'Is it always so fast?'

Chinese perceptions of Spanish through *danmu* video comments

Leticia Tian Zhang and Daniel Cassany
Universitat Pompeu Fabra

While much research has proved the benefits of subtitled audiovisuals for foreign language learning, few studies address such practices in out-of-classroom settings or focus on Asia-based video-sharing platforms. This study bridges this gap by introducing an increasingly popular viewing-commenting system in Japan and China, known as *danmu* or *danmaku*, which displays viewers' timeline-synchronized comments on video content. We analyse the metalinguistic comments which entail viewers' knowledge of the language, their comprehension issues and sociolinguistic attitudes toward its use. Adopting an inductive or data-driven methodology, we extracted and manually coded 390 comments that are related to the Spanish language, Spanish–Chinese translation and learning Spanish. Results show that viewers are mostly interested in linguistic features that differ from Chinese or English (e.g. the complex grammar) and they use *danmu* to access sociolinguistic issues that are central to daily communication such as the fast speech rate, language varieties, and frequent use of vulgarisms.

Keywords: *danmaku*, computer-mediated communication, language learning

1. Introduction

Danmu is a collaborative video annotation system (Howard 2012) first launched by the Japanese ACG (anime, comic, game) video-sharing site *Nico Nico Douga* ("Smiley Smiley Video") in 2007. Instead of establishing a separate comment section like YouTube, it enables users to overlay text comments on the video image in a horizontal scroll that crosses the screen from right to left (Figure 1). Users send comments asynchronously, but they are embedded in the video and appear at the points of insertion as direct responses to the video content (e.g. plot, character,

music). Being instant, contextualized and dynamic, the messages involve viewers in an experience similar to an ephemeral chat. Sometimes an excessive quantity of comments even blocks out the actual image, causing a visual effect that resembles *danmaku* ("bullet curtain" in Japanese) as shown in Figure 1.
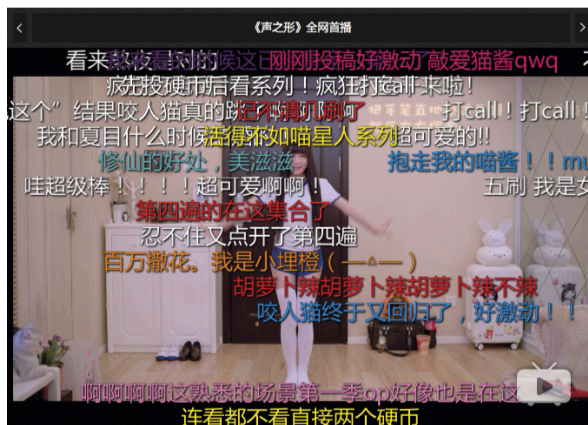

Figure 1. Screenshot of a *danmu* video

After its introduction in China around 2010, the Chinese terms *danmu* (translation of *danmaku*) has been used widely as the name for both the term and each comment that exists very briefly on the screen. This interface has become increasingly popular and has now been adopted by Chinese native ACG video portals and nearly all mainstream video streaming websites. On these platforms viewers enjoy a great variety of global media products ranging from movies and television series to documentaries and university open courses. In such globalized online spaces (Benson and Chik 2011) content is mainly provided by users rather than website owners and the texts that they contain are in many cases transnationally and 'trans-lingually' constructed.

Many of them are voluntarily translated and uploaded by f*ansubbers* (abbreviation for *fan subtitlers*). Under the Chinese government's strong restriction on the import of foreign media products (e.g., sexual scenes and politics-related lines), fansubbers play the crucial role of raw material selector, linguistic translator, and at the same time, cultural introducer (Jenkins 2013). Moreover, a large number of global products represented on a local stage (e.g., China-based multimedia platform) connect typologically distant languages – such as ideograms and the Latin alphabet – and exhibit a miscellany of sociocultural aspects open to audiences' interpretation.

This article centres on the first circumstance, i.e. the metalinguistic discourse that has arisen around the commenting practice. Many scholars have acknowl-

edged that language users, who do not need to be linguists, can easily reflect upon or even assess aspects of language and its use (Barton and Lee 2013). Although there is now some research on *danmu* from a sociolinguistic perspective (Hsiao 2015; Y. Zhang 2017), studies that specifically address language perceptions in intercultural settings are yet to appear.

In particular, we use a dataset comprised of comments from a Spanish television series. Opposed to traditional passive media consumers, users of *danmu* assume an active role appropriating the online space to respond to the media representations of the Spanish language. They talk about linguistic forms, pragmatic usages, accents and even correct the fan-made translation. Unlike English, the shared second language (L2) of the Chinese youth, Spanish remains unfamiliar to most viewers and yet attractive given the rich cultural heritage and business opportunities it implies as well as being instructive to a rapidly growing group of Spanish as a Foreign Language (SFL) learners (Claudio Quiroga 2017). All of these characteristics provide a fertile ground for language-related comments to emerge, which renders the material valuable for further analysis.

The aim of this paper is to investigate how Spanish is perceived and discussed on *danmu* video-sharing sites, which reveals Chinese audience's knowledge on the Spanish language and attitudes towards its usage. These self-generated discourses may moreover index language differences as well as raise meta and cross linguistic awareness. Comparing to analyses on metalinguistic talks on YouTube (Benson and Chan 2010; Benson 2015) and Flickr (Lee 2013), our data addressed a less explored linguistic combination within a unique audiovisual and Chinese-speaking context. We intend to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What linguistic aspects are mentioned in *danmu* and for what purposes (e.g. entertainment, information seeking, language learning)?

RQ2: What sociolinguistic attitudes are observed concerning the usage of Spanish in audiovisual products?

2.   *Danmu* as an emergent Web 2.0 discourse

Danmu can be considered an emergent Web 2.0 discourse, a concept proposed by Herrings (2012) to describe discourse phenomenon that did not exist – or if they did exist, did not rise to the level of public awareness – prior to the era of Web 2.0. While platforms characterized by social interaction and user-generated content flourish, discourse outcomes seem to be shaped to a greater extent by the properties of the medium especially when it comes to multimodal affordances (Herring

and Androutsopoulos 2015). Here we outline the three most relevant aspects of *danmu* commenting to the present study:

1. *Visual interrelation*. Being synchronized and embedded by design, *danmu* and videos co-occur in a patterned way and are interrelated in meaning making by re-creating and reconfiguring the original audiovisual product in a contextually specific and meaningful way. Androutsopoulos (2013) coined the term "participatory spectacle" to refer to this patterned co-occurrence thereby emphasizing the collaborative production and visual character of content in multimodal platforms.

