

A TYPOLOGY OF CALQUES. THE CALQUING MECHANISM IN CONTEMPORARY BASQUE¹

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Resumen

En este trabajo se define, en primer lugar, el concepto de calco, y se establece una clara diferencia conceptual entre los términos *calco*, *préstamo* e *interferencia*. A continuación, se ofrece una tipología del calco en la que se proponen las siguientes categorías: calco semántico, léxico, léxico-sintáctico, fraseológico, morfosintáctico y discursivo.

En la bibliografía existente en torno al euskera se suelen señalar con insistencia muchos calcos erróneos o inaceptables, derivados de la interferencia del castellano o el francés. En este artículo, en cambio, se subrayan la importancia y el carácter enriquecedor del calco en euskera a la hora de formar nuevas palabras, y no sólo en el ámbito de los lenguajes de especialidad.

En concreto, se subraya la importancia que en euskera tienen los calcos aceptables pertenecientes al nivel léxico. Además, se indican algunos de los criterios que se deben tener en cuenta a la hora de decidir sobre la aceptabilidad de un calco, y se insiste en la idea del calco como medio y mecanismo inductor para la formación de nuevas palabras.

PALABRAS CLAVE: calco lingüístico, tipología (del calco), neología, préstamo, euskera.

Abstract

The paper begins with a definition of calques that differentiates clearly between *calque*, *loan* and *interference*. Next calques are classified as semantic, lexical, lexical-phraseological, lexical-syntactic, phraseological, morphosyntactic and discourse calques.

The literature on Basque contains frequent statements about the incorrectness or unacceptability of many calques attributed to Castilian or French interference. This paper, on the contrary, stresses the importance of calques and their potential for enriching the Basque language by facilitating the creation of new words in both general and specialized vocabularies.

The paper emphasizes the utility of well-constructed lexical calques in Basque, and criteria are set forth for evaluating the acceptability of a given calque, viewing calques as both a means and a mechanism of new word creation.

KEY WORDS: linguistic calque, typology (of calques), word formation, borrowing, Basque.

1 This paper is one product of a two-year research project funded by the University of the Basque Country, 'Interference and calques from neighbouring languages in the language of the media' (UE08/05). It also pertains to the work of the consolidated research group IT414-10, to which I belong. I am very grateful to my colleagues and friends Julio Garcia and Xabier Altzibar for greatly helping to improve and correct the article.

1. Preliminaries

Since this is a paper about calque types and their relevance for the creation of new words and terms in Basque, it will be as well to start by mentioning some key facts about the present linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of Basque.

Basque is a non-Indo-European language that has been in contact with Spanish and French for centuries. Today these languages coexist: almost the entire Basque-speaking population is familiar with and able to speak Spanish, or French in the case of Basques from north of the Pyrenees. This has resulted in an interesting situation of language contact that has moved from diglossia vis-à-vis Spanish towards asymmetrical bilingualism. In spite of its official status, which it shares with Spanish, Basque remains very dependent on Spanish in certain areas, particularly in the technical and scientific domain. In this respect, the relationship between Basque and Spanish contrasts with that which obtains between many European languages of culture and English: in the contemporary globalized world, Spanish and French are indeed influenced by the language and culture of the English-speaking world, but to a lesser degree than the influence that Spanish exerts over Basque. The Basque Language Academy (*Euskaltzaindia*) works constantly to regulate and standardize the language in order to ensure its unity and keep varieties on either side of the Pyrenees from diverging excessively. In the context of that endeavour, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the role of calques as a mechanism for the formation of new Basque words.

