# UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA

# *Lexical Gaps and Strategies Used by Language Teachers and Translators*

End-of-Degree Paper

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"When he is determined, who can resist him? When he wants to do something, he does it."
(Job 23:13)

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## ABSTRACT:

Linguists usually address existing or occurring lexical items. However, there could be words that do not occur but could potentially materialise in the lexicon of a language. These non-occurring words are considered to be gaps or holes in the system of a language. This paper pretends to explore those gaps, also known as lexical gaps, or lexical lacunae, focusing on the genesis of this linguistic phenomenon, the variety of definitions it has received throughout time and its typologies. Since it plays a role in so many aspects of linguistics, then this study will go further by answering certain questions and issues related to the topic. For instance, the scarcity of research papers that deal with the problems and challenges those lexical lacunae bring in some fields, such as in translation and in language teaching. Finally, I will analyse the result of a questionnaire aimed at knowing the strategies used by language teachers and translators when coping with the gaps.

*Keywords*: lexical gaps, language teaching, translation,

## RESUMEN:

El estudio de los elementos léxicos existentes u ocurrentes en el léxico de una lengua es habitual entre los lingüistas. Sin embargo, a diferencia de las palabras que están en uso, existen palabras que potencialmente pueden materializarse pero que de hecho no se materializan en el vocabulario. Estas palabras no ocurrentes se consideran lagunas o agujeros en el sistema de una lengua. Este trabajo pretende estudiar dichas lagunas, también conocidas como lagunas léxicas, o carencias léxicas, centrándose en la génesis de este fenómeno lingüístico, la variedad de definiciones que ha recibido a lo largo del tiempo y sus tipologías. Dado su interés, este estudio irá más allá al responder a ciertas preguntas y problemas relacionados con el tema. Por ejemplo, los problemas que causa en la traducción y en la enseñanza de idiomas. Por último, analizaré el resultado de un cuestionario destinado a conocer las estrategias utilizadas por los profesores de idiomas y los traductores a la hora de afrontar las lagunas.

*Palabras clave:* lagunas léxicas, enseñanza de idiomas, traducción

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

In the study of the lexicon of a particular language, existing lexical items or occurring words are customarily analysed by linguists. Although it is undeniable that linguists should give more importance to words that are present, there are other topics related to a language lexicon that are worthy of recognition, and therefore should also be studied. One of those topics is the question of whether the "lexical system of a language is complete and fully integrated or it is incomplete, with holes at certain points." (Ivir, 1977, p. 167) Linguists, such as Trier (1934, quoted by Ivir, 1977, p. 168) answered this question arguing that the lexical system of a language is complete, hence, the existence of gaps is impossible. One reason that might lead up to this assertion is that, as Ivir mentions, "every language serves perfectly the needs of its native speakers" and that native speakers of a language are unconscious of the existence of holes, as long as they "remain within the world in which, and for which that language has been developed." (Ivir, 1977, p. 168) This reasoning, to some extent, is acceptable. However, as a counterargument, quite a huge number of researchers (Kandler, 1959; Marouzaeau, 1963; Geckeler, 1971; Lyons, 1977; Lehrer, 1970a), with whom I agree, postulate that there exist holes in the lexical system of a language.

This lack of lexicalisation may be attributed to the fact that some elements are not available in the world where the language is used. These gaps can be noticed when the lexical system of a language comes into contact with another language, i.e. when two languages with two social and cultural differences are being compared. (Ivir, p 172; Cvilikaitë, 2006) The Indian words *dhaba* and *kanyadaan*, for example, respectively used to describe a roadside eatery mostly seen on highways in India and a ritual performed at Hindu weddings, have no direct translations in either English or Spanish, as they are culturally bound terms. However, we can also find examples that, in contrast with the Indian ones, cannot generally be said to be culturally bound, as they are things that perfectly describe many common aspects of the everyday lives of the speakers from both languages that are being compared. For instance, when the vocabulary of English and Filipino are compared together, we can detect that English does not have a word for the Filipino word *gigil*, a word used to describe the overwhelming feeling that comes over us when we see something cute. Another example is when we compare Spanish and English, where we find multiple examples of gaps, such as the lack of words in Spanish to refer to the English words such as *commuter*, or the absence of a word in English to refer to the Spanish

word *sobremesa* along with others. Paying more attention to the English word *commuter*, it is not only in the United Kingdom where we find people who regularly travel between work and home, as every morning in Spain, or even in other developed countries, *commuters* pack the trains. Apart from that, gaps in the lexicon become apparent if we conduct an in-depth examination of a language paying attention to the rules it has established for what a good word is. For instance, in studying the word-formation of the English language, several deverbal nouns, or nouns that derived from verbs or verb phrases, might have either the suffix -al or –(t)ion along with other suffixes. Interestingly, some verbs, for instance, the verbs *propose* and *recite* have two ways of forming nouns: *proposal* and *proposition*/*recital* and *recitation*. If these forms are acceptable, it is arguable that verbs like *arrive* and *derive* which have *arrival* and *derivation* as nouns might have failed to lexicalise another noun for *arrivation and *derival*. Hence, it is disputable that there is a missing word or a gap in the derivational morphology of the English language.

To sum up, in conformity with the assumption that the lexical system of a language is incomplete and with gaps, many linguists have recognized the idea of lexical gaps also called *lexical lacunae*. In this paper, I will endeavour to explore the world of lexical gaps, revisit the genesis of this linguistic phenomenon, and consider the different ways of defining the concept that leads to the unravelling of its types. Subsequently, I will briefly discuss the scarcity of research papers that deal with the problems and challenges those lexical lacunae bring in some fields, such as in translation and in language teaching, and mention a few articles that, to some extent, engage with the main topic of this research, which is the strategies that language teachers and translators use in filling the gaps. Finally, a questionnaire is made for different purposes. One of the prime motives of the questionnaire is to probe whether lexical gaps are detrimental for the said professionals and to elicit specific situations and examples where challenges arise from the participants. Lastly, I will delve into the main objective of this study which is to be cognizant of the strategies that language teachers and translators (would) use to cope with gaps in the lexical system of a language.

## 2. TYPOLOGY OF NON-EXISTING WORDS

Prior to the journey through the depths of lexical gaps, I would like to briefly revisit the idea of non-existing words and try to modify the assumption that non-existing words can be used as a synonym or alternative to refer to lexical gaps.

Non-existing words, also called non-occurring words are words that are not part of the vocabulary. Noam Chomsky (1965, pp.169-170), in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax,* and Chomsky & Halle (1965) provide a simple categorization of non-existing words. On the one hand, they distinguish what they infer to as *accidental gaps* which "correspond to lexical items that the language does not provide for specifically but could in principle incorporate with no alteration of the general semantic system within it functions." (Chomsky, p.170) To put it another way, *accidental gaps* are words that do not occur but could reasonably be expected to occur, as they follow the rules of the system within they function. On the other hand, Chomsky introduces the existence of *systematic gaps* which contrast with the previous type of non-existing words. *Systematic gaps* stand for words that are not expected to exist for having a nature that infringes the rules of what a *good* word is in a particular language.