2. *Intertextuality*. The comments gradually layered onto the video gain intertextual interaction when they are displayed simultaneously on the screen, whether they intended a chat or not (Zheng 2016). Under the new aesthetics, the original video serves only as the background while the multi-layered and heteroglossic discourse in the foreground is the main point that attracts viewers' attention.

3. *Anonymity*. Another salient aspect of *danmu* that differs from YouTube lies in the fact that all comments are sent anonymously (even without pseudonyms). As Herrings (2012) noticed, collaborative text production of this sort (e.g., Wikipedia) represents a new kind of online discourse. It is massively multi-authored, yet democratic and anarchic prompting contributions from anyone at any moment.

In terms of linguistic features, *danmu* is constrained by the limit of characters (around twenty) suitable for the screen. Nevertheless, Chinese online users incorporate a diversity of writing scripts and semiotic resources in the non-standard literacy practice. Yi Zhang (2017) identified a total of fourteen types of literacy practices including the use of Chinese Mandarin, Chinese dialects, romanized Chinese, traditional Chinese, expressions and transliterations of foreign languages (English, Japanese and Korean), emoticons, and stylized Arabic numerals among others.

Although each user's entire linguistic knowledge remains unknown, Chinese users are capable of constructing different kinds of multilingual discourses utilizing their plurilingual repertoires. Based on recent trends in sociolinguistic studies of multilingualism, the relations among languages are often fluid and languages should be considered as practices instead of competences with soft and permeable boundaries which allow for code-mixing and translanguaging (Canagarajah 2011; Cenoz and Gorter 2011).

3.   Metalinguistic discourse online

Non-linguistics' perspectives on language and its use have long been the subject matter of *folk linguistics* (Jaworski, Coupland, and Galasinski 2004). This approach is consistent with our view of metalanguage as not merely a text or speech concerning the literal language, but a sociolinguistic category that entails linguistic representations and evaluations. In other words, when people participate in metalinguistic talk, whether online or offline, they are also engaging in the wider discourse of language ideologies such as what constitutes standard, good, or correct use of language (Barton and Lee 2013) as well as the issues regarding language variation, such as identity, speech communities, power relations, etc. Thus, it also makes sense to label together these beliefs, attitudes and assessment toward language as *metalinguistic discourse.*

Web 2.0 sites provide a platform where ordinary users can publicly reflect upon and discuss language-related topics. This is often found through self-generated writing in discussion threads (Squires 2010), YouTube comments (Androutsopoulos 2013; Benson and Chan 2010; Ivković 2013), and social media platforms such as Flickr (Lee 2013). In contrast to spoken interaction, computer mediated communication (CMC) persists as text on a screen and allows its interlocutors, be they native speakers or outsiders (e.g., language learners), to consciously consider the text, think about and craft responses which facilitate a heightened metalinguistic awareness (Herring 1999).

Reviewing studies on comment threads on popular social media such as YouTube, Facebook and Flickr, Barton and Lee (2013) identified five key topics in online metalinguistic discourses investigated to date: (1) linguistic forms and structures; (2) Internet-specific language, e.g. the use of acronyms and abbreviations; (3) language teaching and learning, e.g., peer-based feedback between fan-fiction writers (Black 2009); (4) translation issues in multilingual platforms; (5) self-deprecating metalanguage, i.e. utterances where a person downplays their own linguistic abilities (see Lee 2013).

The authors concluded that despite being largely prescriptive and evaluative, these discourses are also supportive in that they co-construct an environment for social networking and informal, self-directed, and collaborative learning. This implication particularly intrigues us to explore how non-expert users of certain language (e.g., Chinese speakers who have some or little comprehension of Spanish) deploy their linguistic *reflexivity* to share their opinions of the language, assess its use and even develop new knowledge during a ludic activity such as viewing foreign media products.

4.   Context of the study, data collection and analysis

We draw upon data collected from Bilibili, a Chinese video-sharing site support-ing the *danmu* system since its creation, and in particular, one of its most com-mented on Spanish television series, *El Ministerio del Tiempo* ("The Department of Time", MdT in the following). Considered the best Spanish series of all time (El País 2017), MdT features time travels through re-enacted historical events, gen-erating enormous interpretive and creative fan communities online, i.e. the *min-istéricos* (Scolari and Establés 2017). In China, it also gained popularity on social media and video-sharing platforms, having two parallel fansubbed versions in bilingual format (Chinese and the original Spanish), and obtaining tens of thou-sands of *danmu* on the target site.
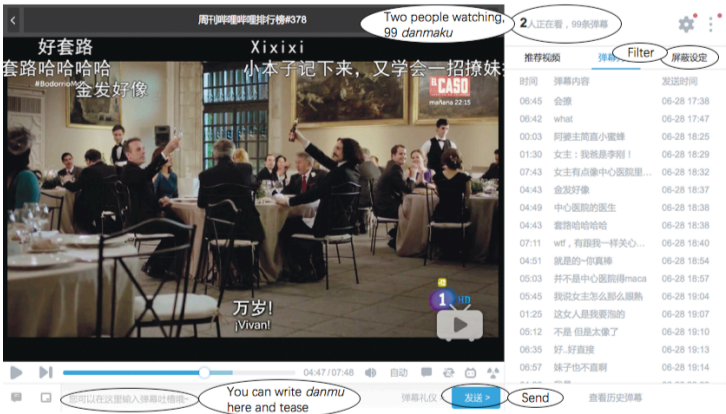

Figure 2. Screenshot of a fansubbed episode of MdT on Bilibili

The annotated screenshot in Figure 2 shows an interactive platform provided by Bilibili. It is built around a video (a fansubbed episode of MdT), a comment box below, and a multifunctional controlling panel which has three main functions: (1) displaying statistical information on viewers in real-time and recommendations of related videos; (2) enabling users to adjust the viewable *danmu* (e.g., amount, transparency, speed) or to set the filter to reduce visual distraction; (3) keeping a list of all the existing messages in chronological order. However, regardless of their insertion sequences, all the communication is perceived through the time-line of the video. Under the anonymity feature, the user is likely to be unaware of and even unconcerned with the possible responses afterwards (unless intention-ally reviewing the commented fragment).

An initial observation revealed that *danmu* are mainly short, informal and mul-tilingual texts with an incomplete sentence structure and an abundant use of Inter-

net slang. On this account, we made two methodological decisions: (1) adopting a manual sampling approach (Benson 2015; Benson and Chan 2010) instead of a keyword search method (Ivković 2013; Lee 2013) to avoid leaving out any comment of interest and (2) constructing a dataset whose scale was large enough for topics to emerge, but without posing too much difficulty to the first procedure.