Some key facts about the present-day Basque-speaking population follow:

a) In 2006 there were 2,589,600 people aged sixteen or over living in the Basque Country, 25.7% of whom, or 665,800 people, were proficient bilingual speakers of Basque and either Spanish or French.

b) 83.7% of this bilingual population reside in the Basque Autonomous Community, 8.5% in the Community of Navarre, and 7.8% in the French Basque provinces of Lapurdi, Low Navarre and Zuberoa.

c) Basque is a minority language in a subordinate status and in permanent contact with two neighbouring languages of enormous vitality, Spanish and French.

d) Basque has existed in a situation of diglossia for several centuries and is now in a situation of asymmetrical bilingualism. Nevertheless, great efforts have been underway for several decades now to normalize its use. Basque now shares official status with Spanish in the Basque Autonomous Community, while in Navarre and the French Basque area it also receives some protection from official language policies.

e) A standard form of Basque known as Euskara Batua (unified Basque) has established itself progressively since 1970 and is now used in administration, education and the press and media. However, the standardization process is not over yet. There remains much work to be done in the areas of specialized language normalization and terminology.

Next we shall define *calque* and specify how it differs from direct borrowing and from interference.

Strictly speaking, *borrowing* refers to the complete transfer of a foreign language item (usually a lexical item, i.e. a *loanword*), and thus to the 'importing' or acquisition of a foreign signifier and signified (Gómez Capuz, 1998: 18-43). A *calque*, and the verb *to calque*, on the contrary, will be used here in the sense of 'loan-translation' and 'substitution', i.e. reproducing the meaning of an item in another language through imitation, employing the target language's signifiers or linguistic elements². In the literature on the subject (Haugen, 1950; Deroy, 1956/1980: 223), the distinction between loanwords and calques is presented in terms of oppositions between *importing* and *substituting*, or *full* and *partial* loans.

Interference is a broader concept which comes from the north American linguistic tradition, where it was coined to refer to contact phenomena between languages. Weinreich (1953/1968/1974) explains interference as follows within a structuralist framework:

The term interference implies the *rearrangement of patterns* that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary (kinship, color, weather, etc.).

Interference, then, means *restructuring*, rather than simply the addition of individual items to an inventory: it consists either of the transfer of foreign elements to the target language and the mutual identification, via analogy, of certain items in the two linguistic systems and the subsequent restructuring of subsystems in the target language. This is a neutral term in linguistics. However, *interference* is generally associated, from a different perspective, with bilingual speakers' imperfect linguistic competence (García Yebra, 1981/1989: 353), and used mainly in relation to foreign language learning in connection with the idea of speaker errors (see Domínguez, 2001).

² The Spanish word *calco* ('calque') stands in both for the concept of the process or mechanism (English *loan translation*) and the result of that process (*translation loan word*), which need to be distinguished. In this paper *calque* refers to the product, *calquing* or *calquing mechanism* (or *process*) to the process. See Gómez Capuz (1998: 56-58) for a discussion of the terminology used in various languages.

Unfortunately, confusion is rampant in both the terms and concepts used in present-day textbooks, which often fail, in particular, to differentiate properly between calques and loanwords, semantic borrowing and semantic calques, lexical and semantic calques, or calque and interference. While there are various valid frameworks and ways to analyse how languages influence each other, terminological and conceptual rigour is needed, whichever approach is taken.

This paper is concerned, as the title indicates, with the typology of calques, not with either loans or interference phenomena. But there exists a rather common alternative approach which classifies calques together with borrowing phenomena (Gómez Capuz, 1998, 2005). Such an approach is reflected in Eusko Jaurlaritzako Kultura Saila (2002: 50), where calques are treated as *loans through translation*:

Maileguen artean aipatzekoak dira, era berean, kalkoak. Kalkoak mailegu bereziak dira: hizkuntza batek beste hizkuntza bateko hitza edo esamoldea itzuliz sortzen dituen unitate linguistikoak dira. Gisa honetakoak dira, esaterako, *segurtasun indarrak*, *argi berdea eman*, *gastuak estali*, etab. [Calques are another type of loan. Calques are special loans: they are language items that are created through one language translating a word or expression from another language. Some examples of this are *segurtasun indarrak* 'law-enforcement agents' (lit. security-forces, cf. Spanish *fuerzas de seguridad*), *argi berdea eman* 'give the green light' (cf. Spanish *dar luz verde*), *gastuak estali* 'cover costs' (cf. Spanish *cubrir gastos*), etc.]