Furthermore, focusing on the idea of *accidental gaps*, an inclusion of two more relevant terms that help understand the concept is inserted in table 1 from Janssen's article. *Accidental gaps* can be either *formal gaps* or *semantic gaps*. The former, also called *morpheme gaps*, has to do with "words" that "do not refer to any notion" (Janssen, p.1) and they are "segments or strings of letters that could possibly form words." (Chomsky, 1965) Whereas the latter, as defined by Lehrer (1974), is "the lack of a convenient word to express what (the speaker) wants to speak about." In other words, a *semantic gap* is the lack of a word to express any notion.

|  | Accidental | Systematic |
|---|---|---|
| Formal | Formal gap | Impossible lexical entry |
| Semantic | Semantic gap | Non-lexicalizable notion |

Table 1. A coarse taxonomy of non-existing words[1]

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[1] Taken from Maarten Janssen's research paper: *Lexical Gaps.* *http://maarten.janssenweb.net/Papers/2012-lg-janssen.pdf*

When referring to the notion of non-existing words, linguists often resort to the concept of lexical gaps, or lexical lacunae arguing that "non-existing words are indications of "holes" in the lexicon of the language that could be filled." (Janssen, 2004 p. 1) Nevertheless, this paper suggests that lexical gaps should not be used as a synonym or an alternative term for non-existing words—as Maarten Janssen (2004) evokes in her article— for it mainly belongs to a specific type of non-existing words. That is, in accordance with the classification of Chomsky (1965) and Chomsky & Halle (1965) and also introduced in Janssen's article (2004), non-existing words can be divided into four different classes and that lexical gaps are, in most cases, reserved for *accidental gaps*: either formal or semantic [see table 1]. Moreover, a lexical gap, in basic terms and as I will explain in-depth in the following part, can be described as a word that can take form because it *follows the rules* of the language it will possibly be inserted into. Therefore, if we employ the concept of lexical gaps to refer to non-existing words, it then becomes contradictory, as non-existing words can also be used to talk about "impossible lexical entry" and "non-lexicalizable notion," as illustrated in table 1.

To sum up, I suggest that we use lexical gaps not as an alternative for non-existing words, but as an alternative term for accidental gaps. However, to achieve a much better understanding of lexical gaps and to give more supporting ideas on why it should not be used as an alternative term when referring to non-existing words, the question of "what is a lexical gap?" must be answered.

## 3. WHAT IS A LEXICAL GAP?

Despite not being the main subject of interest for many linguists, different conceptualisation and definitions emerge amongst linguists who conducted their research on lexical gaps. Thus, this paper will trace back the origin of this term and discuss the two different ways of defining it: lexical gaps across languages and lexical gaps within a language.

### 3.1. The Genesis of Lexical Gaps

Although it is commonly perceived that the forerunners of the study of lexical gaps are Chomsky (1965) and Chomsky & Halle (1965) (Janssen, 2004; Sankaravelayuthan, 2018), the first linguists who introduced the term *lacuna*, or *holes* in linguistics were J.P. Vinay and J. Dabrelnet (1958) in their studies on translation. They understand the concept of *lacuna* to be

a "phenomenon that is increasingly becoming active when translating a meaning from a source language that has no corresponding equivalent in the target language."[2] This definition will here be called a cross-linguistic definition, something that will be dealt with in the following part. A decade later, Chomsky (1965) and Chomsky & Halle (1965) introduced the distinction between accidental gaps and systematic gaps that were previously deliberated about [see section 1]. This definition will be used as the basis for the following linguists who will devote themselves to the study of gaps in a language.

Subsequently, the issue of lexical lacunae attracted many Russian researchers (Muravev, 1975; V.G. Gakk, 1977; Zhelvis et al, 1979) in their study aimed at improving their workshop in connection to translating Russian literary works worldwide, where appeared multiple untranslatable/difficult to be translated concepts, words and expressions into other languages. As a result, in the study of lexical gaps, it is inevitable not to come across a Russian linguist dealing with the topic. By the same token, other linguists, such as Janssen (2004), Cvilikaitë (2006) and Bentivogli, L. and E. Pianta (2000) also became engaged in conducting investigations concerning lexical gaps in an attempt at building a multilingual lexical database, such as the Italian Wordnet and SIMuLLDA.

## 3.2 Defining Lexical Gaps

There exist two prevailing ways of defining lexical gaps: on the one hand, the cross-linguistic approach (or across languages) which is the predominant one, and on the other, as Ivir puts it, the intra-language (intra-systemic) approach—lexical gaps within a language (Ivir, p. 169). Nevertheless, this paper, after discussing these two types, will also include more examples of definitions and, finally, the definition that this paper follows.

The crosslinguistic approach could have possibly originated from the definition of J.P. Vinay and J. Dabrelnet (1958). In other words, scholars usually conform to the idea of defining the concept as a result of comparing two languages, or when two languages had contact. Take for example Jurgita Cvilikaitë's definition (2006) who used similar terms applied by Vinay and Dabrelnet (1958). Cvilikaitë (2006, p. 2) defines lexical gaps as "instances of lack of lexicalisation detected in a language while comparing two languages and in a target during translation." Other linguists who also shadow this approach are Bentivogli et al (2000) and

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[2] My translation from the Spanish definition provided by Jaskot.

Hutchins and Somers (1992). However, there is a small difference in their definition, as unlike Vinay and Dabrelnet (1958), Bentivogli et al (2000) and Hutchins and Somers (1992) define lexical gaps as a process "whenever a language expresses a concept with a lexical unit whereas the other language expresses the same concept with a *free combination of words* (Bentivogli, p. 2). This definition not only focuses on the issue of lexical gaps across languages, but also penetrates the issue of what can be considered a word or lexical item and the boundaries among idioms, restricted collocations, and free combinations.

The second approach following the crosslinguistic one is the intra-language approach (Ivir, p. 169) that consists of defining lexical gaps within a language, where linguists mainly rely on a particular language and the rules it has established for what a *good* word is. This manner of defining lexical gaps can be reckoned with a structuralist approach, as its focal point is to contrast elements of the language structure and it attempts to show how it relates to the whole structure. This might possibly explain the reason why Ivir also calls this approach intra-systemic. Several linguists, such as Lyons (1977) and Li (2007) take this perspective. Lyons, for instance, defines lexical gaps as slots in a patterning. (Lyons (1997, pp. 301-305). Whereas Li (2007), having Chomsky's elaborations of *lexical gaps* as a starting point, proposes that in order to have a subtle definition of what a lexical gap is, three aspects must be taken into consideration: (1) the rules of the phonological system, (2) the rules of morpheme combination and (3) the rules of sememe combination. For example, *fmlayi* and *nesshappi* cannot be termed as instances of lexical gaps and accepted as words in English, except if they are borrowed from another language, as they do not follow the three criteria Li (2007) has proposed.

Additionally, other linguists provide simpler definitions by resorting to synonymous words to lacuna which, to some extent, highlight more the scarcity of vocabulary in the language involved. Such are the cases of Wang (1989) and Fan (1989) who respectively define lexical gaps relating it to the Chinese language as "empty linguistic symbols" and as "empty spaces in a lexeme cluster." (Wang, 2017, p. 748) Rajendran (2001) uses a more metaphorical definition by referring to lexical gaps as vacuums in the vocabulary structure of a language. Finally, Brian Mott (2009, p. 19) simply defines lexical gaps as "the absence of a lexeme at a specific point in the structure of a lexical field."