Following this, we selected the pilot episode of MdT (S01E01) as the material to undergo analysis since it attracted considerably more comments than other episodes of the season. The 70-minute episode first aired in February 2015 and narrates several time travel experiences from the sixteenth and nineteenth-century Spain to contemporary Madrid.

We identified a total of nine postings of the original video on Bilibili including two fansubbed versions uploaded by different users (fan of the series or the fansub group, fansubbers) at different times (between 2015 and 2016) and in higher or lower display resolutions which appealed to dissimilar audiences. Of all these, we retained three videos containing the largest number of *danmu*, which implied the largest scale of audience participation and were representative cases to constitute our dataset (Table 1). We did not consider the subtitles quality, since both versions were produced by renowned fansub groups in China (SY actually specializes in non-English media products), and they contain both intra- and interlinguistic subtitles, along with many top notes to facilitate understanding. These characteristics probably have prompted more metalinguistic comments. Other reasons behind their popularity may be the relatively early upload time (the first publication appeared in September, 2015, seven months after its release in Spain, by the group SY) and the better video quality.

Table 1. Construction of the dataset

Versions of MdT S01E01	Fansub group (anonymized)	Number of *danmu* (until July 15, 2017)
1	ZMZ	1,450
2	SY	1,369
3	SY	1,590
Total		**4,409**

The first step of the analysis was to discard comments that were not language-related: mainly those discussing the plot (e.g., 'three timelines?'), characters (e.g., 'so handsome'), the Spanish geography (e.g., 'this is gran vía'), culture references (e.g., 'Cervantes?'), simply expressing general emotions (e.g., 'sounds interesting') or quoting certain lines said by a character. To increase the reliability of the study, the first author coded all the comments and discussed the problematic ones with the second author until reaching an agreement.

To address RQ1, we counted each comment and assigned them to a specific theme and category: (1) Spanish language (e.g., 'Old Spanish is as sexy as always.'); (2) Learning Spanish (e.g., 'I've come to learn Spanish.'), (3) Spanish–Chinese translation (e.g., 'why are so many words in the sentences not translated?'). Subcategories also emerged inductively, e.g., comments on the Spanish language deal with several linguistic domains including grammar, vocabulary and collocations, speech, etc. Some comments potentially pertain to more than one category, e.g., 'Playing backward to learn the dirty language (happy)', which relates to both Spanish language and learning Spanish categories. In such cases, we prioritized the topic of the discussion thread where it belongs or the most prominent topic.

In order to measure the viewers' interest accurately, we also included meta-comments that do not add much to the actual meaning but acknowledge the previous discussion, e.g., 'A bunch of straight A students were discussing earlier, I am too ashamed to show up'. On the other hand, comments in close time frames but do not refer explicitly to the subject, e.g.,'haha' are excluded, since we could not determine if they relate to the metalinguistic talk or the video or other comments.

In regards to RQ2, a deeper exploration and exemplification of the categories was conducted, looking for: (1) the visual or audio elements that motivate the participation; (2) the audience's perception and interpretation; (3) linguistic differences that account for these impressions or opinions. Following Androutsopoulos (2006) and Hsiao (2015), online discussion threads, which typically include several messages concerning the same topic, should be treated as the basic units of analysis. Therefore, our analysis of metalinguistic talk was based on units of discussion threads or sequences of conversation.

The qualitative analysis consists of three components (see Figure 3–9): (1) a screenshot of the sequence which generated the *danmu*, with our graphical indications or annotations of key texts to facilitate reading; (2) an extract of *danmu* in Chinese and our translation to English; (3) our comments on the interaction. We also kept the spelling mistakes since they represent faithfully users' participation.

5.   Results

Table 2 summarizes the language-related topics identified in the dataset using the emerged categories:

Table 2. Language-related topics discussed in *danmu*

Topics		*Danmu*	Total
Spanish language	Grammar: verbal morphology, personal pronouns, agreement, syntax, historical and geographic dialectal variations	84	238
	Vocabulary and Collocations: vulgarism, polysemy	28	
	Writing: inverted question marks	11	
	Speech: speaking rate, homophones, accent	115	
Learning Spanish	Personal experience, learning materials	108	108
Spanish–Chinese translation	Improper translations	14	44
	Proper translations: onscreen text imitations, annotations	30	
Total			**390**

5.1   Spanish language

The first and major category deals with the Spanish language (238 comments at 61%). With the version provided by the fansub group, viewers are able to engage in crosslinguistic comparisons between the video's original audio and written subtitles in Spanish, their Chinese translation and their other L2 / L3.

When contrasting Chinese with Spanish, viewers find a great number of differences. In terms of writing, the inverted exclamation and question marks are easily noticeable ('What does the little *i* mean at the beginning (speechless face)?'). Apart from this, the most commented distinctions lie in grammar, including the complex verbal morphology (conjugation), the ellipsis of personal pronouns or the null subject ('Does *he* mean I?'), tense changes ('*He* is I conjugated in the first-person singular of the present perfect tense.'), and syntax, i.e. word order ('The word order seems so random').[1]

When comparing to other languages, many commenters, who claim that it is the first time for them to watch a television series in Spanish, recognize some linguistic similarities with other romance languages. They mention Italian, Portuguese and French, but the comparison is limited to general impressions such as

---

1.   Consider that Chinese generally lacks inflection to express tense, person, number, etc. In terms of syntax, it follows a subject–verb–object structure and normally has an explicit subject.

a fast rate of speaking and a familiar lexicon. Moreover, some viewers try to use English as a reference, but only encounter more or less the same differences (e.g., 'Oh my god Spanish conjugation is so difficult… I think English is pretty simple.').

As a result, all these topics constitute potential comprehension problems. The most common one occurs with the Old Spanish (66 of the 84 comments about grammar), the underlying cause that accounts for many subthemes like the personal pronouns, agreement and dialectal variations. It is used in several initial scenes of the episodes which are set in the sixteenth century. Consequently, the dialogue involves a frequent use of verbs conjugated in second-person plural (see the subtitles in Figure 3). While it was considered a polite form at that time to address a singular interlocutor, it turns out to be difficult to understand for the Chinese audience especially the Spanish learners who hardly ever see Medieval Spanish in textbooks.

Figure 3. Old Spanish

Extract 1.   *0:00:56-0:01:23 (version 2)*

    (1)   atacasteis 不应该翻译成你们吗？ atacar
          'Shouldn't *atacasteis* be translated into second-person plural? *atacar*.'

    (2)   前边的古代都用vos表达你
          'The guy before, in history people use *vos* to express *you*.'

    (3)   古西语一如既往的性感
          'Old Spanish is as sexy as always.'