In some uses, the term *interference* has come to connote (or even to denote) a pejorative sense, and a similar tendency may be discerned with *calque*, which although it possesses a neutral, descriptive meaning per se, is often employed in the sense of *incorrect calque* (Garzia, 2005: 16). Indeed, the word *calque* has become so contaminated with this pejorative idea that it is rarely counted as a valid resource for lexical creation, and in discussions of neologistic creation when calques are mentioned at all they are treated with suspicion and circumspection.

In spite of this, the fact of the matter is that calques are constantly resorted to in the development of Basque terminology, especially semantic calques (see below), lexical calques (see below), lexical-phraseological calques (see below) and collocational calques (see below). In short, calques are a highly productive mechanism for the creation of new words and expressions in contemporary Basque, as even a cursory survey of any general or technical dictionary will reveal.

In this paper I intend to show just how productive calques are in our language today. Basques frequently refer to and analyse incorrect calques, yet

hardly ever talk about ‘acceptable’ ones³. Together with a classification and typology of calques, the present study also outlines an approach to analysing the productivity of each particular kind of calque.

Terminological and conceptual confusions regarding interference and borrowing are very widespread (both in the Basque literature and that of other languages). Here is an example of a confusing description from the Basque Commission on Terminology (Terminologia Batzordea, 2004): ‘Mailegua eta kalkoa errealitate berriak izendatzeko baliabideak dira; dena den, kontuan hartzekoa da hizkuntzak badituela bestelako baliabideak (eratorpena, hitz-elkarketa, zabalkuntza semantikoa, eta abar)’. [Loans and calques are resources for designating new ideas: however, it should be borne in mind that languages do possess other means, such as derivation, composition, widening of meaning and so on.] Here a questionable distinction has been drawn between derivation, composition and widening of meaning on the one hand, and calques and loans on the other, overlooking facts such as that lexical calques are realized as instances of derivation, e.g. *kartesianar* ‘Cartesian’ (cf. Sp *cartesiano*, Fr *cartésien*, etc.) or *erakarle* ‘attractive’, lit. ‘which draws, attracts’ (cf. Sp *atrayente*, Fr *attirant*), or of composition, e.g. *zerga-paradisua* ‘tax haven’, literally ‘tax paradise’ (cf. Sp *paraiso fiscal*, Fr *paradis fiscal*), *biraketa-ardatz* ‘axis of rotation’ or *elektroi-erakarle* ‘electroattractive’, and that semantic calques are precisely one of the ways in which semantic widening or extension comes about.

To improve the image of calques in the field of word creation, then, it might be said in their defence that often they are not really a resource but simply a contributing mechanism or factor. For instance, Bq *burdinbide* ‘railway’, lit. ‘iron way’ (cf. Sp *ferrocarril*) may indeed have arisen through a mechanism of loan-translation but is no less a compound noun for that fact.

2. Word meaning: semantic calque, semantic loan and semantic change

As the name indicates, semantic calques have to do with the level of word meaning. Like lexical calques (see below), the ‘internal form’ (i.e. the non-

3 In theory, we can consider that a calque is acceptable if the target language lacks an equivalent means of expression or the calque fills a gap (i.e. if the calque is ‘enriching’), if the calque conforms to the target language’s grammar and morphology, if the meaning it expresses is one in international circulation (or if, in the case of Basque, at least is common to Spanish and French), and if the calque does not result in the generation of any ‘noise’ or contradiction in the lexico-semantic universe of the target language. But given that in practice the above conditions are not always met by all calques, existing usage should be considered when deciding on the acceptability of a given calque: in most real cases, dictionaries and corpus statistics play a decisive role.

material aspect) of an external model is imitated or copied: in lexical calques in terms of morphological structure, and in semantic calques, of meaning. But in semantic calques, unlike lexical calques, no new compound is created; rather, the existing meaning of a word in the target language is altered. Usually this means that the word's meaning is broadened, as in the following examples of *widening of meaning* (see Lorenzo 1996: 492-559 for examples of English-to-Spanish semantic calques):