Amongst all these different definitions, this paper defines lexical gaps following Wang's definition (2007): "a lexical gap stands for the lack of a certain lexeme in a certain lexical field inside one and the same language. In other words, a lexical gap is a potential lexical item which has the likelihood to materialise but in fact does not materialise in the vocabulary, and which constitutes reasonable compensation for the vocabulary if it materialises." (Wang, 749) The decision for adhering to this definition is that Wang (2007) incorporates the clashing approaches, the crosslinguistic approach and structuralist approach, in order to define the term. Moreover, arguing that a lexical gap is a potential lexical item, Wang's definition emphasizes the assumption earlier that lexical gaps cannot be used as an alternative term for non-existing words, because if non-existing words are classified to be either accidental gaps or systematic gaps and that the latter is mainly reserved for "impossible lexical entry" and "non-lexicalizable notion," then making lexical gaps as a synonym for non-existing words contradicts the whole idea.

## 4. TYPOLOGY OF LEXICAL GAPS

After visiting the different ways of defining lexical gaps, the classification of this linguistic phenomenon must be considered. First, it is essential to distinguish the difference between Linguistic and Extralinguistic gaps. (Jaskot, 2014) Thereupon, the classification of lexical gaps will be analysed.

### 4.1. Linguistic vs. Extralinguistic gaps

Before entering the typology of accidental gaps according to Chomsky, this paper, in congruence with Jaskot's article (2014), would like to distinguish the difference between linguistic and extralinguistic gaps.

Linguistic gaps are "gaps that appear when translating a lexical unit into another language and finding a lexical-semantic gap." [3] (Jaskot, p. 130) In simpler words, and also encapsulating not only Jaskot's translation perspective, but also the structuralist one, linguistic gaps are kinds of gaps that belong to the language system and are realized through the usage of lexical units.

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[3] English translation of Jaskot's article (2014): *Buscando las brechas de significado: las lagunas léxicas entre el español y el polaco.*
*https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272357771_Buscando_las_brechas_de_significado_las_lagunas_lexicas_entre_el_espanol_y_el_polaco*

(Jaskot, p. 130) Inversely, extralinguistic gaps refer to lacunae that are not part of the language. That is, in comparison with linguistic gaps, extralinguistic gaps are not realized by means of lexical (or phraseological) units; they may be, for example, gestures or behaviours linked to the act of greeting or saying goodbye. With the aforementioned information, it must be accentuated that the types of non-existing words registered in table 1 are merely examples of linguistic gaps and therefore, the succeeding information alludes to that type of gaps.

## 4.2. Six Types of Lexical Gaps

An overview of the typology of lexical gaps is provided in Marten Janssen's article (2004).[4] She distinguishes six different types of *accidental gaps,* and they are as follows:

## 4.2.1. Morpheme Gaps

It is commonly perceived that there exists a formal tripartite distinction of occurring, possible but non-occurring, and impossible words (Chomsky, 1965; Janssen, 2012; Lehrer, 1970) and that the orthographic rules and the vocabulary of language are the elements to which we can resort to distinguish these three types. Let us take into consideration the following example from Janssen.

> *"… in English, apple is a (lexical) word of the language, drapple is a possible word that does not exist, and drrpple is an impossible word in English."*

The example given above does not merely help to differentiate the said formal tripartite distinction, but it also sheds light on the idea of *morpheme gaps*. These kinds of gaps refer to a sequence of segments that is permitted by phonological rules but not found, and they are also known as possible words. The non-occurring word *drapple* from the example above is a morpheme gap in English because it consists of a sequence of segments that respect the phonological well-formedness condition of the English language. Another most quoted example for morpheme gaps is /blik/. (Chomsky, 1965; Lehrer, 1970)

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[4] See appendix to see the chart.

## 4.2.2. Morphological Gaps

A morphological gap or derivational gap is a word that can be generated from an existing word by productive morphological rules, mainly derivational rules, such as ordinary productive stems and affixes. However, the result of combining these stems and affixes in ordinary ways are shunned by native speakers. Examples[5] are *uglify*, *examinal*, *developal*, *coolen*, *greyen*, *puren*. (Carstairs-Mccarthy, 2007)

## 4.2.3. Paradigm Gaps

If morphological gaps in the derivational morphology are termed to be derivational gaps, gaps in inflectional morphology are mostly called paradigm gaps. The presence of paradigm gaps in English can be found in the absence of singular forms for *trousers* and *scissors*. (Lehrer, 1970) Adam Albright (2006)[6] centres his study on the lexical and morphological conditioning of paradigm gaps and throughout his article, he provides examples of paradigm gaps from languages such as English and Spanish. One of the most interesting examples he mentions had to do with the problematic past participles in American English (e.g., *dive ~ dove ~ ???*; *stride ~ strode ~ ???*). Paradigm gaps can also be observed in the French language through the presence of defective verbs, such as the verb *frire*. (Baronian & Kulinich, 2012) This verb has singular forms for the first, second and third person, but the plural forms are missing.

(1)  1SG: *je fris*     2SG: *tu fris*     3SG: *il frit*
     1PL: nous *\*frissons, \*frisons, \*frions, \*frivons, \*fritons...*
     cf.  *nous finissons* 'we finish'     *nous conduisons* 'we drive'
          *nous marions* 'we marry'     *nous écrivons* 'we write'

Defective verbs are hence irregular in that speakers fail to use their language's morphology to generate certain forms.

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[5] For more examples, see Renate Raffelsiefen's article where he focuses on verbs derived by -ize-suffixation, arguing that gaps in word-formation result from the interaction of phonological well-formedness conditions and conditions on phonological transparency between derived forms and their bases. https://ids-pub.bsz-bw.de/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/4892/file/Raffelsiefen_Gaps_in_Word_Formation_1996.pdf

[6] This article is a draft, but it is useful for its examples. https://web.mit.edu/albright/www/papers/Albright-Lexically%20conditioned%20gaps.pdf

### 4.2.4 Semantic/Functional Gaps

As Lehrer (1974) defines it, a semantic or functional gap is "the lack of a convenient word to express what (the speaker) wants to speak about" and he argues that this is the most 'fascinating' yet 'unexplored'. (Lehrer, p. 257) Some critics argue that most instances of this gap are not particularly interesting, as there is hardly a reason for such words to exist. (Janssen, p.2) However, part of that assumption is true, and the other half is not. One interesting example is that numerous languages do not have a word to refer to a parent whose child has died, a word that will mean a lot for parents who have faced or are facing this terrible situation.

