en Wikipedia como mouse, ratón, etcétera, que me parece que tienen poca importancia.

**Interviewer:** [10:30] ¿Crees que los latinoamericanos usan más anglicismos que los españoles, o no?

**Felipe:** [10:40] Es posible que utilicen una colección de anglicismos quizás algo más amplia, pero la lengua castellana también en España está siendo muy invadida pues gracias a las nuevas tecnologías, etcétera, por anglicismos algunos de ellos bastante tontos. Yo por ejemplo para a

la hora de traducir algunos anglicismos que incluso están muy... Muy incorporados a nuestro lenguaje cotidiano pues utilizo la página web de la FUNDEU, de la Fundación del Español Urgente, que suele indicar muy claramente pues cómo hay que traducir pues palabras por ejemplo de Internet. No creo que haya una gran diferencia, quizás por influencia territorial, histórica haya más en Latinoamérica. Pero creo que es un problema de toda la lengua castellana, allá donde se hable, el uso excesivo de anglicismos.

**Interviewer:** [11:31] Y nuestra última pregunta es ¿Quién tiene en tu opinión una aproximación más conservadora a la traducción? Y aquí nuevamente vamos a españoles, o latinoamericanos.

**Felipe:** [11:45] En mi percepción sin haberlo estudiado en profundidad quizás sean los españoles también por cercanía a la lengua, o por estar más acostumbrados a utilizarla. Pero no te sabría decir una respuesta así muy concreta porque lo... Lo desconozco. Es posible que por purismo de la lengua pues algunos traductores en España pues intenten escribirlo de una forma más propia de la lengua castellana...

**Felipe:** [12:48] Yo, en general, como criterio general intento buscar pues una referencia absoluta. Y para mí esa es el... El diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua, con el cual puedes estar más de acuerdo o menos de acuerdo, te puede parecer mejor adaptado a la realidad o menos, pero... Pero en general es... Es mi referencia. Y creo que a la hora de... De discutir - en el buen sentido-, pues una... Una traducción o un determinado artículo, pues al final te tienes que ir hacia referencias de importancia, y ninguna mejor en la lengua castellana como el diccionario de la Real Academia.

**Felipe:** [14:13] Personalmente preferiría utilizar el concepto de la Real Academia. Lo único que entiendo que Wikipedia no es el diccionario de la Real Academia ni es un sitio donde el español tenga que permanecer con la pureza que puedes tener idealizada de la Real Academia. Entiendo que es una enciclopedia popular, es decir, una enciclopedia que pueda leer todo el mundo. Y entonces si para un número considerable de personas, pues este instrumento que ahora mismo tengo en mis manos, pues es un mouse, siempre que el artículo indique... Pues en tales países se le llama mouse, una palabra heredada del inglés, y en otros países se le llama ratón o en otros se le puede llamar lo que sea, pues creo que no es un gran problema, a eso me refería con que no es lo más importante del mundo. Personalmente, me gusta... Pues eso, no mezclar lenguas y lo mismo me pasa, pues por ejemplo, en mi trabajo que tengo que utilizar el idioma gallego cotidianamente, y no me gusta utilizar palabras de castellano en gallego o

viceversa. Pero... Pero entiendo que no es un problema en un sitio como Wikipedia que intenta ser una enciclopedia integral y popular.

**Interviewer:** [15:54] Pues esa era nuestra última pregunta. Muchas gracias por tu tiempo, la verdad. Ha sido un honor como siempre.

**Felipe:** [16:01] Nada, muchas gracias a ti Gustavo.

Participant 4: Adriana (Argentina/Latin America)

Excerpt from Questions 13, 15, 16a and 16b.

**Interviewer:** [06:39] Y, además de traducir artículos, ¿has tenido ocasión de revisar o corregir traducciones hechas por otros usuarios?

**Adriana:** [06:46] Sí, muchas más veces.

**Interviewer:** [06:48] ¿Y normalmente qué tipos de errores frecuentes encuentras? Por ejemplo, en vocabulario como falsos amigos o este tipo de cosas, o una sintaxis que es más propia del inglés que del español o qué... O qué encuentras más o menos?