- (1) a. Eng *conventional* (*weapon*) 1 'usual'; 2 'non-atomic'
 b1. Fr *conventionnel* 1 'usual' >
 b2. Fr *conventionnel* 1 'usual'; [Eng >] + 2 'non-atomic'
- (2) a. Eng *butterfly* 1 'a kind of insect'; 2 'a swimming stroke'
 b1. Fr *papillon* 1 'a kind of insect' >
 b2. Fr *papillon* 1 'a kind of insect'; [Eng >] + 2 'a swimming stroke'
- (3) a. Sp *puente* 1 'bridge'; 2 'long weekend'
 b1. Bq *zubi* 1 'bridge' >
 b2. Bq *zubi* 1 'bridge'; [Sp >] + 2 'long weekend'

Similarly, Sp *estrella de cine* 'movie star' > Bq *zinema izar*; Sp *puerta, portería* 1 'door, gate', 2 'goalpost (in football)' > Bq *ate* 'ditto'.

- (4) a. Eng *mouse* 1 'an animal'; 2 'a computer device'
 b1. Sp *ratón*, Bq *sagu* 1 'an animal' >
 b2. Sp *ratón*, Bq *sagu* 1 'an animal'; [Eng >] + 2 'a computer device'

Similarly, Sp *eje de rotación* 'axis of rotation' > Bq *biraketa-ardatz*.

In the above examples, there can be no doubt that the Basque meanings or uses are new, but the smaller the degree of semantic shift, the harder it is to be certain whether the new meaning has come about under external influence or as an internal development (Rodríguez González, 2005: 179, 183-185).

Now that we have clarified the difference between semantic and lexical calques, let us look at how semantic calques work. It has often been asserted that for such a calque to be possible, the word in the source language that serves as a model and the word in the target language undergoing the calque must share some common basis or semantic feature; when bilingual speakers find partially synonymous words in the different codes, they tend to level their respective semantic fields. Gusmani (1983: 12-14) attributes semantic calques to the lack of total semantic equivalence between theoretical synonyms in two languages in contact: in situations of interference a bilingual speaker will tend to use both lexical items in comparable contexts, that is, to unify the signs in both languages in a single complex sign. He refers to this as *polisemia indotta*, 'induced polysemy'.

- (5) a. Old Slav *cvet* 1 'light'; 2 'world'
 b1. Rom *lume* 1 'light' >
 b2. Rom *lume* 1 'light'; [O.Sl >] + 2 'world'

Haugen (1950) differentiated typologically between three kinds of semantic loan: a) analogue, when the words in two languages resemble each other in form and meaning, as in (6); b) homologue, when the resemblance is purely semantic, as in (7); and c) homophone, when the resemblance is exclusively phonetic, as in (8):

(6) Analogue:

- a. Eng *paper* 1 'paper (material)'; 2 'report, article'
 b1. Fr *papier* 1 'paper (material)' >
 b2. Fr *papier* 1 'paper (material)'; [Eng >] + 2 'report, article'

(7) Homologue:

- a. Eng *hawk* 1 'a bird of prey'; 2 'a politician favouring force'
 b1. Fr *épervier* 1 'a bird of prey' >
 b2. Fr *épervier* 1 'a bird of prey'; [Eng >] + 2 'a politician favouring force'

(8) Homophone:

- a. Eng *grocery* 1 'food shop'
 b1. U.S. Spanglish *grosería* 'rudeness'
 b2. U.S. Spanglish *grosería* 1 'rudeness' [Eng >] + 2 'food shop'

On the basis of Haugen's borrowing typology, Gómez Capuz (1998: 75) proposes a conceptual distinction:

- (9) a. Semantic loan (analogue): when there is formal and conceptual resemblance.
 b. Semantic calque (homologue): when there is only conceptual resemblance, so that the lexeme must be translated as in a calque.

According to the distinction made in (9a/9b), which is not new to French and Romance linguistics (Deroy, 1956/1980: 216), 'semantic loans' should not be grouped with calques at all. But some German linguists take a different view: they emphasize the similarity between semantic loans and semantic calques (Höfler, 1989: 116-117), especially in terms of the transfer-mechanism. In both cases, a word in the source language lends one of its senses to a (conceptually, or both conceptually and formally) corresponding word via metaphor or analogy.