Extract 2.   *0:01:28-0:02:06 (version 3)*

    (1)   这是墨西哥人吗..一直用vosotros的变位
          'Are they Mexican… they keep using *vosotros*.'

(2) 墨西哥人没有vosotros
'Mexicans don't have *vosotros*.'

(3) 有啊
'Yes they do.'

(4) 墨西哥是用usted的变位吧
'Mexicans seem to use the conjugation of *usted*.'

Extract 3.   *0:03:56-0:04:10 (version 3)*

(1) 这是阿根廷？阿根廷的地名和第二人称用法
'Is this Argentina? It's the Argentine place name and usage of second-person.'

(2) 又是西班牙口音应该是castellano antiguo吧
'Since it is Spanish accent, it should be Old Castilian.'

Many viewers directly question the inconsistency between a conjugated verb and its Chinese translation, such as comment 1 in Extract 1. They also raise similar doubts concerning the following verbs: *sois* ('you'), *mentís* ('lie') and *prended* ('seize'). These verbs all appear in second-person plural which challenge learners' previous knowledge about the Spanish morphology and agreement. Accordingly, in most cases they receive responses a few seconds later as can be seen in comments 2 and 3. These users have a more advanced language level and help explain and even evaluate the phenomenon.

Others identify the usage with the dialectical variation specifically the Spanish used in Argentina and Mexico. In Extract 2, a user asks 'are they Mexican… they keep using *vosotros*'. This initiates a debate on if Mexican Spanish uses more second or third personal pronoun (*vos* or *usted*). Meanwhile, comment 1 in Extract 3 is among several which suggest the possibility of it being the Spanish in Argentina. Comment 2 corrects this interpretation and makes sense of the medieval language deducing from the European Spanish accent in MdT.

Obviously, not everyone is able to participate in such grammatical discussion, but users appear to enjoy the diversity in *danmu*. Some 'complain' in a humorous tone: 'I focused so much on you guys discussing Spanish that I forgot to watch the series!' or 'being an engineering student I only saw *danmu* outlining the important points and skipped the plot haha'. Others even demand more presence of this type of dialogue: 'if only there were people talking about grammar in Japanese television series'.

Comments also move beyond basic linguistic forms to practical language usages. A topic that arises special interest is *vulgar and colloquial expressions* as spoken by the female driver who is stuck in traffic in Figure 4. While they may be considered acceptable on Spanish television, the Chinese audience is not used to such exposure. Many viewers refer to them as *zanghua*, a Chinese concept which literally means 'dirty language'. In fact, they are banned in the Chinese television

and Internet as part of a campaign against 'vulgarity' since 2009. It censors not just pornography, but also dirty words, slang, and socially and politically unacceptable figures in order to present a harmonious image to the world (Xiao 2011).

Figure 4.   Vulgar and colloquial expressions

Extract 4.   *0:30:20-0:30:38. (version 3)*

    (1)   果然是西班牙人，脏话不离口
          'Sure enough they are Spanish people, speaking dirty language all the time.'

    (2)   她应该说jolin 然后蔡依林中枪
          'She should say *jolin*, so that Jolin Tse (a Taiwanese singer) would be referenced.'

    (3)   一个标准的西班牙司机23333脏话这种标配嗯
          'A standard Spanish driver, hahaha, the dirty language is surely characteristic.'

    (4)   倒回去学脏话 ✧ *。٩(´ω`*)۶ ✧ *。
          'Playing backward to learn the dirty language (happy).'

Extract 5.   *0:30:19-0:30:27 (version 2)*

    (1)   这句话原意大概是我在牛奶里便便。。。。
          'The original meaning of this phrase is something like I shit in the milk…'

Extract 3 shows different responses triggered by the lines in Figure 4. These encompass entertaining activities such as the language play in comment 2. The user creatively proposes *jolín*, a Spanish colloquial interjection and a euphemism

for 'fuck', and mocks its homophony with the English name of a famous Taiwanese singer. Similarly, a user in Extract 5 finds the expression *me cago en la leche* ('shit I had bad luck!') amusing and shares a literal translation.

Comment 1 and comment 3 on the other hand, adopt a sociolinguistic perspective and shift the discussion to Spanish people / drivers in general and their language choices. Specifically, comment 3 sets the linguistic standard for Spanish drivers, ironically associating the official form of Spanish, i.e. the most neutral and socially accepted variety, with the dirty language. Terms like 'sure enough' and 'standard configuration' also point to the viewers' pre-existing stereotype of the Spaniard as users of the bad language. This allegation may be experience-based or hearsay (see Nikitina 2017 for a counterexample, where Malaysian Spanish learners perceive Spaniards as 'polite people'). However, with the media representation, the impression has been proven true.

Finally, Spanish learners like the user in comment 4 take advantage of the multimedia player to re-visualize the fragment. In this way, the user engages in an intentional learning of language items that are seldom taught in Spanish as a Foreign Language classrooms. In fact, as mentioned by another viewer in version 1, this vocabulary is normally acquired through conversations with local friends ('hahaha those days when my Spanish friends were keen on teaching me to insult in *joder*'). In the end, it seems exciting and desirable for learners to know the non-standard language as illustrated by a *kaomoji* (e.g., alternative Japanese emoticons that are usually read horizontally) in the same comment.

Unlike previous categories that are related to the written language, the last and most frequent category -speech- is prompted by the soundtrack of MdT (115 of 238 comments on Spanish). Among these comments, more than half centre on the rate of speaking in the dialogue. According to a crosslinguistic experiment conducted by Pellegrino, Christophe and Egidio (2011), Japanese and Spanish, often believed to be 'fast languages', clock the greatest number of syllables per second while Chinese and German rank among 'slow languages' with the lowest syllable rate.

The first scene that surprises the audience is Figure 5, where the female student challenges her professor in a serious and high-speed discourses. This results in a flood of *danmu* flying across the screen in all three versions. Most users are simply astonished (like the quote in the paper's title) and describe the speech rate as 'fast', 'brutal', and 'horrifying' which makes it 'impossible to follow both Spanish and Chinese subtitles'. They also compare the speech with 'tongue twisters', 'rap', and '*xiangsheng* (or crosstalk, a traditional Chinese comedic performing arts)'. Some even decide to 'never learn Spanish in the whole life' or ask other viewers: 'would anyone blame me if I say I want to quit the series because of the speaking rate?'

