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STANDARDISATION IN TRANSLATED LANGUAGE: A STUDY OF COLLOCATIONS IN PENINSULAR AND COLOMBIAN SPANISH TRANSLATIONS OF *THE PICTURE OF DORIAN GRAY*¹

M.^a VICTORIA VALENCIA GIRALDO
victoriavalencia@usal.es
University of Salamanca

Abstract

The law of growing standardisation (Toury 1995) appears to be particularly at play in diatopy, and more specifically in the case of transnational languages. Some studies have revealed the tendency to standardise the diatopic varieties of Spanish in translated language (Corpas Pastor 2015a, 2015b, 2017, 2018). However, to our knowledge, no work has studied this tendency in the Spanish translations of a literary work. This paper focuses on verb + noun (object) collocations of Spanish translations of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde. Two different varieties have been chosen (Peninsular and Colombian Spanish). The techniques used to translate this type of collocations in both Spanish translations will be analysed. Further, the diatopic distribution of these collocations will be studied by means of large corpora. Based on the results, it is argued that the Colombian Spanish translation is actually closer to general or standard Spanish than to the variety of this country.

Keywords: Corpus-based translation studies; Diatopic variation; Collocations; Law of growing standardisation; Translation universals.

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Resumen

La ley de estandarización de Toury (1995) juega un papel importante en la diatopía y, particularmente, en el caso de las lenguas transnacionales. Se ha evidenciado una tendencia a estandarizar las variedades diatópicas del español en la lengua traducida (Corpas Pastor 2015a, 2015b, 2017, 2018). Sin embargo, hasta donde conocemos, no se han realizado estudios sobre esta tendencia en traducciones al español de obras literarias. Este artículo se centra en la traducción al español de las colocaciones verbo-nominales con función de objeto directo de *El retrato de Dorian Gray* de Oscar Wilde, en una traducción al español peninsular y en otra al español de Colombia. Se analizan las técnicas utilizadas para traducir este tipo de colocaciones y se estudia la distribución diatópica de estas mediante corpus. Con base en los resultados, se plantea que la traducción al español de Colombia se acerca más al español general que a la variedad de este país.

Palabras clave: Estudios de traducción basados en corpus; Variación diatópica; Colocaciones; *Law of growing standardisation*; Universales de traducción.

1. Introduction

Corpus-based Translation Studies have promoted research on the features of translated language, by focusing on the process and product of translation, from a descriptive perspective. Some of these features or regularities have been proposed by Toury (1995) under the term of laws of translation, namely the law of growing standardisation and the law of interference. According to Toury's law of growing standardisation, "in translation, source-text textemes tend to be converted into target-language (or target-culture) repertoemes" (1995: 303). In other words, the complicated textual relations established in the source text are replaced in the target text by more common ones in the target discursive-textual community. Thus, translated texts tend to be more conventional and standardised than non-translated texts. Another related notion was introduced by Baker (1993, 1996) under the umbrella term 'translation universals' in order to encompass several common features of translated texts (simplification, explicitation, normalisation, convergence and transference). Based on Toury's law and the universal of normalisation, some research has been carried out on the tendency to standardise the diatopic varieties of Spanish in translated language by means of collocations and other phraseological units (Corpas Pastor 2015a, 2015b, 2017, 2018). In general, it can be

inferred from those studies that the richness of the different Spanish national varieties is not reflected in translated language, nor in the existing bilingual dictionaries. However, to the best of our knowledge, no study has already determined whether the translation of collocations in a literary work reflects a specific Spanish variety or whether it is closer to general or standard Spanish.²

In this paper, we argue that the translation of verb + noun (object) collocations found in the first two chapters of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde (1890/1985) in a translation into Colombian Spanish appears closer to general or standard Spanish than to the Spanish variety of Colombia. In order to demonstrate this, the techniques used to translate this type of collocations in a translation into Peninsular Spanish³ (Wilde 1890/1999) and in another one into Colombian Spanish (Wilde 1890/1994) will be analysed. Moreover, the diatopic distribution of these Spanish collocations will be studied by means of large corpora. Section 2 addresses the definition of collocations, the diatopic variation they exhibit and their rendering into Spanish. Section 3 gives a cursory look at Baker's (1996) concept of translation universals, particularly normalisation, and Toury's law of growing standardisation, in order to explain the reasons why we endorse Toury's law as a convenient theoretical background, as well as previous studies on standardisation of diatopic varieties of Spanish in translation. Then, the choice of corpora is accounted for in Section 4. The main analysis and discussion of results is presented in Section 5, followed by the conclusions (Section 6) and the appendix.

2. Translation of Collocations and Diatopic Varieties of Spanish

The term collocation is understood as the property of language by which speakers tend to produce certain combinations of words among a large number of possible combinations (see Haensch, Wolf, Ettinger *et al.* 1982: 251). From a linguistic point of view, collocations are phraseological units which are free syntagms generated from rules, although, at the same time, they show different ranges of combinatorial restriction conditioned by use

2. General or standard Spanish is understood here as 'global' or 'unified' Spanish spoken/written all over the Spanish-speaking world (see Paffey, 2012).

3. The term Peninsular Spanish will be used to refer to Spanish from Spain, including the islands, Canary and Balearic Islands, Ceuta and Melilla.

(Corpas Pastor 1996: 53). A full discussion on the notion of collocation is beyond the scope of this work. We will present the main features we took into consideration to conduct this study.

Collocations are considered composite units and conventionally restricted structures, in which both collocates have a different semantic status (Hausmann 1989). For example, in *to make a decision* and *tomar una decisión*, nouns constitute the autosemantic bases, while *to make* and *tomar* are collocates, i.e., the meanings of these depend entirely on their respective bases.