### 4.2.5. Matrix/Taxonomic Gaps

This type of semantic accidental gap is the result of comparing lexical items occurring in the lexicon of a language through constructing a matrix. In this matrix, we include a set of components, such as semantic features, sememes, along with others. (Ivir, 1977; Lehrer, 1970) Alternative names for this gap is a taxonomic gap or *pseudo-word*. To illustrate, the English language distinguishes lexically between gendered poultry and lexicalizes the semantic feature of 'young of' in the said lexical field, yet a gap can be observed in the case of *turkey*. [see table 2 from Ivir]

| Semantic Feature | male | female | 'young of' |
|---|---|---|---|
| Type of bird | Cock/rooster<br>Gander<br>Drake<br>Turkey | Hen<br>Goose<br>duck<br>—— | Chicken<br>Gosling<br>Duckling<br>—— |

Table 2. Gaps in poultry animals

Another example of these gaps I have found is that most of the professions in English underwent the lexicalisation process of being gendered (male, female, and gender-neutral), but when dealing with the profession of being a cook/chef and writer, English does not provide words to refer to male/female cook and male/female writer, as seen on the table below.

| Semantic feature | Male | Female | Gender-neutral |
|---|---|---|---|
| Profession | ———  ———  policeman  salesman | ———  ———  policewoman  saleswoman | cook/chef  writer  police  seller |

Table 3. Gaps in Profession

## 4.2.6. Translational Gaps

In contrast with the previously discussed types of gaps which are intra-language (intra-systemic), translational gaps are the outcome of a contrastive analysis of pairs of languages (or more languages). (Ivir, p. 169) In simpler words, these gaps stand for words in a language (or source language) for which no lexical word exists in another (target language) that expresses that same meaning. It is also called untranslatable words. Analysing two online English-Spanish dictionaries, I come across several examples of translational gaps. The examples listed in the following table are five verbs that the Spanish language has failed to lexicalise. Therefore, instead of translating them with one word, these bilingual dictionaries relied on a free combination of words.

| English words | Translation in Collins Dictionary | Translation in Cambridge Dictionary |
|---|---|---|
| glower, v | mirar con el ceño fruncido | tener el ceño fruncido, fulminar con la mirada |
| eavesdrop, v, | escuchar a escondidas | escuchar a escondidas |
| conjure, v | hacer juegos de manos | hacer magia, hacer juegos de manos |
| connive, v. | hacer la vista gorda | hacer la vista gorda |
| brethalyse, v. | someter a la prueba de la alcoholemia o del alcohol | hacer una prueba de alcoholemia |

Table 4. English verbs and their equivalent in Spanish online Bilingual dictionary

Furthermore, many studies have been carried out about this cross-linguistic lexical gap and some assumptions have been made. An interesting instance was concerned with the division of this concept into two depending on the fields they belong: lexical gaps in political systems and lexical gaps in habits and customs. (Sevensen quoted in Wang, 2017, p. 749) As their names explicitly indicate, the former kind of translational gaps has to do with holes in the system of the target language for specific political, economic, and legal institutions which the source language has lexicalized. Examples are *the Electoral College*, *the Federal Reserve System* in the USA. The second type is more related to lexical gaps "resulting from the absence of the terms in the TL for the historical events, customs and festivals", such as The *Boston Tea Party* and *Thanksgiving*. (Wang, p. 749) As fruits of culture-loaded words in the SL, these types of translation gaps cannot be translated word for word.

## 5. LEXICAL GAPS IN TRANSLATION AND LANGUAGE TEACHING

Over the years, a significant number of papers concerning lexical gaps has been published. It is conspicuous, however, that research papers about this linguistic phenomenon mostly revolve on the theoretical part, on classifying the different types of gaps and on the issues about its definition. However, gaps in the lexical system can be crucial for professionals, such as translators and language teachers, yet little attention has been paid to the coping techniques or strategies that can be used when dealing with these gaps. There is almost no article that tries to elucidate the filling methods that translators and language teacher can employ in order to solve the problems lexical gaps present in the process of translating and in teaching. This unavailability of research papers calls attention to the need for carrying out an investigation on the topic involved.

Nevertheless, assuming that most studies on the presence of lacunae in the lexical system of a language are associated with cross-linguistic lexical gaps, I consider the two filling methods that Wang has mentioned in his article— (1) filling the lexical gaps through hypernyms and (2) filling the lexical gaps employing antonymous expressions— as possible practical methods for translators and language teachers, most especially for the former, when approaching the gaps. In terms of using hypernyms, Wang uses the example Chomsky has provided, an example that Lehrer also utilizes, which has to do with dead animals and dead plants. He explains that English has a hypernym form for "dead animals", which is "carcass", but there is no such word for the concept of "dead plants" and to fill this lexical gap, native

English speakers resort to the combination of the hypernym of dead plants, which is the plural noun form "plants" and the modifier "dead." In terms of filling the gaps by means of antonymous expressions, it is a strategy where we use a term whose meaning conveys an opposite meaning of the lexical gap. Apart from these two, as every translation practitioner know, countless translation strategies are useful to fill the gaps, for instance, the translation procedures and methods proposed by Newmark (1988) in his book *Approaches to Translation* and the translation strategies listed in Hossein Vahid Dastjerd's paper *Strategies Used in the Translation of Scientific Texts to Fill the Lexical Gap*[7].

Furthermore, even though no article discusses whether lexical gaps are problematic to language teachers and, hence, the techniques they would use in filling the gaps, the article written by Hojati et al (2014) that focuses on the strategies used by Iranian EFL students can be profitable, as it mentions six lexical gap-filling compensatory strategies. These six methods are the following and are ordered based on their frequency of use (i.e., highest-lowest): circumlocution, approximation, coinage, calque, code-switching and use of a more general word.

## 6. AIM, METHODOLOGY AND MATERIALS

This study aims to gain a better understanding of the compensatory strategies that language teachers and translators use when dealing with the problems and challenges that the linguistic phenomenon called lexical gaps present. As there is scantiness in terms of research papers and data regarding the strategies language teachers and translators use, a questionnaire is made as a mode of collecting primary data. This questionnaire, which is left open for responses in a month and a half, is designed to have a basic knowledge of the participants' background information, such as their profession(s), years of experience, the language(s) they use in their profession(s) and lastly, their prior knowledge about the existence of gaps in the lexical system of a language. Furthermore, to be familiar with the specific situations where lexical gaps present challenges, an open question asking for the participants to provide examples is included in the questionnaire. Finally, for the main topic of this paper, two questions are asked: the first one attempts to know the familiarity of the participants with certain compensatory strategies, and the second is an exercise that allows the participants to rank from 1 to 9 the filling

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[7] For more information, visit the following website http://rrlinguistics.ru/en/journal/article/1779/.

techniques basing on how they (would) use them. To have a clearer idea, read the following questions:

1. Profession:
   o Language teacher
   o Translator
2. Years of Experience:
3. If you are a language teacher, which language(s) do you teach? (Three first options) If you are a translator, which languages do you translate from/into? (last two options)
   o English
   o Spanish
   o Catalan
   o English to Spanish/Catalan
   o Spanish/Catalan to English
   o Other
4. A lexical gap is the absence of words in a language to express something while speaking or while translating. For instance, English does not have a word for the Spanish/Catalan word: sobremesa/sobretaula. Another example is that English has a word to refer to both mother and father (parents) and for brother and sister (siblings), but there is no word for aunt and uncle (-)and niece and nephew (-). The question is: Have you heard of lexical gaps?
5. Do you think it is important to study lexical gaps?
6. Which of the words below do you think are examples of Lexical Gaps?
   o The possible existence of the word "Chandalero/a" in Spanish to refer to someone who likes wearing a tracksuit.
   o (Eng.) Commuter = (Sp.) viajero diario al trabajo
   o (Eng.) the day before yesterday = (Sp.) Anteayer
   o (Eng.) Landowner = (Sp.) Terrateniente
   o (Eng.) lockable = (Sp.) que se puede cerrar con llave
   o Translating the Spanish word "tapas" in English
7. Do you find lexical gaps problematic in your profession?
8. Can you think of an example where lexical gaps can possibly be problematic?
9. The following are compensatory strategies used when coping with lexical gaps: which of them you know? You can add more strategies/techniques.
   o Coinage
   o Code-switching
   o Calque
   o Circumlocution
   o Use of a more general Word
   o Borrowing
   o Synonymy
   o Hypernyms
   o Antonymous expressions
10. Although we use different strategies depending on the word or context, can you rank these coping strategies basing on how much you (would) use them? (Drag your choices by order)

In relation to the compensatory strategies, I followed Hojati et al (2014), Newmark, and Wang (2017). Concerning the five first strategies, they are from the paper written by Hojati et al (2014), which are strategies used by Iranian EFL students. Following these five, I included Borrowing and Synonymy basing on Newmark's article and finally, the last two are the proposed strategies by Wang (2017).