However, for other Spanish learners, the speaking rate is just 'normal' and 'acceptable'. They identify it with 'taking a listening comprehension test' or 'a listening lesson' which creates a sympathetic atmosphere in the comments as illustrated

in Extract 6. Others suggest 'experiencing the real speaking rate' elsewhere such as in *Gran Hotel* and *Física o Química* (both are Spanish television series available on Bilibili). Likewise, users in Extract 7 argue whether the fastest speech is found in news broadcasting or random conversations with local people. Focusing on sociolinguistic varieties, comment 2 in Extract 6 compares the European Spanish with Latin American Spanish and Extract 8 suggests that since the scene takes place in Barcelona, the character should be speaking Catalan rather than Spanish.

Moreover, as some users associate dirty language to a national character, here we also observe descriptions of Spanish people as being 'extremely chattering', and conclusions like 'so I say never argue with a Spanish woman'.

Figure 5. Fast speaking rate

Extract 6.   *0:05:49-0:06:31 (version 1)*
  (1)   心疼你们练听力的
        'I feel pity for you guys who have to practice listening skills.'
  (2)   西班牙的西语发音我觉得还是比较容易听的，阿根廷，古巴口音听得心累
        'I think the European Spanish accent is relatively easy to understand, while Argentine and Cuban accents are is really hard.'
  (3)   西班牙语就是这么快high心疼自己
        'Spanish really is this fast and high. Pity for myself.'

Extract 7.   *0:09:01-0:09:24 (version 2)*
  (1)   语速最快的应该是新闻播报
        'The fastest speaking rate should be in news broadcasting.'

(2) 前面憋瞎逼逼了 你随便在街上抓一叔叔伯伯都比rap还快
'The guy before stop saying nonsense, you seize any old guy on the
street and they talk even faster than rap.'

Extract 8. *0:06:03-0:06:11 (version 3)*

(1) 巴萨居然不讲catalan，不可思议
'Barcelona doesn't speak Catalan, incredible.'

Last but not least, being unable to understand the original audio, many viewers
mistake unfamiliar and quickly uttered words or phrases for familiar and near-
homophonic versions. With the *danmu* system, they can easily recognize and dis-
cuss the shared experience. For example, in Figure 6 the hooded man offers a
secret job to the protagonist who answers in a tired and low voice: '*espiar* (spy)?'
Triggered by the unclear response, two users in Extract 9 point out that some-
how they hear 'FBI', the abbreviation for the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the
United States. This is better-known in China and potentially suits the context. In
Extract 10, comment 2 explains the mishearing with an arrow to address comment
1 while comment 3 is still shows confusion by the more plausible version.

Figure 6. Homophones

Extract 9. *0:04:18-0:04:31 (version 3)*

(1) 原谅我好像听到了FBI。。。
'Forgive me for maybe hearing *FBI*…'

(2) FBI＋1
'*FBI* too.'

Extract 10. *0:04:26-0:04:42 (version 1)*

(1) 这句说的是fbi吗？fbi被翻译成特工？
'Does this sentence says *fbi*? Is *fbi* translated in agent?'

(2) ←espiar，就是spy，说fbi的空耳了
    'That is *espiar*, which means spy. Whoever said *fbi* misheard.'

(3) 哪里有fbi……
    'Where is *fbi*…'

In a broader sense, mishearing or phonetic subtitling has been a common practice on Web 2.0 multimedia platforms such as YouTube (Androutsopoulos 2010) and Bilibili (Zheng 2016). The word 空耳 (*kong'er*) in comment 2 Extract 10 is a direct loanword from Japanese which means 'auditory hallucination'. It is used by Chinese netizens to refer to humorous or parodic transcriptions of dialogues or lyrics in a foreign language. In other words, users intentionally misinterpret the original voice, appropriate it for a different audience and purpose, and even convert the media material into an entirely new semiotic artifact.

5.2 Learning Spanish

The second category consists of 108 comments (29%) related to Learning Spanish as a Foreign language. Instead of prompted by a specific detail, most of these comments appear at the beginning of the video which contains no more than an image of distant landscape. This provides an opportunity for users to greet each other and discuss how they become aware of and decided to watch MdT. A total of 51 users explicitly refer to 学 (*xue*), the Chinese word for 'learn'. This constitutes one of the main reasons for the viewing given that many consider the video useful material that aids their learning in various ways:

1. Creating an authentic language context which turns out especially helpful to those beginners or freshman majoring in Spanish: 'being a beginner in Spanish I come to feel the context'.
2. Improving listening skills ('I come to practice listening comprehension.'). This is even better if the series is not subtitled: 'I want to watch without subtitles to practice listening, anybody kindly share the video?' / 'they are on rtve, have a look there'. Interestingly, this conversation causes a user to have a complaint: 'when there are no subtitles you guys shout for them, while there are subtitles you want the one without them. You are really hard to please.'
3. Introducing Spanish history and society: 'I, in need of sociocultural knowledge, am still watching'.
4. Refreshing and maintaining the language ability: 'it has been so long since I watched Spanish series. If not, I would soon forget Spanish.'

The heated discussion raises interest in curious viewers who are new to Spanish ('I'm not a Spanish learner and it's my first time watching a Spanish series, but now I feel like learning it'). However, some users seem to disagree. They share

their learning experience ('just want to say that Spanish is a bit hard, having studied it for half of the semester'), perceptions ('once one starts learning Spanish it is as deep as the ocean.'), and even discourage them ('do not learn it, you will freak out.'). Responding to a question of 'can people learn Spanish by watching television series?' a user directly says: 'No.'

Others manifest learning in more entertaining ways. Some learners associate the characters' names with their Spanish names given by the teacher or chosen voluntarily in the first class: 'My Spanish name also happens to be Blanca, hahaha.' 'Our class also has Blanca and Isabel'. In the opening credits of the fansub group, three users recognize their Spanish teacher's name ('omg saw our professor among translators, this…'). Some choose to interact in the object language, e.g., *me llamo Rebeca* ('my name is Rebeca'), *me gusta estudiar* ('I like studying').

Although *danmu* is completely anonymous, many users try to establish offline relationships probably because in real life they are all Spanish learners. They use 血统 (*xuetong*, 'bloodline') to describe the possibility of being classmates while others enjoy to 'go sightseeing on you guys trying to relate to each other, hahaha.' A user explicitly refers to the exam of DELE or Diplomas of Spanish as a Foreign Language, and calls for company ('anybody preparing for b1 in November 2016? Would you raise your hand and form a group with me?'). Nevertheless, some consider the attempt unnecessary. As a user notes, Spanish is no longer a less preferred language in China, but a popular subject in many schools, universities and language centers in recent years ('there are plenty of students of Spanish. Our high school has a Spanish class, let alone those in university.').