As far as verb + noun (object) collocations are concerned, verbs (as collocates) in these combinations exhibit a variety of ranges of collocability: from practically unlimited to practically fixed with intermediate categories (Corpas Pastor 1996: 68-69). In the first type, we find collocations which share collocates and a base of the same semantic field, for instance *desempeñar un cargo*, *una función* or *un papel*, in Spanish. On the opposite extreme of the spectrum, we find practically fixed or very restricted collocations, such as *conciliar el sueño*, *acariciar una idea*, *grind one's teeth*, or *shrug one's shoulders*, whose collocates exhibit a figurative meaning or have a narrow or specific meaning (Aisenstadt 1979 in Howarth 1996: 39). Among the intermediate cases (*asumir una responsabilidad*, for example), a homogeneous group is formed by a delexical verb (or, rather, a verb used in a delexical sense, Howarth 1996), almost grammaticalised, and a noun, generally deverbal, which provides the fundamental meaning. Delexical verbs are highly polysemous verbs, such as *dar*, *tomar*, *hacer*, or *poner*; and *to take* and *to make*, etc., in English.

Collocations express typical relations between components, as can be observed in noun + verb and verb + noun collocations (Koike 2001). *Tocar la guitarra* and *rasguear la guitarra* are collocations, due to the typical relation between its components (Koike 2001). On the contrary, *limpiar la guitarra* and *guardar la guitarra* are not considered collocations, because the noun *guitarra* can only express a typical relation as a musical instrument (Koike 2001).

By repeating a combination of words, speakers recognise it as familiar and use it as if it were a prefabricated fragment (Corpas Pastor 2001). One way to determine whether a certain sequence is sufficiently frequent or salient to be considered conventionalised, habitual or typical is to count its occurrences in a corpus, as suggested by Manning and Schütze (1999). A large number of occurrences is enough to consider that a collocation is frequent, and therefore

entrenched in the mind of speakers. Nevertheless, a significant collocation could be considered typical and cognitively salient (entrenched), even if it might not strike as particularly frequent (Corpas Pastor 2015b: 6).

As Koike (2001) points out, lexical units that form a collocation do not necessarily have to be followed one after the other in a text. In some cases, one or more words appear in the middle of them. Some authors (Sinclair 1966; Jones and Sinclair 1974) have proposed the concept of *collocational span* of four words before and after the keyword or node, but there are collocations in which constituent elements are separated from each other by more than four words (Koike 2001).

Collocations tend to be semantically transparent, but not always predictable (Corpas Pastor 2015b, 2017). Unlike idiomatic phraseological units (idioms), collocations generally do not pose comprehension problems, but mainly in production, especially in second language learning, languages for academic/specific purposes, translation, and interpretation (Corpas Pastor 2016, 2017).

Collocations are not only peculiar to a particular language, but they also reveal variation in their collocational patterns when it comes to a particular text or literary style (Hardy 2007), an author style (Hoover 2003), domain-specific genres and registers (Biber and Conrad 1999, Gledhill 2000, Williams 2002, Copras Pastor 2015a, etc.). They are also useful to characterise language change over time (see Hilper 2006), and diatopic variation (see also Copras Pastor 2015b).

The translation of collocations into the target language is often characterised by the anisomorphism of languages when it comes to choosing collocates (Corpas Pastor 2015b, 2017). While bases are usually translated literally, collocates vary enormously. For example, *to pay homage* cannot be translated into Spanish as **pagar homenaje*, but, generally, as *rendir homenaje*. In general, the translator should try to make the translation of collocations sound as natural as possible in the target language, except, of course, when the function of a collocation is precisely to generate surprise or to draw the attention of the recipients, as frequently occurs in poetry, advertising and humour (Baker 2011).

In the case of transnational languages, such as English or Spanish, the rendering becomes even more complicated, since it is necessary to choose

the language variety into which to translate (Corpas Pastor 2015b). Let us illustrate this again with the collocation *to pay homage*. Spanish offers a wide range of collocates on a scale of formality and grammaticalisation, the most frequent of which are: *dar/hacer un homenaje* (informal), *rendir/tributar/brindar un homenaje* (formal). However, this list is further restricted if diatopic variation is taken into consideration. For instance, *dar y brindar* are not plausible verbal collocates for *homenaje* in Nicaraguan Spanish; in Mexican and Argentinean Spanish *dar* is not used, but *hacer* as delexical verb with *homenaje*. Dominican Spanish only allows collocations with *rendir* and *tributar*; in Honduran Spanish the only option is *rendir*, etc., (Corpas Pastor 2015b).

Translating diatopy is not a small or trivial task, and bilingual dictionaries are not of much help either, as they tend to maintain a simplified and conventional approach to the translation of collocations.⁴ In fact, there is currently no Spanish-English bilingual collocations dictionary (Corpas Pastor 2016, 2017), and in those where equivalents of collocations are included, e.g. Collins, Larousse and Oxford, *rendir homenaje* is offered as the only translation equivalent of *to pay homage* (Corpas Pastor 2015b), which does not at all reflect the richness of the Spanish language. However, according to Corpas Pastor (2015b), the varieties of transnational languages, like Spanish, should be taken into consideration in order to increase the fluency and naturalness of translated texts.

The tension between standard Spanish and transnational Spanish (pluri-centric) has consequences for the type of Spanish (transnational variety) used in translation. For commercial reasons, the translation industry has adopted the presumed neutral Spanish, as opposed to the Spanish located for a specific market (diatopic variety) (Corpas Pastor 2018). But this variety, far from being neutral, is loaded with a positive sociocultural value and prestige, in opposition to other diatopically marked varieties (Corpas Pastor 2018).

4. The term *simplification/simplified* is used in this paper following Lanstyak's & Heltai's (2012: 106) definition: it "can be defined as non-use of complex, marginal, marked or less consolidated vocabulary items or grammatical forms".

3. Features of translated language: The tendency to standardise language

For decades now, many scholars within descriptive translation studies have identified and hypothesised general features of translational behaviour exhibited by translators across time and cultures. In this regard, corpus-based translation studies have promoted empirical research on the search for regularities in translational behaviour combining qualitative and quantitative analysis. The examination of high and low-level linguistic aspects from huge corpora containing texts from different periods of time, places and genres have allowed researchers to confirm or disconfirm the supposedly universal features of translated texts in comparison with non-translated texts.

Yet this issue is far from uncontentious. First, there is still no consensus as to terminology to refer to tendencies of translational behaviour. Some scholars opt to use the term hypothesis, namely the explicitation hypothesis (Blum-Kulka 1986), and the simplification hypothesis (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1996); Toury (1995) proposes his laws of translation, namely the law of growing standardisation and the law of interference; others prefer to talk about universals (Baker 1993, 1996); Chesterman (2004a, 2004b) even distinguishes between S-universals and T-universals.