With all the aforementioned information about the nature of the questionnaire, it can be said that the methodology for data collection used in this research is a mixed-method, where both the quantitative and qualitative methodologies are integrated. The reason for using a mixed-method is mainly that the quantitative method, through pie charts and diagrams, can easily project information, such as the number of the participants who have heard of the linguistic phenomenon before answering the questionnaire, the number of participants who think that lexical gaps are problematic or not, and finally, to know the reasons that lead to the consecutive order of the compensatory strategies. Therefore, the quantitative method is used, as it facilitates the process of analysing the data gathered. Moreover, the qualitative method is beneficial for the research as it helps to implicit situations where lexical gaps are problematic.

Finally, in parallel to the previous paragraph, I analysed the data gathered focusing on the overall results and answers from the participants basing on the circular statistical graphics (pie charts) and diagrams. As some of the questions are open questions, the responses and explanations from the participants are read carefully, one by one and translated into English, as some answered the questionnaire in Spanish. Furthermore, to analyse the rank of frequency of the compensatory strategies, I focused first on the diagram which demonstrates the percentage of how the strategies are chosen in terms of the first choice to the last choice, and then a chart is made to reflect the percentages. Following this proces to create a barrier between translators and language teachers, I listed down all the answers of the participants respecting the way they order them and coloured the first three strategies of each participant with blue and the last two strategies with red. [see appendix]

# 7. PARTICIPANTS

The participants that are involved in this research and to whom I sent the questionnaire are mostly university teachers who, apart from teaching their fields of studies, are also teaching

outside the university as language teachers and translators. Moreover, knowing that not all of them were available to answer it, I also had to find ways to get more participants. To do so, I asked people that I know who work as language teachers and translators to fill in the questionnaire and requested to them to spread it to people they know who also have the same career. Finally, I look for some translator institutions, such as *Aptic*, where I got numerous responses.

## 8. RESULTS AND DATA ANALYSIS

To start with, the total number of participants who answered the questionnaire is 57, although, regardless of that number, if a division is made between language teachers and translators the data shows the following: forty (40) language teachers and twenty-three (23) translators. The reason that explains the incongruity of the number of the received answers and the participants of both professions is that eight participants work as translators and language teachers at the same time. In terms of the participants' years of experience, the vast majority have 5 years below (50 %); the other 36 % consists of both participants who have six to ten years and those who have more than twenty years, as each one of them received 18 %, and the remaining 14 % have between eleven to twenty years of experience. Concerning the languages that the participants use, most of the language teachers teach or use English in their profession, and the rest are teachers of Spanish (11) and Catalan (3). Whereas in the case of the translators, 16 participants translate from English into Spanish/Catalan and the other 10 translates from Spanish/Catalan into English. Interestingly, several participants also teach other languages, such as French, Japanese, and Filipino, and translate using languages, such as Chinese, French, and Russian.

Further background information about the participants includes the fact that a predominant number of them (45 out of 57) have heard and are aware of the existence of gaps in the lexical system of a language. The remaining participants either have no prior knowledge (8) or uncertain (4). All the aforementioned information is validated by the results gathered from question 6 of section 6. To put it another way, the results from question 6 illustrate that only four of the participants fell into the trap, hence, chose the incorrect answer, which is the English word *landowner* that has an equivalent word and meaning in Spanish, the word *terrateniente*. Moreover, when the participants are asked about their opinion over the importance to study

lexical gaps, 48 of them conceded that it is essential, eight are ambivalent, and only one claims that it is not.

For the purpose of knowing about how problematic lexical gaps are in language teaching and translation and the specific situations in which challenges arise, the data collected on questions 7 and 8 from section 6 will be examined deeply. To the latter, the results are quite adjacent. That is, twenty participants postulated that lexical gaps are not problematic, nineteen contended that they are, and the last eighteen are irresolute. Subsequently, to the latter issue, half of the participants that deny the challenging nature of lexical gaps spared some answers. However, only two of them rendered specific instances where problems occur. For instance, the first one, a translator, expounded those problems with lexical gaps that might arise in a novel where words are part of a cultural reference or essential to the story. The other one, who is a language teacher, explains that lexical holes can be problematic for lower-level classes where a student needs a direct translation to understand a phrase/word. Furthermore, one of the participants who also negates the problems that lexical gaps create, thinks that, instead of considering the gaps in the system of a language as problematic, they must be accounted as an opportunity for teachers to perform a lexical comparison between the students' mother tongue and the language they are learning, and to show them the richness and peculiarities of different languages. Besides these three, the rest of this group, who are mainly language teachers, claimed that lexical gaps are certainly problematic for translators.

To certify the veracity of the participants' assumption that lexical gaps are detrimental for translators, their answers to question 7 from section 6 underwent thorough scrutiny. The data shows that 10 out of 23 translators surmised that gaps are problematic. Unfortunately, only four of them provided examples, and the majority retorted that the problems are linked to the difference in culture and expressions. For instance, one of them said that lexical gaps are problematic in the translation of Chinese poetry, as there can be many cultural elements, and the other one opines that translating expressions are "sometimes problematic and causes a terrible headache since they cannot always be expressed in the same way in both languages." [8]

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[8] Translation of the Spanish answer from one of the participants: *No obstante, cuanto más fiel al original mejor, así que sí, a veces son problemáticas y un quebradero de cabeza, ya que no siempre se puede expresar igual en los dos idiomas*.

Another participant, who also translates from Chinese into Spanish, gave a very interesting example saying that "in Chinese, there are many expressions that in English the same word is used several times depending on the context. [For example], in Chinese, the word 阿姨 is used to refer to a trustworthy person. Formerly in Spain, they used to say "mother" to someone like that, especially in the south of Spain." To have a better understanding on this, a friend of mine who also translates from Chinese into Spanish explained that the word 阿姨 does not only refer to "a sister of one's mother" (in this case, *tía* in Spanish, or "aunt" in English), but also to a woman who has a similar age as her mother but without any relationship of parentage, and in this case, modern Spanish lacks any similar expression.