5.3 Spanish–Chinese translation

Lastly, users are also concerned about the provided Chinese translation (44 comments at 11%). The subtitles are made by fans for fans and differ from the official ones in many ways (L. Zhang and Cassany 2016, in press). In particular, fansubs adopt creative subtitling techniques that facilitate the understanding of a complex story with a remote historical background. Two strategies that impress the audience are onscreen text imitation and annotations, which have been acknowledged in the broader translation studies as 'perhaps the most attention-grabbing techniques' activated by fansubbers (Diaz Cintas and Munoz Sanchez 2006; Diaz Cintas 2018; Dwyer 2012; Josephy-Hernández 2017; Ortabasi 2006; Pérez-González 2007).

Onscreen text imitation is applied when a text appears on the screen and serves for the plot development such as a message, sign-board, title of the series, etc. Instead of translating them in the bottom subtitles, fansubbers take the liberty of creating a new graphical unit alongside the original text replicating its style to produce an authentic appearance for the audience. One example is Figure 7 where

the imitative Chinese characters are integrated with the book cover. The image only exists briefly on the screen, but the special effect fools many viewers (e.g., Extract 11) upon first sight.

Figure 7. Onscreen text imitation

Extract 11.   *0:33:35-0:33:46 (version 1)*

(1) 这字幕超强，完全没痕迹融合进去了
'These subtitles are extraordinary, integrating without the smallest trace.'

(2) 真的无痕！看到弹幕才发现
'Really untraceable! I didn't realize it until reading the *danmu*.'

Fansubbers also add annotations to explain a specific term or a cultural reference in the video. Like on-screen text imitation, this practice is rarely seen in official translations but is appreciated by fans of the media product. Figure 8 includes a brief note on the Spanish honorific *Don*. In view of the note, participants in Extract 12 initiate an exchange on Spanish names referring to famous figures such as *Don Quijote* and *Don Juan*. Since they are known in China by phonetic transcription, it is difficult to distinguish between the first name, last name and honorific titles. This linguistic discussion only takes place in Version 1 that incorporates the explanation of *Don*; in two other fansubs without it, the word passes unnoticed.

Figure 8. Fansubber's annotation

Extract 12. *0:49:27-0:49:46 (version 1)*

(1) 所以堂吉柯德叫吉柯德?
'So Don Quijote is called Quijote?'

(2) 对唐是西班牙语伯爵don的音译
'Yes. *Tang* is the transcription of the Spanish nobleman *don*.'

(3) 对,唐璜其实就叫胡安
'Yes, Don Juan is actually named Juan.'

(4) 堂吉柯德是 Don Quijote De Lamancha
'Don Quijote is Don Quijote De Lamancha.'

On the other hand, users who have a good command of Spanish are sensitive to any explicit mistake or potential inconsistency in the Chinese subtitles. A total of seven linguistic points in semantic, phraseological and syntactical domains are criticized or suggested for reframe (depending on the viewer's language level; the observations are not always accurate). Normally only one user picks out the mistake however the most problematic one is shown in Figure 9: *una caña* ('a beer') translated into 'a cane wine'. As several users immediately indicate in Extract 13, the acceptation is used commonly to order a beer in a Spanish bar. However, someone without that experience is likely to mis-translate probably basing their translation exclusively on a dictionary as comment 2 infers taking up a translator's position.

Extract 13. *0:08:10-0:08:27 (version 2)*

(1) caña一般指要一扎/一杯啤酒
'*caña* usually means that one wants a pitcher / glass of beer.'

(2) caña是指一杯好不好
'*caña* refers to a glass ok?'

Figure 9. Improper translation

(3) 甘蔗酒什么鬼翻译。。
'What the hell is the translation in cane wine…'

(4) una caña是一杯啤酒的意思 不是甘蔗酒
'*una caña* means a glass of beer, not a cane wine.'

(5) 译成了甘蔗酒可能是因为翻译查字典的时候查到的是蔗糖这个解释
'The reason for the translation in cane wine could be that when the translator looked it up in the dictionary, it says sucrose.'

Danmu reconfigures the audiovisual product in a highly visible and public manner. The above examples present a complex interaction among multiple voices: (1) the original soundtrack in Spanish; (2) the translation in Chinese; (3) fansubbers' annotation on (2); (4) viewers' comments in *danmu*. Being embedded in the video, these revisions gain meaning through intertextual and multimodal references and are subject to frequent updating in the future.

6. Discussion and conclusions

As Barton and Lee (2013) noted from their observation on YouTube, participation in linguistic discussions on such video sites is particular because they are often initiated by the visual content. In other words, they are articulated collaboratively and multimodally. This peculiarity influences the way in which users interact and express themselves on Bilibili which we conceptualize not simply as a location for storing, viewing and commenting videos, but a space for complex, multi-authored, highly dynamic and open-ended collaborative writing.

Regarding RQ1, *danmu* users referred to three main linguistic topics: Spanish language, Spanish–Chinese translation, and learning Spanish. Concerning the first aspect, viewers are mostly interested in linguistic features that contrast with

Chinese or English. Some commonly recognized differences include the fast speaking rate, the complex grammar, and the frequent vulgarity in media products. Secondly, viewers use *danmu* to provide feedback to the fansub group's work. They underscore and express gratitude for the creative and meticulous post-production, i.e. on-screen text imitation and annotations. Critical users also pick out mistakes in the translation. Finally, they use *danmu* to improve specific linguistic competences such as listening skills and to pick up uncommon linguistic forms, vocabulary and collocations.

The purpose of the participation varies depending on users' linguistic profile. Those who have their first contact with Spanish actively engage in crosslinguistic comparisons using their (multi)linguistic repertoire. They raise interpretations on novel phenomena and seek confirmation from senior users. On the other hand, participants with a better experience with Spanish speakers respond to newcomers' doubts from an insider's perspective. They also play with the language through creative and entertaining comments while taking a learner and a reviewer's role to make use of the audiovisual material.

On traditional western-based social media (e.g., Flickr), users with a parallel profile, i.e. those whose mother tongue is not English but choose to express themselves in the lingua franca, tend to develop a self-deprecating metalanguage (Lee 2013). This means that they downplay their linguistic abilities using expressions like 'my English is so poor'. While this practice is pervasive in Web 2.0 and facilitates social networking and widens participation, it is unusual under an anonymous environment such as Bilibili. Here it is the co-production of diverse knowledge or *collective intelligence* (Levy 1997) rather than identity work that is most valued as it enriches the viewing experience.

Regarding RQ2, *danmu* provides an access to sociolinguistic issues that are central for daily communication such as the speech rate, language varieties, the colloquial register, and attitudes towards vulgar expressions. This knowledge is particularly useful to learners located in such a distant context as China as reported by Milans (2012) in his article "'Ah! Spain, that's far away from China': Methodological reflexivity and mobility in critical sociolinguistic ethnography." Using the interactive commentary system on Bilibili, viewers collaboratively confirm or revise their previous attitudes and knowledge on Spanish language and culture. The original audio and video channel, along with bilingual subtitles and fansubbers' notes, create an excellent context for people who have not made contact with Spaniards in order to develop their sociocultural competences.