Particularly, the tendency to standardise/normalise translated language in comparison to non-translated language has received several terms: normalisation, conventionalisation, conservatism (Baker 1993, 1996) and standardisation (Toury 1995). Let us define this tendency, which is central to this paper, and then illustrate it with some studies carried out by different scholars. Baker (1996: 183) defines normalisation/conservatism as follows: “a tendency to exaggerate features of the target language and to conform to its typical patterns”. Normalisation is commonly observed in the use of typical grammatical structures, punctuation and collocational patterns or clichés.

As regards Toury’s law of growing standardisation, it can be synthesised as follows: “In translation, source-text textemes tend to be converted into target-language (or target-culture) repertoremes”. A *repertoire* is understood as “the range of *choices* which makes functions realisable through real products and practices” (Even-Zohar 1990: 40-43). And a *repertoreme* is any sign which forms part of a repertoire. When a repertoreme is retrieved from the repertoire and put into use in a particular text, it becomes part of a unique

network of internal relations in that individual act/text. These relations provide the retrieved repertoire with *ad hoc* textual functions, whereby it is rendered a texteme (Toury 1995: 304). Based on that account, Toury (1995) restates his law: “In translation, textual relations obtaining in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favour of [more] habitual options offered by a target repertoire”. Unique aspects in a source text are more likely to be transformed into institutionalised aspects in the target text, therefore translated texts show greater standardisation.

In fact, “there seems to be a discernible correlation between the degree of flexibility (or rigidity) with which the law is adhered to in a particular (sub) culture and the position assigned in that culture to translation [...]” (Toury 1995: 306). Therefore, “the more peripheral this status, the more translation will accommodate itself to established models and repertoires” (Toury 1995: 306-307). Standardisation, for example, may be observed in a lesser degree within a culture where translated literature is essential for the development of its own literary system (Even-Zohar 1990, Toury 1995) and, conversely, the degree of standardisation may be greater within a prestigious culture/language.

Now let us provide some examples where we can observe this tendency in translated language. May (1997) identified patterns of normalisation in the French and Russian translations of the modernist fictional works of Virginia Woolf and William Faulkner. The prose of these authors is characterised by the experimental use of punctuation and syntactic structure – conjunctions and parataxis –, which produces visual effects and highlights the interplay of different textual voices. However, these idiosyncratic structures of the authors are lost in translations when adapted to the conventions of the target language, for instance, when finishing incomplete sentences or when separating them if intertwined.

Besides grammar and punctuation, there are other aspects in which standardisation is observed, like lexical-combinatory patterns (May 1997). In this regard, it is worth mentioning Øverås’ (1998) research. This author finds in a bidirectional English-Norwegian parallel corpus that the most creative collocations are translated into more stable and common collocations, which are completely institutionalised in the target language. For instance, the Norwegian free collocation *nyfødt blankt* (literally ‘newborn blank’) is

translated into English as the restricted collocation *pristinely white*. Øverås terms this phenomenon *neutralisation* and explains it by means of Toury's law of growing standardisation.

As far as standardisation of regional varieties in translated language is concerned, Englund Dimitrova (1997: 62) analyses the way dialectal markers in *A Time on Earth* by Swedish writer Vilhem Moberg were translated into Russian and English. She notices that both English and Russian translators “do not employ in the translation any linguistic markers that can be identified as belonging to a specific dialect, nor to some larger regional variety”, but they rather translate the characters' speech into a marked colloquial language. This finding supports the idea that, since translated language tends to be more standardised and conventional, regional or diatopic varieties are underrepresented in comparison with non-translated language.

By conducting some corpus-based studies and the survey of certain bilingual dictionaries, Corpas Pastor (2015a, 2015b, 2017, 2018) has confirmed the fact that translated Spanish does not reflect the actual richness of the diatopic varieties of Spanish (see also Section 2). In her 2018 study, she analyses the translation into Spanish of the English idiom *to laugh one's head off*. This study presents the enormous diatopic variety of expressions in transnational Spanish (more exactly, 74 synonymous idioms) to express this same meaning, extracted from several (sub)corpora of the TenTen⁵ family: esTenTen (general, standard Spanish), esEuTenTen (Peninsular and Latin American Spanish varieties) and EsAmTenTen (Latin American national varieties). By contrast, the author provides the reduced number of equivalents (only 4) used in the Spanish subtitling of English-language films, which were analysed in the parallel subcorpus of Spanish-English subtitles: The Open Subtitles Corpus (2011 version). The results reveal a strong trend towards the standardisation of the idiomaticity and diatopic variety in film subtitling.

The works reviewed above examine standardisation from different perspectives. On one hand, May's (1997), Øverås' (1998) and Englund Dimitrova's (1997) works deal with standardisation of translated texts in comparison with their source texts. On the other hand, Corpas Pastor's (2015a, 2015b, 2017,

5. Available through Sketch Engine: <https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/>. (Subscription required).

2018) investigations highlight standardisation of translated texts with regard to non-translated texts in the target language (which is Spanish in these cases). This distinction of viewpoints when studying features of translated language was first drawn and termed by Chesterman (2004a, 2004b, 2010), namely S-universals and T-universals: “an S-universal formulates a generalisation about a difference between translations and source texts”, whereas “a T-universal claims something about typical differences between translations and non-translations in the target language” (Chesterman 2010: 40). In the specific case of standardisation, we could talk about S-standardisation and T-standardisation. Certainly, this paper delves into T-standardisation of Spanish.

3.1. Why is Toury’s concept of law of growing standardisation more useful than Baker’s universal of normalisation/conservatism?

Most studies on the features of translated language have used Baker’s term *universals*. Yet this term entails a number of problems, which are intended to be outlined very briefly in this section. First of all, it is worth noting that the definition of each universal feature (simplification, explicitation, normalisation, convergence and transference) is actually vague, and the boundaries between the categories used to describe them are not clear-cut, neither are the relations between them (see Pym 2008, for a detailed criticism on Baker’s categories of translation universals). For instance, Baker (1996) illustrates the universals of simplification and normalisation with the same example of experimental uses of punctuation and the way they are normalised in translated texts, which leads one to wonder what the actual difference between the two is.