By extension, the difference between the total of examples provided by the participants who answered yes/no to the challenging nature of lexical gaps and the group of participants who are unsure whether lexical gaps are problematic is significant, as the latter group provided more specific contexts and examples. To illustrate, one participant who translates from English into Spanish/Catalan and from English into German took time to set forth a long answer where he/she encountered problems caused by lexical gaps. This participant affirms that he/she daily faces challenges over this problem. The example provided was the following: when translating the German word *Elternschaft* (parenthood in German) to Spanish, and with the necessity to use an inclusive language, he/she corroborated that he/she had to use the Spanish doublet *maternidad/paternidad* in order to convey the meaning of the German word. Other examples given by this group, which correlate with the answers from the participants of the previous groups, are cultural-bound words and expressions, such as the Catalan words *gegants, capgrossos* and *bestiari*, traditional characters that appear in Catalan festivities, and the Spanish word *ungir* which is a religious word that does not have a translation in the Chinese language, assuming that *ungir* has its roots from Christianity and the Western culture and the Chinese language is mostly influenced by the prevalent religion from China, Taoism.

Next to all the aforementioned information and bordering on the main focus of this study, a brief analysis of the information gathered in connection to the question aimed at knowing the participants' familiarity with the compensatory strategies used when coping with lexical gaps is conducted. As it is discernible in table 5, the leading strategy is the use of a more general word which is recognised by 47 participants, and it is followed by borrowing and synonymy that each has 44. After these three, the two following most well known strategy were calque

(with 33) and coinage (with 30). Finally, there are circumlocution, code-switching, antonymous expressions, and hypernyms with 29, 27, 26 and 25 accordingly.

| | |
|---|---|
| ● Coinage | 30 |
| ● Code-Switching | 27 |
| ● Calque | 33 |
| ● Circumlocution | 29 |
| ● Use of a more general word | 47 |
| ● Borrowing | 44 |
| ● Synonymy | 44 |
| ● Hypernyms | 25 |
| ● Antonymous expressions | 26 |
| ● Other | 4 |
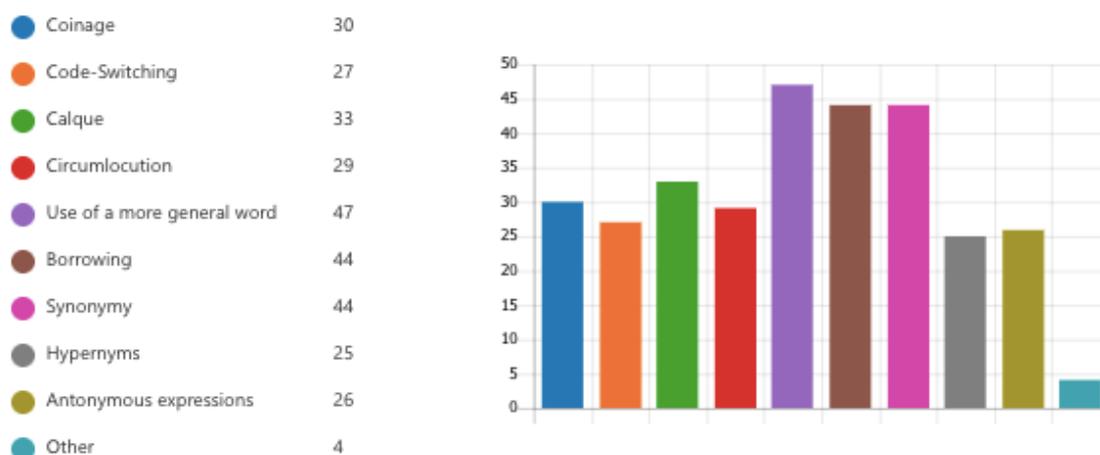
Table 5. The order of the most-well known compensatory strategies from the participants

In addition, four participants suggested four more interesting strategies. The first one is pluri-verbalization explained by the participants as the "use [of] a phraseological unit that has an equivalent meaning in the TL". An example of this, the participant gave the English expression *rain cats and dogs* that has an equivalent meaning in Spanish, *llover a cantaros.* Other suggested methods are cultural equivalent and approximation (e.g., 'sky' when they mean 'ceiling'). The ultimate instance is the use of italics while keeping the SL word without any translation or explanation, and "add an asterisk (*) in front of the lexical item that presents a lexical gap in the TL and explains its meaning utilizing a definition in the glossary at the end of a text."[9]

Finally, focusing on the overall result of the most frequently used strategies, a result that to some extent parallels with the information from the previous paragraph, the data illustrates the following ranking/order:

1. Use of a more general word
2. Synonymy
3. Circumlocution
4. Borrowing
5. Code-Switching
6. Calque
7. Coinage

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[9] The sentences in this paragraph with inverted commas are either translations of the participants' answers or are directly copied.

8. Hypernyms
9. Antonymous expressions
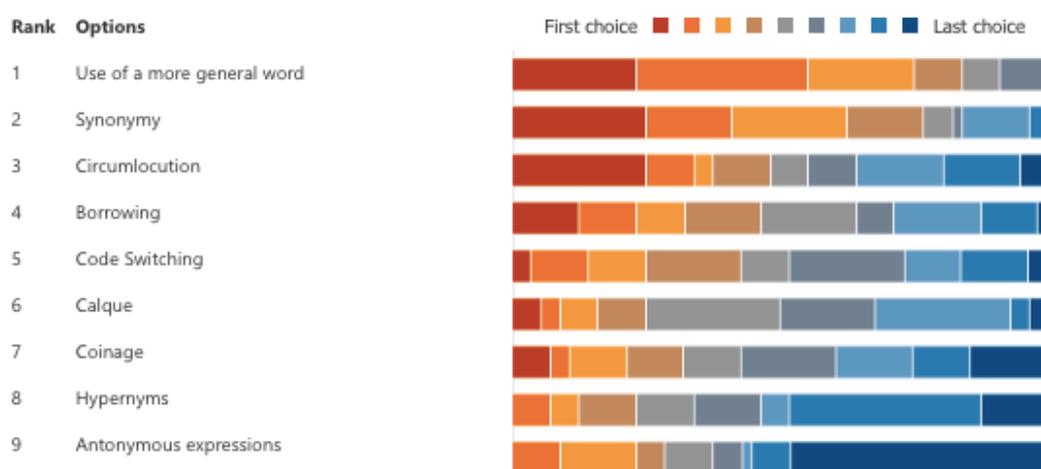


Table 6. The consecutive order of the strategies from most to less frequent

Delving into what leads to this outcome, table 7 can give considerable assistance. One relevant piece of information is that, even though the results show that the use of a more general word ranked number one, synonymy and circumlocution are chosen to be the first choice for many of the participants. Specifically speaking, each of these two is the first choice for 24.6 %. In other words, the use of a more general word ranked number one not because it is the first choice for most of the participants, rather it is because, as it can be observed in table 7, nobody chose it as their 8th or 9th option and also, because it is particularly reserved as the first, the second or the third option for most of the participants. The same occurrence happened with code-switching that ranked as the fifth most commonly used strategy, followed by calque and coinage. The number of participants who chose it as their first choice was only 3.5 %, and calque and coinage are chosen as the first choice for 5.3 % and 7 % of the participants, respectively. Furthermore, the strategies that ranked number 8th and 9th are hypernyms and antonymous expressions, which as table 7 indicates, were not chosen as the first choice for any of the participants, instead, they received a greater amount of percentage as 8th and 9th placers.