Moreover, the *danmu* technology facilitates the participation in the exact sequence where the sociocultural reality is projected. It enables users to post specific and brief comments which the fan community of Bilibili read and understand under the same contexts. They are also ready to respond to the comprehension

needs or curiosities of others. According to their expertise, they even collaborate online in meaning-making and problem-solving practices such as the 'vos' in Old Castilian to better enjoy their favorite television series. From a broader perspective, they are a form of participatory culture (Jenkins 2006) where the explosion of new media technologies make it possible for average consumers to archive, annotate, appropriate, and recirculate media content in powerful new ways.

A growing number of research has found such support among many fan communities online (Sauro 2017; Shafirova and Cassany 2019; Vazquez-Calvo 2018; Vazquez-Calvo, L. Zhang, Pascual and Cassany 2019). However, prior to *danmu*, these group activities often relied on forum threads or private messages. On Bilibili, the corrections or discussions become part of the video and appear simultaneously with the questionable subtitles. In this sense, watching videos with *danmu* is comparable to reading a book with dynamic annotations. To process the reconfigured video content requires a higher cognitive effort from viewers. Many complain about (1) the visual clutter, since certain styles or fonts are considered ugly and destroy the aesthetics of the original video, (2) the excess of information, which distracts them from catching up on the video, and (3) the information pollutant, i.e. irrelevant and redundant comments, such as the release of personal emotions, quarrels between film star fans and even spoiler (Chen, Gau and Rau 2017).

On the other hand, viewers on Bilibili also benefit from an ever-changing body of supplementary information. This is not limited to linguistic revision, but also historical facts, names of actors or background music, and the entertaining messages and recreations. They orient the interpretation of the media product outlining what interests the fans and what deserves more attention. Thus, less expert users can use *danmu* to understand the series as the rest of fans do on Bilibili.

In a broader sense, *danmu* also constitutes an attempt to reconcile the viewers' own understanding of the Spanish dialogue with the Chinese rendition provided by the subtitlers – particularly when this is felt to be not particularly accurate. On one hand, fansubbers' decisions are often influenced by their fan viewers' preferences and expectations of the media product (Denison 2011; Dwyer 2012; Pérez-González 2014); on the other hand, audience are aware of fansubbers' amateurism, which encourages them to challenge translators' decisions and engage in discussions related to translation or language use. Some scholars in the AVT field have noticed this unique phenomenon recently (Díaz-Cintas 2018; Dwyer 2017), and consider *danmu* to be a 'direct channel that shortens the communicative distance between translators and viewers' (Díaz-Cintas 2018, 140). Thus, to examine the interaction between fansubbing and audience perception and interpretation in *danmu*-mediated encounters remains a valuable future direction.

Finally, another widely acknowledged benefit of viewing multimedia materials is an enhanced cultural comprehension. A study on 470 Chinese university

students revealed that they gain their cultural knowledge about Western culture and society mostly from films and TV series and that they also prefer to learn in this way (Yang 2016). Thus, focusing on these *danmu* related to cultural topics is a valuable and viable line of future research in an effort to explore how people's ideological opinions are shaped by media representations of language and society. MdT would be a good fit for this as well since it provides a vivid portrayal of the Spanish nation, culture and history (see L. Zhang and Cassany 2019 for an exploration of *danmu* and interculturality).

Acknowledgements

References

Androutsopoulous, Jannis. 2006. "Multilingualism, Diaspora, and the Internet: Codes and Identities on German-based Diaspora Websites." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10 (4): 520–547. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2006.00291.x

Androutsopoulous, Jannis. 2010. "Localizing the global on the participatory web." In *The handbook of language and globalization*, ed. by Nikolas Coupland, 203–231. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444324068.ch9

Androutsopoulous, Jannis. 2013. "Participatory culture and metalinguistic discourse: Performing and negotiating german dialects on Youtube." In *DISCOURSE 2.0 Language and New Media*, ed. by Tannen Deborah, and Anna Marie Trester, 47–73. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Barton, David, and Carmen Lee (eds.). 2013. *Language Online*. London, New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203552308

Benson, Phil. 2015. "Commenting to learn: Evidence of language and intercultural learning in comments on YouTube videos". *Language Learning and Technology* 19 (3): 88–105.

Benson, Phil, and Nikita Chan. 2010. "TESOL after Youtube: Fansubbing and informal language learning". *Taiwan Journal of TESOL* 7 (2): 1–23.

Benson, Phil, and Alice Chik. 2011. "New literacies and autonomy in foreign language learning." In *Digital Genres, New Literacies, and Autonomy in Language Learning*, ed. by María José Luzón, María Noelia Ruiz-Madrid, and María Luisa Villanueva, 63–81. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Black, Rebecca W. 2009. "Online fanfiction, global identities, and imagination." *Research in the Teaching of English* 43: 397–425.

Canagarajah, Suresh. 2011. "Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy." *Applied linguistics review* 2 (1): 1–28.

Cenoz, Jasone, and Durk Gorter. 2011. "Focus on multilingualism: A study of trilingual writing." *The Modern Language Journal* 95 (3): 356–369. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01206.x

Chen, Yue, Qin Gao, and Pei-Luen Patrick Rau. 2017. "Watching a Movie Alone yet Together: Understanding Reasons for Watching Danmaku Videos." *International Journal of Human – Computer Interaction* 33 (9): 1–13.

Claudio Quiroga, Gloria. 2017. "Educational exchanges between China and Spain at the University: platform for rapprochement between the two countries." *Anuario jurídico y económico escurialense* 50: 475–498.

Denison, Rayna. 2011. "Anime Fandom and the Liminal Spaces between Fan Creativity and Piracy." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 14 (5): 449–466. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877910394565

Díaz Cintas, Jorge. 2018. "'Subtitling's a carnival': New practices in cyberspace." *The Journal of Specialised Translation* 30: 127–149.

Díaz Cintas, Jorge, and Pablo Muñoz Sánchez. 2006. "Fansubs: Audiovisual translation in an amateur environment." *The Journal of Specialised Translation* 6: 37–52.

Dwyer, Tessa. 2012. "Fansub Dreaming on ViKi". *The Translator* 18 (2): 217–243. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2012.10799509

Dwyer, Tessa. 2017. "Hecklevision, barrage cinema and bullet screens: An intercultural analysis." *Participations: Journal of Audience & Receptions Studies* 14 (2): 571–589.