**Adriana:** [07:05] Sí, todas estas cosas de falsos amigos, se nota mucho sobre todo en usuarios nuevos, poco experimentados. Por ejemplo, recuerdo que pasó, se había traducido como saltar, como el acto de un atraco, vendría a ser. Esas cosas sí, suceden mucho. También se ven muchas huellas de la traducción automática. Un caso paradigmático que siempre lo recuerdo que había un crítico que se llamaba Bin Lam y lo traducían Bin Cordero y quedaba así y nadie lo revisaba. Lo cual es obvio que usaron la traducción automática. Y también la sintaxis, sí, exceso de voz pasiva, los gerundios, la puntuación distinta, la coma antes de la y. Esas cosas sí, se traen mucho del inglés. Esas cosas, al revisar artículos buenos y destacados, se repiten una y otra vez. De manera que ya todos los usuarios nuevos sepan que tienen que editarlas, o saber usarlas, ¿no?

**Interviewer:** [08:41] Y la siguiente pregunta nos lleva a... Si percibes alguna diferencia importante entre traducciones hechas por españoles y latinoamericanos.

**Adriana:** [08:57] No, la verdad es que no, puedo... Puede ser este uso de palabras como retro-alimentación, o como, dije antes ratón que se usa más por españoles, pero no detecto diferencias particulares o generales en lo que respecta a latinoamericanos y españoles.

**Interviewer:** [09:18] Y la última pregunta, con respecto también a lo que hemos comentado anteriormente que es, ¿quién tiene, en tu opinión, una...aproximación más

conservadora a la traducción, españoles, latinoamericanos? ¿Hay alguna diferencia o no, no realmente?

**Adriana:** [09:32] La verdad que no detecto diferencias así por nacionalidad, detecto diferencias por grupos [... 00:09:38] quizás, o por usuarios que les interesan determinados temas. Por ejemplo, el que suele traducir sobre música tiene cierto estilo, bastante libre y bastante poco profesional, digamos, porque traduce sobre otros temas, historia, geografía, temas más serios, digamos, por decirlo de alguna forma, tienen una... Una tendencia más conservadora, eso es lo que veo, pero no por nacionalidad.

**Interviewer:** [11:48] Y, finalmente, tengo un listado... Bueno, de palabras muy... Muy cortas que tienen un equivalente en español. Antes habías mencionado que tienes una postura un poco atípica con respecto al uso de anglicismos.

**Adriana:** [12:06] Sí.

**Interviewer:** [12:07] Por ejemplo, si te encuentras con la palabra marketing, ¿la traducirías como marketing o utilizarías mercadotecnia?

**Adriana:** [12:16] No, la dejo como marketing.

**Interviewer:** [12:19] Y, por ejemplo, feedback o retroalimentación.

**Adriana:** [12:23] Feedback.

**Interviewer:** [12:28] Tenemos la expresión "boom", que es como un auge, digamos, ¿utilizarías boom o auge?

**Adriana:** [12:37] Boom.

**Interviewer:** [12:43] Y, finalmente la... La... Bueno, la palabra que te has adelantado que es mouse contra ratón que... Que es la típica, digamos, Wikipedia en español, recordamos aquel... Aquel hecho ¿Utilizarías la palabra en inglés?

**Adriana:** [12:59] Sí.

Participant 5: Victor (Mexico/Latin America)

Excerpt from Questions 15 and 16a.

**Interviewer:** [24:32] We're approaching the end. I just have two questions left for you. These three questions I have to ask you are more connected to differences between translations carried out by people from Latin America and Spain. The full question is do you perceive any significant difference between translations that are carried out by Spanish people and Latin Americans? If so, which ones would you say?

**Victor:** [25:14] I will admit this is subjective, that's just my point of view. I just found out that Spanish translators from Spain tend to have a more, let's say, Baroque style. It tends to be more stylized. They tend to use what, in my opinion, are more complicated phrases. Whereas Latin American translators that I know, that I've read or worked, I find them they try to convey in a more vernacular way, let's say.