As defined by Baker, the concept of translation universals implies that those tendencies are the result of the specific constraints of the process of translation, which make them unique and inherent to the process of translation only. Yet, some authors claim that these features of translated texts, as opposed to non-translated texts, are likely derived from specificities and constraints of language in general, rather than from translated language in particular (Halverson 2003, House 2008, Lanstyák and Heltai 2012, Szymor 2017, 2018). Szymor (2017: 34) states that “the universal or general tendencies

in linguistic behaviour of translators will not result from the constraints of the translation process but rather from the constraints that bilingualism and human cognition place on the said linguistic behaviour”. In addition to bilingualism, we believe that interculturalism is at play too. For instance, we may observe standardisation of linguistic varieties when speakers of different diatopic varieties of any transnational language, such as Spanish or English, try to communicate effectively to each other. In this attempt, they may be inclined to use lexical and phraseological units that are comprehensible for users of other varieties they are communicating with at a specific moment. Furthermore, standardisation can also be a strategy that speakers apply to express themselves in more formal communicative situations within their own culture and language.

Additionally, the use of the term *universal* is also problematic because, by definition, it is not suitable for the explanation of regularities of translated language. Since most studies on this issue have adopted the concept of universals, they have barely focused on accounting for the conditions that favour the recurrence of those features. Speaking of translation universals implies the assumption that the translation event is unchangeable and that it occurs within the same socio-cultural and historical context, and under the same conditions and variables. Obviously, this is not the case. There are numerous variables behind each translation event which inevitably exert an influence on the translational behaviour. Among those variables we find cognitive aspects (see Halverson 2003, Halverson 2007), cross-linguistic, or socio-cultural issues, namely: commercial interests of the translation industry (Corpas Pastor, 2016), editing processes (Bisiada 2017, 2019), the use of translation memories (Pym 2008) and bilingual dictionaries (at least in the case of English-Spanish) (Corpas Pastor 2016, 2017), risk-averse translator performance (Pym 2008, 2015). Toury (1995) claims that each factor can be influenced by the presence of another, that is enhanced, offset or mitigated. Consequently, he rather uses the term laws or regularities, instead of universals, because these concepts allow for the existence of exceptions and nuances.

Due to the problems with the term translation universals, and the advantages that Toury's laws present – as we outline below –, we endorse Toury's concept of law of growing standardisation in the development of this study

and advocate employing laws as a convenient theoretical background for describing and explaining general features that spread beyond a certain culture/language, text-type or period of time. Laws of translation offer the possibility to formulate conditioned statements that show the relationship between multifarious factors involved in the recurrence of a given translational behaviour. This concept embraces all kinds of factors, besides cognitive ones, to exert an influence on recurring translational behaviour. Taking into consideration the sociocultural nature of translation as activity, it would be absurd to dismiss the influence of the sociocultural environment; as the concept of translation universals, by definition, does. Laws of translation can be formulated in the form of restricted hypotheses, that is, by adding conditions under which they may or may not occur (or in a lesser or greater degree) and establishing relations between them, difficult though as it may appear. It is worth highlighting that laws can be further modified or enriched as more research is conducted. Laws are certainly more flexible and useful categories to work with than universals. In addition, it is worth mentioning that the idea of formulating conditioned statements about patterns of translational behaviour, encourages scholars to conduct empirical studies on the plausible factors involved in those behaviours. This indeed fosters a better understanding of the translation activity. Finally, an interesting feature of laws of translation is that they have a predictive quality, as Toury (1995, 2004) has emphasised. By establishing proper relations between variables, it is possible to predict future behaviour in translation products.

Considering that the case study which is presented below is part of an ongoing investigation, no in-depth analysis of the variables involved in the translation event has been performed, nor all of them have been identified yet.

4. Choice of Corpora

There are some diachronic corpora of Spanish documents on the web nowadays, such as *Corpus del Español* (CE)⁶, *Corpus de Documentos Españoles Anteriores a 1800* (CODEA)⁷, *Corpus Biblia Medieval* (BM)⁸, *Corpus Hispánico*

6. Available online through: <http://www.corpusdelespanol.org/>.

7. Available online through: <http://corpuscodea.es/>.

8. Available online through: <http://corpus.bibliamedieval.es/>.

y *Americano en la Red: Textos Antiguos* (CHARTA)⁹, *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE) and *Corpus Diacrónico y Diatópico del Español Americano* (CORDIAM). For this study, the following diachronic corpora have been selected: the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE)¹⁰ (Diachronic Corpus of Spanish), which contains American Spanish varieties and Peninsular Spanish (available through the Spanish Royal Academy); and the *Corpus Diacrónico y Diatópico del Español de America* (CORDIAM)¹¹ (Diachronic and Diatopic Corpus of American Spanish), which is accessible through the Mexican Academy of the Language.

CORDE was created by the Royal Spanish Academy in the late 1990s. It was the first historical corpus of Spanish. It is a corpus of texts from all the places where Spanish is spoken (23 countries): Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, USA, Spain, Philippines, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela. Due to its historical perspective, CORDE allocates a total of 74% to Peninsular Spanish and 26% to the remaining 22 varieties. Additionally, there are records of Spanish from all periods, from its beginnings to 1974. CORDE currently contains 250 million words (approximately) from texts pertaining to various subjects (fiction, didactics, science and technology, press, religion, history, law and legal). The CORDE interface allows narrowing searches to specific places, periods of time, and domains.

The *Corpus Diacrónico y Diatópico del Español de América* (CORDIAM) is divided into three subcorpora: CORDIAM-Documents, which contains chronicle, administrative, legal texts and letters; CORDIAM-Literature, where narrative, poetry, prose (satire, dialogues, first manifestations of modern essay, etc.) and theatre are found; and CORDIAM-Press, which is constituted by documents written exclusively in American Spanish from the 19 Latin American countries, besides Southern and Western United States, Jamaica, Haiti and Guyana (former territories of the Spanish crown). CORDIAM-Press

9. Available online through: <http://www.corpuscharta.es/>.

10. *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE): <http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html>.

11. *Corpus Diacrónico y Diatópico del Español de America* (CORDIAM): <http://www.cordiam.org/>.

contains only texts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because the press exists in America from the eighteenth century. CORDIAM covers texts from four centuries, the oldest dating from 1494 and the most recent from 1905. It is a relatively small corpus containing 4,475,759 words in 6,058 texts (4,178 documents, 15 literature and 1,865 newspapers).