El País. December 15, 2017. "'El Ministerio del Tiempo', mejor serie española de la historia según la prensa especializada." *EL PAÍS*. Retrieved on January 1, 2018 from https://elpais.com/cultura/2017/12/15/television/1513342137_758333.html

Herring, Susan. 1999. "Interactional coherence in CMC." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 4 (4): 1–13.

Herring, Susan. 2012. "Discourse in Web 2.0: Familiar, reconfigured and emergent." In *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 2011: Discourse 2.0: Language and New Media*, ed. by Deborah Tannen, and Anna Marie Tester, 1–25. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Herring, Susan, and Jannis Androutsopoulos. 2015. "Computer-Mediated Discourse 2.0." In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin, 127–151. Malden, Mass.: Wiley Blackwell.

Hsiao, Chi-hua. 2015. "The verbal art of tucao and face-threatening acts in *danmu* screening." *Chinese Language and Discourse* 6 (2): 109–132. https://doi.org/10.1075/cld.6.2.01hsi

Howard, Craig D. 2012. "Higher Order Thinking in Collaborative Video Annotations: Investigating discourse modeling and the staggering of participation." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University Bloomington.

Ivković, Dejan. 2013. "The Eurovision Song Contest on YouTube: A Corpus-Based Analysis of Language Attitudes." *Language@Internet* 10: 1–25.

Jaworski, Adam, Nikolas Coupland, and Dariusz Galasinski (eds.) 2004. *Metalanguage: Social and ideological perspectives*. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110907377

Jenkins, Henry. February 6, 2013. "The Cultural Context of Chinese Fandom: An Interview with Xiqing Zheng (Part Three)." Retrieved on November 5, 2017 from http://henryjenkins.org/blog/2013/02/the-cultural-context-of-chinese-fandom-an-interview-with-xiqing-zhengpart-three.html

Josephy-Hernández, Daniel E. 2017. "The Translation of Graphemes in Anime in Its Original and Fansubbed Versions". *TranscUlturAl* 9 (1): 78–104. https://doi.org/10.21992/T9RW5Z

Lee, Carmen. 2013. "My English Is So Poor … So I Take Photos" Metalinguistic Discourses about English on FlickR." In *DISCOURSE 2.0 Language and New Media*, ed. by Tannen Deborah, and Anna Marie Trester, 73–84. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Milans, Miguel Pérez. 2012. "'Ah! Spain, that's far away from China': Reflexividad metodológica y movilidad en la etnografía sociolingüística crítica." *Spanish in Context* 9 (2): 219–243. https://doi.org/10.1075/sic.9.2.03per

Nikitina, Larisa. 2017. "Language learners' representations of Spanish-speaking countries: How can they inform language pedagogy?" *Revista signos. Estudios de lingüística* 50 (93): 50–70. https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-09342017000100003

Ortabasi, Melek. 2006. "Indexing the Past: Visual Language and Translatability in Kon Satoshi'S Millennium Actress". *Perspectives* 14: 278–291. https://doi.org/10.1080/09076760708669044

Pérez-González, Luis. 2007. "Intervention in new amateur subtitling cultures: a multimodal account." *Linguistica Antverpiensia* 6: 67–80.

Pérez-González, Luis. 2014. *Audiovisual Translation: Theories, Methods and Issues*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315762975

Pierre, Levy. 1997. *Collective Intelligence: Mankind's Emerging World in Cyberspace*. Cambridge: Perseus.

Pellegrino, François, Christophe Coupé, and Egidio Marsico. 2011. "Across-language perspective on speech information rate." *Language* 87 (3): 539–558. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2011.0057

Sauro, Shannon. 2017. "Online Fan Practices and CALL." *Calico Journal* 34 (2): 131–146. https://doi.org/10.1558/cj.33077

Shafirova, Liudmila, and Daniel Cassany. 2019. "Bronies learning English in the digital wild." *Language Learning & Technology* 23(1): 127–144.

Scolari, Carlos A., and María José Establés. 2017. "El ministerio transmedia: expansiones narrativas y culturas participativas." *Palabra Clave*, 20 (4): 1008–1041. https://doi.org/10.5294/pacla.2017.20.4.7

Squires, Lauren. 2010. "Enregistering internet language." *Language in Society* 39 (4): 457–492. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404510000412

Vazquez-Calvo, Boris. 2018. "The Online Ecology of Literacy and Language Practices of a Gamer." *Educational Technology & Society*, 21 (3): 199–212.

Vazquez-Calvo, Boris, Leticia Tian Zhang, Mariona Pascual and Daniel Cassany. 2019. "Language learning and fan translation of games, anime and fanfiction." *Language Learning & Technology* 23 (1): 49–71.

Xiao, Qiang. 2011. "The Battle for the Chinese Internet." *Journal of Democracy* 22 (2): 47–61. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2011.0020

Yang, Linda Hui. 2016. "Resources through which Chinese students learn about Western society and culture." *Journal of Research in International Education* 15 (1): 67–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/1475240916639770

Zhang, Leticia Tian, and Daniel Cassany. 2016. "Fansubbing from Spanish to Chinese: organization, roles and norms in collaborative writing." [Fansubbing del español al chino: organización, roles y normas en la escritura colaborativa]. *BiD: textos universitaris de biblioteconomia i documentació* 37 (juny). Retrieved on October 27, 2017 from http://bid .ub.edu/en/37/tian.htm

Zhang, Leticia Tian, and Daniel Cassany. 2019. "The *danmu* phenomenon and media participation: intercultural understanding and language learning through *The Ministry of Time*" [El fenómeno « danmu » y la participación mediática: Comprensión intercultural y aprendizaje de lenguas a través de « El Ministerio del Tiempo"]. *Comunicar* 58: 19–29. https://doi.org/10.3916/C58-2019-02

Zhang, Leticia Tian, and Daniel Cassany. In press. "Prácticas de comprensión audiovisual y traducción en una comunidad fansub del español al chino." *Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada/Spanish Journal of Applied Linguistics*.

Zhang, Yi. 2017. "Heteroglossic Chinese Online Literacy Practices On Micro-Blogging and Video-Sharing Sites." Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Florida.

Zheng, Xiqing. 2016. "Borderless Fandom and Contemporary Popular Cultural Scene in Chinese Cyberspace." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.

Address for correspondence

Leticia Tian Zhang
Universitat Pompeu Fabra
Roc Boronat, 138, Office 53.212
08018 Barcelona
España
leticiatian.zhang@upf.edu

Co-author information

Daniel Cassany
Universitat Pompeu Fabra
daniel.cassany@upf.edu