[25:54] If I had to say, they both try conveying the same meaning but one, the Spanish translators that I know use a more Baroque and more elaborate grammar. The Latin American uses perhaps a more relaxed approach in that sense.

**Interviewer:** [26:14] Who has, in your opinion, a more conservative approach to translation? Spanish people or Latin Americans and why? By conservative, I mean for example those users who are less prone to use Anglicisms, for example, or something like that.

**Victor:** [26:34] This is, again, opinion and a point of view. I would say, the Spanish. I say it mostly because I see them, I read their comments and translations, almost fully setting to [inaudible], the Spanish, the institution of the language. My perception of Latin American translators is that they tend to argue more and on the basis of understanding more than the actual rules.

[27:14] They aren't always right, nor the Spanish, but that would be the difference. I see one group more geared towards, "How do we make this text understandable?" The other group more conservative in this way that I say, "How do the rules say it should be?" They appeal more to rules and the other one appeal more to understanding.

**Interviewer:** [27:50] Would you use the word *mouse* or *ratón*?

**Victor:** [28:02] At least in Mexico, yes. Nobody calls here *ratón*. My Latin American friends, I can tell you, they do not use the word *ratón*. It was a precise case of how it should be, because in the very technical sense, yes. Mouse, it's *ratón*, the translation. There's also the case that nobody actually uses...At least in Mexico, almost nobody that I know uses the word *ratón* to refer to the pointing device.

[28:41] It's a case of, are we translating it in a very purist way or are we translating it to reflect the actual usage. I don't know the actual answer to that, but I gear towards the actual usage.

**Victor:** [29:24] I do. I say it mostly because I like watching American media. I would say yes also because of the people and the Mexicans I know, translators. Most of us get our references or get our idioms from American media.

...

**Interviewer:** [31:06] Just to round off, for example, would you use *boom* or *auge*, *marketing* or *mercadotecnia*?

**Victor:** [31:35] I lean towards using the English word. If someone confronted me, An argument that I like to use is that for a raw number of native Spanish-speaking people, Mexico is the largest country of them all. I would argue that a lot of people use the English word in everyday speaking, in everyday parlance.

[32:05] That has won me more than one argument. If it's too forced, unless it's too hard to understand the actual word, I would gear towards using the English word.

**Interviewer:** [32:38] It's been really, really interesting. I really liked the answers you gave me, because I'm sure that I will be able to get a lot of information from them.

**Victor:** [32:46] I hope so.



## Appendix D – Textual data from the translated Wikipedia articles

Retrocausality (ST) – Retrocausalidad (TT)					
Date	User (country)	ST	TT	ETT	Category
May 28, 2008	Sürrell (Spain)	-	<i>Retro-causation o backward causation</i>	-	Unincorporated Anglicism
May 28, 2008	Sürrell (Spain)	a number of theories...have been proposed by respected scientists	unas pocas teorías han sido propuestas por reputados científicos	-	Syntactic Anglicism
May 28, 2008	Sürrell (Spain)	...have received meaningful evaluation by the scientific community.	...habiendo recibido el visto bueno de la comunidad...	-	Syntactic Anglicism
May 28, 2008	Sürrell (Spain)	...retrocausality was at times employed	...la retrocausalidad iba siendo empleada	-	Syntactic Anglicism
May 28, 2008	Sürrell (Spain)	...unfamiliar or unusual conditions	...inusuales o poco conocidos fenómenos	-	Syntactic Anglicism
May 28, 2008	Sürrell (Spain)	Self-intersecting worldline	Autointersectante línea temporal	-	Anglicism and syntactic Anglicism
May 28, 2008	Sürrell (Spain)	Wormhole	Agujeros de gusano	-	Incorporated Anglicism
May 28, 2008	Sürrell (Spain)	American Association for the Advancement of Science	<i>American Association for the Advancement of Science</i>	-	Unincorporated Anglicism
May 28, 2008	Sürrell (Spain)	Delayed choice quantum eraser	<i>Delayed choice quantum eraser</i>	-	Unincorporated Anglicism
August 19, 2008	Rjgalindo (Venezuela)	American Association for the Advancement of Science	<i>American Association for the Advancement of Science</i>	Asociación Americana para el Avance de la Ciencia	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism
August 20, 2008	Rjgalindo (Venezuela)	Delayed choice quantum eraser	<i>Delayed choice quantum eraser</i>	Borrador cuántico de elección retardada	Incorporated Anglicism