In this study, the searches in CORDIAM were not restricted to any particular type of text or genre, because the portion of literary texts in CORDIAM is too small. However, they were narrowed to the nineteenth century (chronological criterion).

We have chosen to work with CORDE and CORDIAM for the following reasons: both corpora offer users the possibility of performing query searches by using geographical and chronological filters; both contain a wide variety of genres and a large number of words.

The searches for verb + noun (object) collocations in CORDE have been restricted geographically for obtaining individual results from Colombia, Spain and also from general Spanish. Due to the fact that *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was published in 1890, the chronological restriction here has been established between 1850 and 1950, because we consider this to be a reasonable period of time to observe the use of the language of that time, which must also be reflected in the target texts.

5. Rendering of Collocations

Collocations were extracted manually from the source text (ST), as well as their corresponding translation equivalents from the two selected target texts, one from Colombia (Wilde 1890/1994) and the other one from Spain (Wilde 1890/1999). The translation techniques used in the rendering of collocations into Spanish were identified and analysed in the selected texts, based on the classification of techniques proposed by Hurtado Albir (2001).

First, all verb + noun (object) combinations of the first two chapters of the ST and their corresponding translation equivalents in the target texts (TT) were extracted manually. Then some were eliminated until a list of 60 collocations was obtained. The criteria to discard some combinations of this type were typicality and frequency of use, hence the selected collocations express typical relations between their components and present high frequency of

use. Among the combinations that were discarded are to *cause excitement*, *preach the importance*, *return to the ideal*, etc. In cases where there was doubt, some dictionaries and resources were consulted, namely, the monolingual dictionary *Oxford Collocations* (2002), the corpus EnTenTen13 (see footnote 3) (Word Sketch through *Sketch Engine*), which indicates collocations or word combinations for any lemma queried, the *Diccionario Combinatorio Práctico del Español Contemporáneo*, the EsTenTen11 (see also footnote 3) and the diachronic corpora CORDE and CORDIAM. This was done with caution, since these resources do not take into account the diachrony of language, except for CORDE and CORDIAM.

5.1. Translation Techniques

It can be clearly observed that in the Colombian Spanish target text (hereafter CO_SP_TT) (see Table 1) a great variety of techniques were applied in the translation of verb + noun (object) collocations, while in the Peninsular Spanish target text (hereafter PEN_SP_TT) fewer techniques were used (see Table 2). Established equivalence was the preferred option in both target texts.

Table 1. Translation techniques identified in the rendering of collocations in the CO_SP_TT

TECHNIQUE	CO_SP_TT	PERCENTAGE
Established equivalent	47	77%
Linguistic compression	6	10 %
Modulation	2	3 %
Transposition	2	3 %
Literal translation	1	2 %
Discursive creation	1	2 %
Linguistic amplification	1	2 %
Reduction	1	2 %

77% of collocations were translated using the established equivalent technique in the CO_SP_TT. In this category, we group those collocations that were translated as other collocations recognised (by usage or by the dictionary)

in the target language (TL), and which, therefore, constitute the established equivalents, as we can observe in Table 2:

Table 2. Examples of established equivalents in the CO_SP_TT

	ST	CO_SP_TT
(1)	To catch the gleam	Ver el brillo
(2)	To elevate one's eyebrows	Arquear las cejas
(3)	To close one's eyes	Cerrar los ojos
(4)	To tell the truth	Decir la verdad
(5)	To exhibit a picture	Exponer un retrato Exhibir un retrato
(6)	To make a success	Tener éxito
(7)	To play the piano	Tocar el piano
(8)	To make a difference	Establecer una diferencia
(9)	To pay attention	Prestar atención
(10)	Disclose a mystery	Descubrir el misterio

In the vast majority of cases, the base was translated literally and the collocate did vary. In just one case the base was changed in the collocation, as in the translation of *to bear the burden* as *soportar el peso*.

Table 3. Translation techniques identified in the rendering of collocations in the PEN_SP_TT

TECHNIQUE	PEN_SP_TT	PERCENTAGE
Established equivalent	53	89 %
Linguistic compression	5	8 %
Literal translation	1	2 %
Reduction	1	2 %

Similarly, the established equivalent was the most frequently used technique in the translation of collocations in the PEN_SP_TT (see Table 3 and 4). For example, the collocations *to make a success* translated as *tener éxito* or *to play the piano* as *tocar el piano* (see also Table 2) in both target texts. It would not

make any sense to translate literally *to make a success* as *hacer un éxito*, hence it must be translated using the established equivalent in Spanish: *tener éxito*. Other examples are:

Table 4. Examples of established equivalents in the PEN_SP_TT

	ST	PEN_SP_TT
(1)	To produce an effect	Producir un efecto
(2)	To convey the sense	Transmitir la sensación
(3)	To elevate one's eyebrows	Alzar las cejas
(4)	To tell the truth	Decir la verdad
(5)	To exhibit a picture	Exponer un retrato
(6)	To make a contrast	Producir un contraste
(7)	To develop an interest	Fomentar interés
(8)	To paint a portrait	Pintar el retrato
(9)	To gain a reputation	Ganar una reputación
(10)	Break one's promises	Faltar a las promesas

As for the literal translation technique, this was applied in only one instance in both target texts. Many collocations in the English language are transparent, not only in terms of comprehension but also of production, which permits a word-for-word translation into Spanish, although this does not always imply that the resulting translation is a typical and frequent collocation in the TL, that is, the established equivalent. For instance, the collocation *to think (...) thoughts* translated as *pensar (...) ideas* in the PEN_SP_TT and *pensar con pensamientos* in the CO_SP_TT.

On the other hand, the linguistic compression technique was applied in the translation of collocations as single verbs in the TL, instead of as other collocations, resulting in a synthesis of linguistic elements. Most of these cases occur with collocations formed by delexical, almost grammaticalised verbs, and a generally deverbal noun, which provides the main semantic load (Corpas Pastor 1996: 69). Some collocations that illustrate this are:

Table 5. Examples of linguistic compression in both target texts

	ST	CO_SP_TT	PEN_SP_TT
(1)	to have no appreciation	No apreciar	No apreciar
(2)	to make no answer	Sin responder	No contestar
(3)	to make a difference	-	Distinguir
(4)	To ring the bell	Llamar	Llamar

Likewise, as an example of the use of this technique, we include collocations that were translated as more general verbs, like (4) *to ring the bell* and *llamar* (in both TT).