| Rank | Options | 1st choice | 2nd choice | 3rd choice | 4th choice | 5th choice | 6th choice | 7th choice | 8th choice | 9th choice |
|------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | Use of a more general word | 22.8 % | 31.6 % | 19.3 % | 8.8. % | 7 % | 8.8 % | 1.8% | - | - |
| 2 | Synonymy | 24.6 % | 15.8% | 21.1 % | 14 % | 5.3 % | 1.8 % | 12.3 % | 5.3% | - |

| 3 | Circumlocution | 24.6 % | 8.8 % | 3.5 % | 10.5 % | 7 % | 8.8 % | 15.8% | 14 % | 7 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | Borrowing | 12.3 % | 10.5 % | 8.8. % | 14 % | 17.5 % | 7 % | 15.8% | 10.5% | 3.5 % |
| 5 | Code switching | 3.5 % | 10.5 % | 10.5 % | 17.5 % | 8.8. % | 21.1 % | 10.5% | 12.3 % | 5.3 % |
| 6 | Calque | 5.3% | 3.5 % | 7 % | 8.8 % | 24.6 % | 17.5 % | 24.6 % | 3.5 % | 5.3% |
| 7 | Coinage | 7 % | 3.5 % | 10.5 % | 10.5 % | 10.5 % | 17.5 % | 14 % | 10.5 % | 15.8 % |
| 8 | Hypernyms | - | 7 % | 5.3 % | 10.5 % | 10.5 % | 12.3 | 5.3 % | 35.1 % | 14.5% |
| 9 | Antonymous Expressions | - | 8.8 % | 14 % | 5.3 % | 8.8 % | 5.3 % | 1.8 % | 7 % | 49.1 % |

Table 7. The order of the most frequent to less frequent strategy and their percentages

After analysing the overall result, in order to gain a better understanding of the most frequently and less frequently used strategies for each profession, the participants are divided into two groups basing on their professions. [see appendix] On the whole, the data demonstrates that the 23 translators' top three strategies are synonymy, use of a more general word and circumlocution, which is in harmony with the top three strategies for language teachers, with the small difference that the use of a more general word precedes synonymy. Concerning their two last choice strategies, the translators opted for the use of antonymous expressions and coinage, and the language teachers chose antonymous expressions and hypernyms. A possible explanation of why coinage is the last option for translators is, as one of the participants claims in Observations, coinage, together with code-switching and calque may not be acceptable alternatives.

## 9. CONCLUSION:

In this paper, a detailed exploration of the world of lexical gaps is carried out starting from tracing the origins of this linguistic phenomenon to considering the different definitions it has received throughout the time that led to the unravelling of its different types. Concerning the definitions, two main approaches are discussed—the intra-language approach and the cross-linguistic approach—that are both incorporated in Wang's definition from his 2017 article, *Lexical Gaps: Their Filling and Impacts.* With respect to the typology of lexical gaps, I highlighted the differences of the six types of linguistic accidental gaps (morpheme gaps, morphological gaps, paradigm gaps, semantic gaps, taxonomic gaps, and translational gaps) by defining them and providing examples from previous studies related to the topic and from a thorough reading of bilingual English-Spanish dictionaries.

Next to the theoretical part, a special emphasis on the scarcity of studies concerning the negative impacts of lexical gaps in language teaching and translation is given. Few articles address the filling methods that translators and language teacher can employ in order to solve the problems lexical gaps present in the process of translating and in teaching. This unavailability of research papers underscores the need for investigating on the topic involved.

Consequently, a questionnaire is designed with the primary goal of shedding light on the strategies that language teachers and translators when dealing with challenges that lexical lacunae bring. However, prior to this, some questions are included to gather information about the participants' profession(s), their prior knowledge about this linguistic phenomenon, their opinions about the importance to study lexical gaps and the intricacies of these gaps in their profession. In total, there are 40 language teachers and 23 translators, which can be considered as a good number of participants bearing in mind how challenging it is to find volunteers, particularly because of the special circumstances this paper is into, which is the Covid-19 Pandemic. With the questions about the personal backgrounds of the participants, the data gathered demonstrates that the vast majority of the participants are aware of the existence of lexical gaps and believe that it is essential to carry out studies regarding the holes in the lexical system of a language. Furthermore, to the question of how problematic the gaps are, the results show adjacent numbers. That is, although more participants thought that gaps are not problematic in their profession(s), it is only one point ahead of those who claimed that gaps are problematic, and two points ahead of those who are unsure. By extension, based on the results, it can be argued that it is impractical to conclude that lexical gaps are specifically more problematic to translators than language teachers, as I would say that, to some extent, whether lexical gaps are problematic or not regardless of the participants' profession(s) is subjective. In other words, other factors that should be taken into account, such as the participant's motivation when answering the questionnaire, their personal experiences, their capabilities to handle things that the questionnaire failed to elicit.

What is more, the responses gathered from the open questions place emphasis on the idea that lexical gaps are highly likely to appear in culture-bound words and expressions. It has been observed in the examples provided by the participants, such as the German word *Elternschaft* that can be translated into Spanish by using the doublet *maternidad/paternidad*,

the Catalan words linked to the traditional characters that appear in Catalan festivities (*gegants, capgrossos* and *bestiari*) and the Spanish word *ungir* that cannot be translated into Chinese.

Finally, in light of the results regarding the most and less frequently used strategies that language teachers and translators use in filling the gaps, the first three methodologies that both groups (would) use are the use of a more general word, synonymy and circumlocution. However, as it is pointed out, synonymy and circumlocution, although ranked as the second and third, respectively, received more participants choosing them as their first choice. The four strategies that come next to the top three are the following: borrowing, code-switching, calque, and coinage. As it is highlighted above, when focusing mainly on the responses from the translators, coinage is mostly chosen as the last option, a result that parallels with the assumption that one of the participants claimed in the observation. Lastly, the choices that ranked 8th and 9th are hypernyms and antonymous expressions. One possible reason that led to this result is that it is possible that the participants had difficulties or are not quite well-informed on how to rank the strategies with the feature that Microsoft Form has, as it is a feature that is not very well known.

In terms of the methodology used, in general terms, it can be deemed efficacious. However, I admit that there were several fault lines when it comes to the application used for the research. That is, in the final question in which the participants had to rank the strategies based on how they (would) use them, it is highly probable that most of them ended up choosing hypernyms and antonymous expressions as the two last options because they were unfamiliar with the feature. Further, knowing that a huge number of participants is must for a research to become reliable, I would like to admit that the number of participants I had is not enough to achieve more reliable conclusions. Nevertheless, from this experience, I have learnt that one of the problems a researcher might struggle with is to find participants and that there is a necessity to always be watchful for the issues—small or big they might be—as they can have repercussions on the overall result of the paper.