Robert Falcon Scott (ST) – Robert Falcon Scott (TT)					
Date	User (country)	ST	TT	ETT	Category
September 28, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	...only to find that <u>they had been preceded by</u> Roald Amundsen's Norwegian expedition.	...solo para encontrarse que <u>habían sido precedidos por</u> la expedición noruega de Roald Amundsen.	-	Syntactic Anglicism
September 28, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	In the closing decades of the 20 <sup>th</sup> century, the legend <u>was reassessed</u> .	En las últimas décadas del siglo XX su leyenda <u>fue evaluada</u> de nuevo.	-	Syntactic Anglicism
September 28, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	...his early childhood years were spent in <u>comfort</u> .	La infancia de Scott fue muy <u>confortable</u> .	-	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism
September 28, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	<u>While stationed in</u> St Kitts, West Indies...	<u>Estando</u> en la isla de San Cristóbal, en el Caribe...	-	Syntactic Anglicism
September 28, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	Royal Geographic Society	Royal Geographic Society ( <i>Real Sociedad Geográfica</i> )	-	Unincorporated Lexical Anglicism
September 28, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	Markham observed Midshipman Scott's <u>cutter</u> winning that morning's race...	Markham observó al <u>cúter</u> del guardiamarina Scott ganar la carrera matutina...	-	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism
September 28, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	In 1894, <u>while serving</u> as torpedo officer...	En 1894, <u>sirviendo</u> como oficial torpedero...	-	Syntactic Anglicism
September 28, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	He was occupied with public receptions, <u>lectures</u> ...	Estuvo ocupado en recepciones públicas, <u>lecturas</u> ...	-	False friend

Robert Falcon Scott (ST) – Robert Falcon Scott (TT)					
Date	User (country)	ST	TT	ETT	Category
September 28, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	Scott had...been “bitten by the Pole mania”.	Scott “había sido mordido por la <i>manía del Polo</i> ”.	-	Idiomatic expression translated literally
September 28, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	According <u>to</u> Huntford, Scott disappears...	De acuerdo <u>a</u> este historiador, Scott desapareció...	-	Syntactic Anglicism
October 3, 2012	RoyFocker (Chile)	According <u>to</u> Huntford, Scott disappears...	De acuerdo <u>a</u> este historiador, Scott desapareció...	De acuerdo <u>con</u> este historiador, Scott desapareció...	Syntactic Anglicism corrected by user
October 4, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain) <sup>124</sup>	...only to find that <u>they had been preceded by</u> Roald Amundsen’s Norwegian expedition.	...solo para encontrarse que <u>habían sido precedidos por</u> la expedición noruega de Roald Amundsen.	...solo para descubrir que la expedición noruega de Roald Amundsen <u>se les había adelantado</u> .	Syntactic Anglicism corrected by user
October 4, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	In 1894, <u>while serving</u> as torpedo officer...	En 1894, <u>sirviendo</u> como oficial torpedero...	En 1894, <u>mientras servía</u> como oficial torpedero...	Syntactic Anglicism corrected by user
October 4, 2012	Alonso de Mendoza (Spain)	He was occupied with public receptions, <u>lectures</u> ...	Estuvo ocupado en recepciones públicas, <u>lecturas</u> ...	Estuvo ocupado en recepciones públicas, <u>conferencias</u> ...	False friend corrected by user

<sup>124</sup> All subsequent changes (ETT) were performed by the main translator Alonso de Mendoza (Spain) upon request from Maragm, one of the Wikipedia users who revised the translation. See the following link for further reference: [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Candidatos\\_a\\_art%C3%ADculos\\_destacados/Robert\\_Falcon\\_Scott](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Candidatos_a_art%C3%ADculos_destacados/Robert_Falcon_Scott) (in Spanish)