Other techniques were used less frequently in the translations analysed. In the CO_SP_TT, for instance, a change of point of view (modulation) can be observed in the translation of *to keep one's promises* as *faltar a sus promesas* and *to break one's promises* as *no cumplir sus promesas*. Additionally, a change of grammatical category is noticed in the translation of *to cure the soul* as *remedio para el alma* (transposition). In this same TT, a linguistic amplification is employed in the translation of the collocations *to frame [a portrait]* as *poner en marco [el retrato]*; and an ephemeral equivalence (discursive creation) is established for the collocation *to convey the sense* translated as *plasmar la velocidad*, which is not a frequent collocation in Spanish. Also, the reduction technique is clearly used in the omission of the collocations *to have a romance* in the PEN_SP_TT and *to give a definition* in the CO_SP_TT.

Not all collocations from the source language were translated as other collocations in the target language. Some of them were translated as free combinations of verb + noun, ephemeral equivalents (discursive creation), as verbs that contain all the semantic load, or they were simply omitted. Most of these instances were observed in the CO_SP_TT and others, such as the discursive creation, were pinpointed exclusively in this TT.

The English collocations found in the ST were consulted in some popular bilingual online dictionaries too, namely the *Oxford Dictionary*¹², *Collins*

12. *Oxford English-Spanish Dictionary* <<https://es.oxforddictionaries.com/>> (Accessed: 01-04-19).

*Dictionary*¹³, *Cambridge Dictionary*¹⁴, and the *Linguee Dictionary*¹⁵, with the aim of observing the repertoire of translation (English-Spanish) options they offer for collocations. Undoubtedly, the treatment of collocations in bilingual dictionaries is now extremely poor compared to that in monolingual dictionaries (Corpas Pastor 2017), and their approach to the translation of collocations is usually very simplified. In general, the *Linguee dictionary* is the one that provides the highest number of possible equivalents for collocations, for example:

Table 6. Equivalents for *to produce an effect* in bilingual dictionaries

To produce an effect	<i>Linguee</i>	<i>Collins Dictionary</i>
	(1) Causar un efecto	(1) Producir un efecto
	(2) Tener un efecto	(2) Surtir un efecto
	(3) Generar un efecto	
	(4) Producir un efecto	

Producir un efecto (4) is the one that has more instances. Conversely, in the other two bilingual dictionaries analysed no translation equivalent is found for this same collocation. Another example is *to yield to (a) temptation*.

Table 7. Equivalents for *to yield to (a) temptation* in bilingual dictionaries

To yield to (a) temptation	<i>Linguee</i>	<i>Oxford dictionary</i>	<i>Collins</i>
	(1) Rendirse a la tentación	(1) Ceder a la tentación	(1) Ceder a la tentación
	(2) Caer en la tentación		
	(3) Sucumbir a la tentación		

13. *Collins English-Spanish Dictionary* <<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/>> (Accessed: 01-04-19).

14. *Cambridge English-Spanish Dictionary* <<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/es/diccionario/ingles-espanol/>> (last accessed: 01-04-19).

15. *Linguee English-Spanish Dictionary* <<http://www.linguee.es/>> (last accessed: 01-04-19).

The English collocation *to exhibit the picture/portrait* is included in the *Collins* and *Cambridge dictionaries* with the verb *exponer* as the only translation equivalent, albeit in some Latin American countries the verb *exhibir* is a more common collocate for the nouns *cuadro/pintura*. Regarding the collocation *to pay attention*, its only translation equivalent found in these dictionaries is *prestar atención*, despite the fact that the verb *poner* is also a very frequent collocate used in American Spanish. It is evident that bilingual dictionaries do not reflect the diatopic variation of Spanish, but rather favour general Spanish as regards the translation of verb + noun (object) collocations. These results support those obtained by Corpas Pastor (2015b, 2017). In the following section, the results of the search for collocations in CORDE and CORDIAM are presented.

5.2. Searching Collocations in CORDE and CORDIAM

After identifying and analysing the techniques used in the translation of collocations in chapters 1 and 2 of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, it was necessary to discard those that are not considered collocations in the target language, in order to carry out the analysis in the Spanish corpora (CORDE and CORDIAM), whose results are presented below and in Appendix 1¹⁶.

A total of 50 collocations were extracted from the PEN_SP_TT, out of which 23 (46%) were also found in the CO_SP_TT, which means that both target texts share a high percentage of collocations. With respect to the results yielded by the large corpora, 44 (88%) collocations out of those 50 also occurred in general Spanish (GEN_SP) from CORDE. Forty-seven (94%) of these collocations appeared in Peninsular Spanish (PEN_SP) from CORDE and 3 (6%) were not found in CORDE or CORDIAM.

On the other hand, in CORDIAM only 9 (18%) collocations out of the total 50 were found in the GEN_SP and only 3 (6%) collocations in the Colombian Spanish (CO_SP) from CORDIAM: *producir un efecto*, *decir la verdad* and *prestar atención*.

A total of 48 collocations were found in the CO_SP_TT, out of which 23 (47.91%) were also found in the PEN_SP_TT. As for large corpora, 46

16. See Appendix 1 for an account of the number of occurrences of some collocations in CORDE and CORDIAM.

(95.83%) collocations out of those 48 appeared in the GEN_SP from CORDE, and 29 (95.83%) out of these also occurred in the CO_SP from CORDE, 2 (4.16%) were not found in CORDE or CORDIAM, and all of these collocations occurred in the PEN_SP (100%) from CORDE. As we can observe, a high percentage of the collocations that occur in the Colombian Spanish target text are used in Peninsular Spanish and in many other diatopic varieties.