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# APPENDIX

Overview of the typology of lexical gaps from Janssen.

| Morpheme gap | A sequence of s segments that is permitted by phonological rules but not found. Fillers: Possible words |
|---|---|
| Morphological gap | A word that can be generated from an existing word by productive morphological rules. Mostly understood as derivational rules and therefore also called derivational gaps. Fillers: potential words |
| Paradigm gap | A morphological gap in the inflectional morphology |
| Semantic/functional gap | A lack of a word to express what was a speaker might want to talk about |
| Taxonomic gap | A gap in the taxonomic structure. Fillers: *pseudo-words* |
| Translational gap (cross-linguistic) division and types: see Wang's (749) | A word in one language for which no lexical unit exists in another that expresses that same meaning. Filler: untranslatable word. |

Results of the Questionnaire:

1. Profession

More Details

| | |
|---|---|
| 🔵 (Language) Teacher | 40 |
| 🟠 Translator | 23 |
| 🟢 Other | 1 |
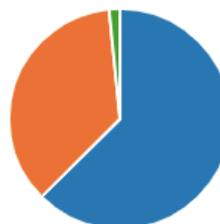
2. Years of Experience

More Details

| | |
|---|---|
| 🔵 5 years below | 29 |
| 🟠 Between 6-10 years | 10 |
| 🟢 Between 11-20 | 8 |
| 🔴 More than 20 years | 10 |
| 🟣 Other | 0 |

3. If you are a language teacher, which language(s) do you teach? (Three first options) If you are a translator, which languages do you translate from/into? (last two options)

More Details
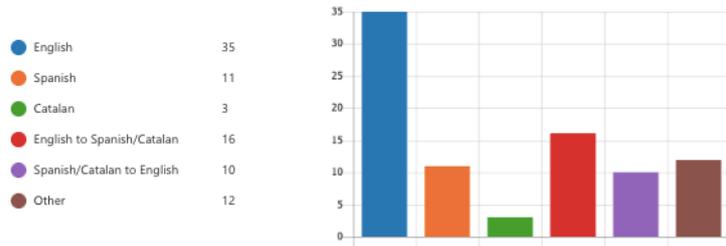
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 🔵 English | 35 | |
| 🟠 Spanish | 11 | |
| 🟢 Catalan | 3 | |
| 🔴 English to Spanish/Catalan | 16 | |
| 🟣 Spanish/Catalan to English | 10 | |
| 🟤 Other | 12 | |



4. A lexical gap is the absence of words in a language to express something while speaking or while translating. For instance, English does not have a word for the Spanish/Catalan word: sobremesa/sobretaula. Another example is that English has a word to refer to both mother and father (parents) and for brother and sister (siblings), but there is no word for aunt and uncle (-)and niece and nephew (-). The question is: HAVE YOU HEARD OF THIS LINGUISTIC PHENOMENON? Mother and father : parents :: aunt and uncle : _____ Brother and sister : siblings :: niece and nephew : _____

More Details

| | |
|---|---|
| 🔵 Yes | 45 |
| 🟠 No | 8 |
| 🟢 Maybe | 4 |
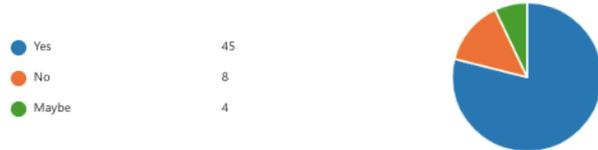


6. Which of the words below do you think are examples of Lexical Gaps?

More Details
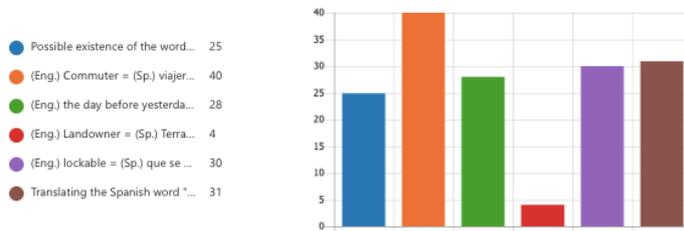
| | |
|---|---|
| 🔵 Possible existence of the word... | 25 |
| 🟠 (Eng.) Commuter = (Sp.) viajer... | 40 |
| 🟢 (Eng.) the day before yesterda... | 28 |
| 🔴 (Eng.) Landowner = (Sp.) Terra... | 4 |
| 🟣 (Eng.) lockable = (Sp.) que se ... | 30 |
| 🟤 Translating the Spanish word "... | 31 |



7. Do you find Lexical Gaps problematic in your profession?

More Details    💡 Insights

| | |
|---|---|
| 🔵 Yes | 19 |
| 🟠 No | 20 |
| 🟢 Maybe | 18 |
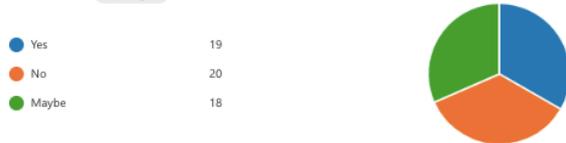
7. Do you find Lexical Gaps problematic in your profession?

More Details    💡 Insights

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 🔵 Yes | 19 | |
| 🟠 No | 20 | |
| 🟢 Maybe | 18 | |

8. Can you think of an example where lexical gaps can possibly be problematic?

More Details

**27**
Responses

Latest Responses
*"En subtitulado, por ejemplo, ya que el espacio limitado de caracter…"*
*"Por ejemplo, si se quiere traducir correctamente una expresión, ha…"*

9. The following are compensatory strategies used when coping with Lexical Gaps: which of them you know? You can add more strategies/techniques.

More Details

| | |
|---|---|
| 🔵 Coinage | 30 |
| 🟠 Code-Switching | 27 |
| 🟢 Calque | 33 |
| 🔴 Circumlocution | 29 |
| 🟣 Use of a more general word | 47 |
| 🟤 Borrowing | 44 |
| 🩷 Synonymy | 44 |
| ⚫ Hypernyms | 25 |
| 🟡 Antonymous expressions | 26 |
| 🔵 Other | 4 |
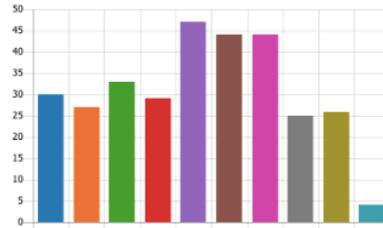
10. Although we use different strategies depending on the word or context, can you rank these coping strategies basing on how much you (would) use them? (Drag your choices by order)

More Details

First choice ▪ ▪ ▪ ▪ ▪ ▪ ▪ Last choice

| Rank | Options |
|---|---|
| 1 | Use of a more general word |
| 2 | Synonymy |
| 3 | Circumlocution |
| 4 | Borrowing |
| 5 | Code Switching |
| 6 | Calque |
| 7 | Coinage |
| 8 | Hypernyms |
| 9 | Antonymous expressions |
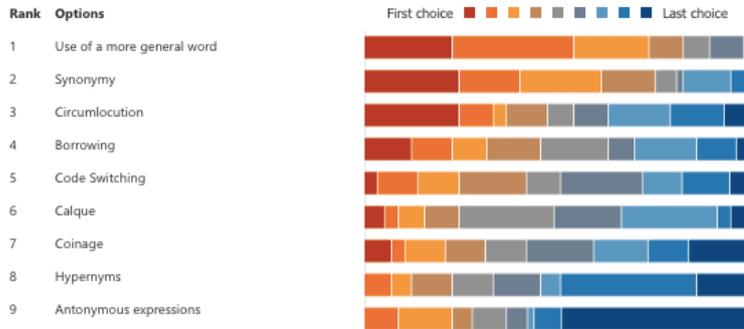
11. Observations:

More Details

**4**
Responses

Latest Responses