Lågskär (ST) – Lågskär (TT)				
User (country)	ST	TT	ETT	Category
5truenos (Spain)	Numerous <u>ferry</u> routes pass within a few kilometres of Lågskär.	Además, son numerosas las rutas de <u>ferry</u> que pasan a escasos kilómetros de su territorio.	-	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism
5truenos (Spain)	The earliest habitation on the island was linked to a <u>cairn</u>	La primera residencia de la isla está relacionada con los <u>cairn</u> .	-	Unincorporated Lexical Anglicism
5truenos (Spain)	The species reported include <u>Pilayella littoralis</u> , <u>Ectocarpus siliculosus</u> ...	Las especies encontradas también incluyen a <u>Pilayella littoralis</u> , <u>Ectocarpus siliculosus</u> ...	-	Borrowing from Latin (technical, restricted use)

<b>Fedora (operating system) (ST) – Fedora (distribución Linux) (TT)</b>					
<b>Date</b>	<b>User (country)</b>	<b>ST</b>	<b>TT</b>	<b>ETT</b>	<b>Category</b>
January 13, 2008	Alberto Maria (Colombia)		<u>soportada</u> por una comunidad internacional	-	Unincorporated Lexical Anglicism
January 13, 2008	Alberto Maria (Colombia)	The latest release of Fedora is <i>Fedora 8</i> , which was <u>released</u> on <u>8 November 2007</u> .	La última versión es <i>Fedora 8</i> , la cual fue <u>liberada</u> el 8 de noviembre de 2007.	-	Incorporated Anglicism
January 13, 2008	Alberto Maria (Colombia)	The Fedora Project was created in late 2003, when <u>Red Hat Linux</u> was <u>discontinued</u> .	El Proyecto Fedora fue creado a finales del 2003 cuando <u>Red Hat Linux</u> fue <u>descontinuado</u> .	-	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism
January 13, 2008	Alberto Maria (Colombia)	Fedora Linux was <u>eventually absorbed</u> into the Fedora Project.	Fedora Linux fue <u>eventualmente absorbido</u> en el Proyecto Fedora.	-	Unincorporated Lexical Anglicism
January 13, 2008	Alberto Maria (Colombia)	The Fedora Project also distributes custom variations of Fedora which are called <u>Fedora spins</u> .	También se distribuyen variantes personalizadas de Fedora, las cuales son llamadas <u>Fedora spins</u> .	-	Unincorporated Anglicism
January 13, 2008	Alberto Maria (Colombia)	These are built...	*Estos son construidas...	-	Syntactic Anglicism
January 13, 2008	Alberto Maria (Colombia)	a specific <u>set</u> of software packages	un <u>set</u> de paquetes de software específico	-	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism
January 13, 2008	Alberto Maria (Colombia)	Fedora also has methods in place to prevent <u>buffer overflow</u> ...	Fedora también tiene métodos propios para prevenir la sobrecarga del <u>buffer</u> ...	-	Unincorporated Anglicism
January 13, 2008	Alberto Maria (Colombia)	root kits	kits de roots	-	Unincorporated Anglicism

<b>Fedora (operating system) (ST) – Fedora (distribución Linux) (TT)</b>					
<b>Date</b>	<b>User (country)</b>	<b>ST</b>	<b>TT</b>	<b>ETT</b>	<b>Category</b>
January 13, 2008	Alberto Maria (Colombia)	a tool that allows users to inform developers about the <u>hardware</u> they use	una herramienta que permitía a los usuarios informar a los desarrolladores el <u>hardware</u> que usaban	-	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism

Mary Higgins Clark (ST) – Mary Higgins Clark (TT)					
Date	User (country)	ST	TT	ETT	Category
April 27, 2009 <sup>125</sup>	Mel23 (Argentina)	bestseller	éxitos de venta	-	-
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Suspense novels	Novelas de suspenso	-	Incorporated Anglicism (calque)
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	...composing her first poem at age six	...componiendo su primer poema a los seis años de edad	-	Syntactic Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	...and crafting short plays	...y creando obras de teatro cortas	-	Syntactic Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	...the men who <u>knocked</u> on their door...	...los hombres que <u>golpeaban</u> a su puerta...	-	Unincorporated Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	... <u>to</u> discover that her father had died in his sleep.	... <u>para</u> descubrir que su padre había muerto mientras dormía.	-	Syntactic Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	To pay the bills, Clark was forced to move out...	Para pagar las cuentas, Clark se vio obligada a mudarse...	-	Syntactic Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	... <u>rent it out</u> to paying boarders.	... <u>rentársela</u> por algunos dólares a sus huéspedes.	-	Unincorporated Lexical Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Clark <u>credits</u> his recovery <u>to</u> the power of their prayers.	Clark <u>relacionó</u> su recuperación <u>al</u> poder de sus oraciones.	-	Syntactic Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	He immediately <u>enlisted</u> in the Army.	Inmediatamente se <u>enlistó</u> en la Marina.	-	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Six months after his <u>enlistment</u> ...	Seis meses después de su <u>enlistamiento</u> ...	-	Unincorporated Lexical Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Clark's imagination <u>was sparked by</u> a casual comment.	*La imaginación de Clark <u>estaba encendida por</u> un comentario casual.	-	Syntactic Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Clark called a friend...to see if there were any job openings.	Mary llamó a una amiga...para ver si tenía alguna <u>chance</u> de trabajar allí.	-	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Clark became increasingly frustrated...	Clark se volvió cada vez más frustrada...	-	Syntactic Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Encouraged by her agent to try writing another book...	Alentada por su representante para que escriba otro libro...	-	Syntactic Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Clark threw herself into her	Clark se dedicó totalmente a la	-	Syntactic Anglicism

<sup>125</sup> [https://es.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary\\_Higgins\\_Clark&oldid=25905718](https://es.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary_Higgins_Clark&oldid=25905718)

		writing, <u>and</u> soon finished the novel.	escritura, <u>y</u> pronto terminó la novela.		
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Date	User (country)	ST	TT	ETT	Category
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	...the 1987 president of the Mystery Writers of <u>America</u>	...presidente de la Asociación de Escritores de Misterio de <u>América</u>	-	Unincorporated Lexical Anglicism
April 27, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	...given by the Mystery Writers of America to authors of suspense fiction	...otorgados a los escritores de misterio y suspenso de ficción <u>americanos</u>	-	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism
May 7, 2009	Rupert de hentzau (Spain)	Clark <u>credits</u> his recovery <u>to</u> the power of their prayers.	Clark <u>relacionó</u> su recuperación <u>al</u> poder de sus oraciones.	Clark <u>relacionó</u> su recuperación <u>con el</u> poder de sus oraciones.	Syntactic Anglicism corrected by user
May 10, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina) <sup>126</sup>	Suspense novels	Novelas de <u>suspense</u>	Novelas de <u>suspense</u>	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism added by user
May 10, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Clark called a friend...to see if there were any job openings.	Mary llamó a una amiga...para ver si tenía alguna <u>chance</u> de trabajar allí.	Mary llamó a una amiga...para ver si tenía alguna <u>oportunidad</u> de trabajar allí.	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism replaced by user
May 10, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	-	...estaban lo suficientemente bien económicamente, <u>con</u> una casa en el Bronx y <u>pasando</u> los veranos en Long Island Sound.	...estaban lo suficientemente bien económicamente, <u>como para tener</u> una casa en el Bronx y <u>pasar</u> los veranos en Long Island Sound.	Syntactic Anglicism corrected by user
May 10, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Clark cut his foot.	Clark se <u>cortó</u> su pie.	Clark se <u>hizo un corte</u> en el pie.	Incorporated Lexical Anglicism replaced by user

<sup>126</sup> All subsequent changes were performed by the main translator Mel23 (Argentina) upon request from Billyrobshaw (Spain), another user/editor who revised the translation.