Regarding CORDIAM, only 11 (22.91%) collocations out of 48 were found in the GEN_SP. Only 2 (4.16%) collocations occurred in the CO_SP. Let us summarise this information in Table 8 and 9:

Table 8. Summary of results retrieved from CORDE

PEN_SP_TT (50 collocations)	Percentage	CO_SP_TT (48 collocations)	Percentage
44 collocations occurred in the GEN_SP.	88%	46 collocations appeared in the GEN_SP.	95.83%
47 collocations appeared in the PEN_SP.	94%	29 also occurred in the CO_SP.	60.41%
		All of these collocations occurred in the PEN_SP.	100%

Table 9. Summary of results retrieved from CORDIAM

PEN_SP_TT (50 collocations)	Percentage	CO_SP_TT (48 collocations)	Percentage
9 collocations were found in the GEN_SP.	18%	11 collocations were found in the GEN_SP.	22.91%
3 collocations occurred in the CO_SP.	6%	2 collocations occurred in the CO_SP.	4.16%

The results retrieved from CORDIAM (see Table 9 and Appendix 1) were very poor, mainly those concerning Colombian Spanish. This is due to the small size of CORDIAM and the fact that the queries were restricted to the 19th century, which further reduced the chances of finding occurrences in this corpus.

Furthermore, the larger proportion of Peninsular Spanish words contained in CORDE (see Table 8 and Appendix 1) is justified by the fact that this is a historical corpus of Spanish from all the countries where Spanish has been spoken, thus the documents from Spain outnumber those from elsewhere.

The data reveals that the translation of collocations in the CO_SP_TT is closer to general Spanish than to Colombian Spanish, inasmuch as this TT and the PEN_SP_TT share a high percentage of collocations. Those collocations that were found only in the CO_SP_TT occurred in the corpora in other varieties too, especially in Peninsular Spanish, which indicates that none of these collocations are diatopically restricted to Colombian Spanish. Some collocations, despite appearing in the CO_SP_TT, were not found in the Colombian Spanish from CORDE or CORDIAM, albeit they were retrieved from other national varieties of CORDE. For example:

1. *Crear un efecto*
2. *Arquear las cejas*
3. *Exhibir el retrato*
4. *Sentir placer*
5. *Ceder a la tentación*

However, no occurrences of the collocations *crear (un) efecto* and *ganar (un) empuje*, extracted from the CO_SP_TT, were observed in any of the corpora, suggesting perhaps a very low frequency of use of such collocations in Spanish between 1850–1950. In the case of the collocation *crear (un) efecto*, as in the vast majority, it was necessary to check each of the concordances and discard some of them for not complying with the syntactic function we expected to find in the corpora.

It is also noteworthy that there were no instances in CORDE or CORDIAM of four collocations extracted from the PEN_SP_TT:

1. *Captar el efecto*
2. *Despilfarrar el oro*
3. *Captar el significado*
4. *Enmarcar un retrato*

This may be due to several factors: first, these collocations are neither very frequent nor very typical in the language; second, generally collocations

allow the variation of at least one of their components without affecting the meaning of the others, for instance *despilfarrar el oro*, where the noun *oro* could be replaced by *dinero/fortuna/recursos*, etc. *Despilfarrar dinero* does have occurrences in CORDE, although not in Colombian Spanish. As for the absence of the collocations *captar (el) significado* and *enmarcar (un) retrato* from both corpora, it could be attributed to a rare use of them in the period of time consulted.

The established equivalent was the most used technique in the translation of collocations in both target texts, which results in more conventional and standard translations, and less creative and experimental target language. Although a greater number of techniques were applied in the Colombian Spanish target text besides the established equivalent, this TT reflects a general Spanish. In other words, it does not exhibit specific features of the Colombian Spanish variety, as regards collocations, but, on the contrary, it is more similar to general Spanish.

On the other hand, the bilingual dictionaries consulted are characterised by maintaining this tendency to standardise translated language, listing only one or two translation equivalents for certain collocations. These dictionaries are indeed far from reflecting the reality of the diatopic variety of a transnational language like Spanish. In most cases, the collocations that we looked up in these dictionaries were not even listed. This is evidence of standardisation in translated language and, at the same time, can be a contributing factor for maintaining standardisation in translated language since dictionaries are one of the translators' essential tools. Other important tools are translation memories and machine translation. According to Pym (2008: 325), the use of translation memories reinforces standardisation because they offer consistency in terminology and phraseology. By the same token, we consider that corpus-based machine translation tools (statistical machine translation and Neural machine translation) also reinforce standardisation because, broadly speaking, they rely on huge parallel corpora, which results in more usual and standard translated language and less creative and unusual one.

Additionally, Pym (2008, 2015) argues that standardisation is a strategy used by translators to reduce communicative risk. Translators tend to select more frequent and typical collocations that are recognised and accepted by most of the Spanish-speaking community as the prestigious variety, rather

than select a diatopically marked variety that might sound odd and incorrect to the majority. Furthermore, standardisation practices may also take place during the editing process carried out by publishing houses, as Bush (1998:129) puts it: “In the English, Spanish and Portuguese-speaking worlds, for example, there will be issues of different dialects and editors who will only accept their variety of standard [...]. The editor’s reading, however, need not simply be a threatening and standardizing project”.

Today, research by means of diachronic and diatopic Spanish corpora faces numerous limitations. In this study, we had to deal with the fact that CORDE and CORDIAM are neither lemmatised nor grammatically annotated, which implies a slower data extraction process. Therefore, it was necessary to check each of the results yielded by the corpora to verify that these actually reflected the linguistic phenomenon we intended to analyse. To illustrate this, let us give the example of the query *mezcl* dist/5 color**, which yielded instances containing adjectives like *mezclado*, nouns such as *mezcla*, and verb + noun (subject) collocations, but these were ruled out as being beyond the scope of this study.

The total size of the subcorpus of Colombia, or that of any particular national variety, is not specified in either of the corpora. For this reason, it was not possible to establish the normalised frequency of each collocation. This, in turn, prevented us from comparing objectively the frequency of use of the collocations in different countries (subcorpora), in order to determine whether each collocation was more typical of and more frequent in one national variety or another – which is what was intended, generally speaking, in this research. Another disadvantage of CORDE is that in order to be able to check the concordances resulting from a given query, the maximum number of these cannot exceed 2,000. Consequently, it is necessary to formulate query searches as specific as possible so that all results are shown.