[https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Discusi%C3%B3n:Mary\\_Higgins\\_Clark#SAB\\_09.2F05](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Discusi%C3%B3n:Mary_Higgins_Clark#SAB_09.2F05) (in Spanish)



<b>Mary Higgins Clark (ST) – Mary Higgins Clark (TT)</b>					
<b>Date</b>	<b>User (country)</b>	<b>ST</b>	<b>TT</b>	<b>ETT</b>	<b>Category</b>
May 10, 2009	Rupert de henzau (Spain)	Mary Higgins began writing	Mary se interesó <u>en</u> la escritura.	Mary se interesó <u>por</u> la escritura.	Syntactic Anglicism corrected by user
May 18, 2009	Cally Berry (Argentina)	Suspense novels	Novelas de suspense	Novelas de suspenso	Incorporated Anglicism reintroduced by user
May 18, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Suspense novels	Novelas de suspenso	Novelas de suspense	Edition reverted by user <sup>127</sup>
December 30, 2009	Argentine IP address	Suspense novels	Novelas de suspense	Novelas de suspenso	Incorporated Anglicism reintroduced by user
December 30, 2009	Mel23 (Argentina)	Suspense novels	Novelas de suspenso	Novelas de suspense	Edition reverted by user <sup>128</sup>

<sup>127</sup> [https://es.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary\\_Higgins\\_Clark&type=revision&diff=26456843&oldid=26456335](https://es.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary_Higgins_Clark&type=revision&diff=26456843&oldid=26456335)

<sup>128</sup> [https://es.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary\\_Higgins\\_Clark&type=revision&diff=32607015&oldid=32606872](https://es.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mary_Higgins_Clark&type=revision&diff=32607015&oldid=32606872)

Lord Guildford Dudley (ST) – Guilford Dudley (TT)					
Date	User (country)	ST	TT	ETT	Category
October 19, 2010	Rosymonterrey (Mexico)	<u>Edmund Dudley</u> , a councillor to <u>Henry VII</u> , who was executed after his royal master's death.	Su abuelo, <u>Edmund Dudley</u> , <u>consejero de Enrique VII</u> , <u>quien fue ejecutado</u> después de la muerte del Rey	-	Syntactic Anglicism
October 19, 2010	Rosymonterrey (Mexico)	Guilford's father became <u>Lord President of the Privy Council</u> and <u>de facto ruled</u> England from 1550–1553.	John Dudley se convirtió en <u>Lord Presidente del Consejo Privado</u> y <u>de facto gobernó</u> Inglaterra de 1550 a 1553.	-	Syntactic Anglicism
October 19, 2010	Rosymonterrey (Mexico)	At <u>Whitsun</u> , on 21 May and the next days, <u>three weddings were celebrated at Durham Place</u> .	En <u>Pentecostés</u> , el 21 de mayo y los días siguientes, <u>tres bodas se celebraron</u> en <u>Durham Place</u> .	-	Syntactic Anglicism
October 19, 2010	Rosymonterrey (Mexico)	<u>his cousin once removed</u> ...	<u>su prima una vez..</u>	-	Unincorporated Lexical Anglicism
October 19, 2010	Rosymonterrey (Mexico)	"[so] was I deceived by the Duke and the Council..."	"[tan] fui engañada por el Duque y el Consejo..."	-	Syntactic Anglicism
October 19, 2010	Rosymonterrey (Mexico)	Jane had agreed to be the <u>godmother</u> and wished the <u>child's name to be</u> Guildford.	Jane había acordado ser la madrina y deseaba que el niño <u>fuera nombrado</u> Guildford.	-	Unincorporated Lexical Anglicism
October 19, 2010	Rosymonterrey (Mexico)	Nevertheless, the government, <u>at the height of the</u> military crisis...	Sin embargo, el gobierno, <u>a la altura de la</u> crisis militar...	-	Unincorporated Lexical Anglicism
December 15, 2010	Goldorak (Spain)	Dudley's children...	Los niños de Dudley...	Los hijos de Dudley...	Lexical Anglicism replaced by user