As far as CORDIAM is concerned, its size is much smaller than that of CORDE. Therefore, when query searches in CORDIAM are narrowed using geographical and chronological criteria, the results are very poor, or even zero. Furthermore, this corpus is composed mainly of legal, administrative, private documents and chronicles. Only a small percentage of the total corpus is made up of literary texts, which largely conditions the results of queries.

6. Conclusions

Generally, translated language tends to exhibit more features of standardisation than non-translated language. In the case of translated Spanish, we observe a tendency to avoid the use of diatopically marked phraseological units and, on the contrary, favour those that correspond to general or standard Spanish. In this paper, we argue that the rendering of verb + noun (object) collocations into Colombian Spanish of the first two chapters of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde is indeed closer to general Spanish than to the Colombian Spanish variety. The data reveal that the most frequently applied technique in the rendering of collocations in both target texts was the established equivalent. The Colombian Spanish target text shares 23 out of the 48 collocations (47.91%) with the peninsular Spanish target text. Secondly, the results of the analysis of the diatopic distribution of the collocations in CORDE show that 46 out of the 48 collocations (95.83%) found in the Colombian Spanish target text are also used in general Spanish and 100% of these in Peninsular Spanish. Moreover, no diatopically restricted collocations to Colombian Spanish variety were found.

The evidence presented in this study also reveals that bilingual dictionaries (English-Spanish) show a general and simplified approach to translation since they usually list only one or two translation equivalents, or even none, for certain collocations. This may indicate that the reality of diatopic varieties of Spanish, as a transnational language, is not taken into consideration. In conclusion, these findings support the starting hypothesis of this study, and they contribute to the research on standardisation of national varieties of Spanish in translated texts, insofar as they provide evidence on translated literature from English into Spanish. This could be explained by many factors, including, but not limited to, commercial interests of the translation industry, the use of translation memories, machine translation tools, and bilingual dictionaries (English-Spanish), risk-averse translator performance, editing process in both countries, among others. Undoubtedly, more thorough research on the variables that affect translational behaviour, and specifically the tendency towards standardisation (publishing-related, socio-cultural, and cognitive variables) is badly required to be able not only to describe this

translational behaviour, but also to explain it more accurately by means of Toury's law of growing standardisation.

However, a note of caution is in order at this point. The limitations of this study could have affected the distributional results obtained from CORDE and CORDIAM as to frequency and diatopy. Moreover, these conclusions are also limited by the fact that this study only deals with two translated texts. Further studies of this nature for Spanish and other types of phraseological units are badly needed in order to reveal 'true' regularities in translated language. A first step will be to revise and expand the existing diachronic and diatopic Spanish corpora, by size increase and annotation enrichment (particularly at the morphosyntactic level).

Appendix 1

TT	COLLOCATION	GEN_SP		CO_SP		PEN_SP
		CORDE	CORDIAM	COR-DE	CORDIAM	CORDE
PEN_SP_	Vislumbrar (el) resplandor	2	-	-	-	2
CO_SP_	Ver (el) brillo	16	-	-	-	10
Both	Soportar (el) peso	69	-	2	-	54
PEN_SP_	Producir (un) efecto	486	12	5	1	251
CO_SP_	Crear (un) efecto	-	-	-	-	-
PEN_SP_	Transmitir (la) sensación	2	-	-	-	1
Both	Cerrar (los) ojos	1022	2	27	-	738
CO_SP_	Arquear (las) cejas	51	-	-	-	48
PEN_SP_	Alzar (las) cejas	11	-	-	-	10
PEN_SP_	Ganar (una) reputación	7	-	-	-	4
CO_SP_	Adquirir fama	72	4	2	-	57
Ambos	Exponer (el) retrato	7	-	-	-	6

PEN_SP_	Exponer (el) cuadro	19	-	-	-	19
CO_SP_	Exhibir (el) retrato	7	-	-	-	4
CO_SP_	Menear (la) cabeza	139	-	2	-	97
Both	Decir (la) verdad	575	104	10	3	450
Both	Contar historias	163	-	1	-	130
Both	Responder (a la) pregunta	199	2	4	-	143
Both	Tener éxito	502	1	5	-	364
Both	Tocar (el) piano	199	-	-	-	126
CO_SP_	Establecer (una) diferencia	75	-	4	-	61
PEN_SP_	Presentar (una) idea	13	1	-	-	9
CO_SP_	Exponer (una) idea	28	-	1	-	26
PEN_SP_	Hallar placer	23	-	-	-	19
CO_SP_	Sentir pacer	63	-	-	-	34

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BIONOTE / NOTA BIOGRÁFICA

MARÍA VICTORIA VALENCIA GIRALDO holds a degree in Foreign Languages (English and French) from the University of Valle (Colombia). She completed her master’s degree in Translation at the University of Málaga with funding provided by the AUIP (the Iberoamerican Association of Postgraduate Universities). She is currently undertaking PhD studies in Translation at the University of Salamanca, supported by Banco Santander–Universidad de Salamanca International PhD Scholarship. Her doctoral thesis deals with the study of the tendency to standardise diatopic varieties of Spanish in literary translation from an empirical and descriptive perspective. She is a member of the editorial board of the journal CLINA from the Department of Translation

and Interpreting, University of Salamanca. M.^a Victoria has worked as an English teacher at the University of Valle and as a freelance translator of academic texts.

MARÍA VICTORIA VALENCIA GIRALDO es licenciada en Lenguas Extranjeras (inglés y francés) de la Universidad del Valle (Colombia). Tiene un máster en traducción de la Universidad de Málaga, el cual fue financiado gracias a una beca de la AUIP (Asociación Universitaria Iberoamericana de Posgrado). Actualmente está llevando a cabo estudios de doctorado en traducción en la Universidad de Salamanca, con la financiación de la beca de doctorado del Banco Santander –Universidad de Salamanca. Su tesis doctoral se centra en la investigación de la tendencia a la estandarización de las variedades dia-tópicas del español en la traducción literaria, desde una perspectiva empírica y descriptiva de la traducción. Es miembro del consejo de redacción de la revista CLINA del Departamento de Traducción e Interpretación de la Universidad de Salamanca. M.^a Victoria ha trabajado como profesora de inglés en la Universidad del Valle y se ha desempeñado como traductora de textos académicos.