However, there seems to be a significant difference between a semantic loan and a semantic calque (Gómez Capuz, 1998: 76), in that the latter (e.g.

Eng *butterfly* > Fr *papillon* ‘swimming stroke’) generally involves a greater degree of deliberateness and artificiality, and mainly occurs in translations, whereas semantic loans between cognates and paronyms (such as Eng *paper* > Fr *papier* ‘report’) appear more natural, involve less conscious effort, and hence often occur spontaneously among bilingual speakers (see Gómez Capuz, 2005: 35).

Most lexicology and terminology textbooks list semantic change, especially widening, as a semantic resource for vocabulary building. In Basque, examples such as the following are typically given:

(10) *simetria-ardatz* ‘axis of symmetry’, *Konkorde-ren isatsa* ‘tail of the Concorde’, *elektroi-talka* ‘electron collision’, *eraztun trukakor* ‘commutative ring’, *erro kubiko* ‘cube root’, etc.

(11) *Gurutze Gorria* ‘Red Cross’, *kafe ebakia* cf. Sp *café cortado*, etc.

In widening there is some kind of ‘family relationship’ between the original sense and the widened sense which is usually based on a logical relation (especially metonymy), analogy (similarity, metaphor) or assimilation (i.e. application of a name of an object to a new form of that thing). However, widening of meaning often occurs as a spontaneous, internal development in a given language, and is not necessarily the result of a semantic calque. Semantic widening is a broader and more abstract concept; a semantic calque is merely one way in which this may come about.

Widening, which is one productive means of creating new words in any language⁴, is obviously an even more productive resource for that purpose in languages in situations of diglossia, yet it is rarely stated, though it is obviously the case, that this involves (semantic) calques. That is, in terminological creation in languages such as Basque, meanings are habitually widened through the influence of the languages that serve as models, so that the mechanism of semantic calque triggers semantic widening or semantic change. Thus the meaning of an inherited word in the target language is extended by addition of a new meaning that belongs to a corresponding word in a source language. More often than not, then, semantic change does not occur spontaneously but by calquing a change that has previously taken place in another language.

4 Cf. Gómez Capuz (2005: 39): ‘En el fondo, los calcos siempre han sido un mecanismo neológico muy eficaz para adoptar las innovaciones extranjeras relativas a un determinado campo técnico (filosofía, religión, telecomunicaciones, informática, deportes).’ [In reality calques have always been a highly efficient mechanism of word creation for adopting foreign innovations in any given technical field, whether philosophy, religion, telecommunications, computing or sports.]

For example, nowadays the word *indar* ‘strength, force’ is employed, through a semantic calque, in such phrases as *segurtasun-indarrak* ‘security forces, forces of law and order’, *indar armatuak* ‘armed forces’ etc., and also in the field of physics as in *grabitate-indar* ‘gravitational force’, *flotazio-indar* ‘floatation force’, *indar nuklear* ‘nuclear force’ etc. It makes sense and is legitimate for Basque to take advantage of the same means of analogy, licence and flexibility as neighbouring languages (see Sarasola, 1997: 81, Rodríguez González, 2005:183-185). The influence of analogy, figurative sense and metaphor on language change is undeniable⁵.

According to criteria for good terminological practice, a calque ought not only be acceptable within the grammatical system of the target language but also have international support⁶ (Terminologia Batzordea, 2004: 8), e.g.

(12) [Computing]

a. Bq *disko gogor*, Sp *disco duro*, Fr *disque dur*, Eng *hard disk*

b. Bq *posta elektronikoko*, Sp *correo electrónico*, Fr *courrier électronique*,
Eng *electronic mail*

Bad calques include not only those that are incompatible with Basque grammar, but also those which generate ‘noise’ in the semantic universe of the target language or clash with the inherited meaning network. Thus for example *haize-babes* (lit. ‘wind-shelter’) has been proposed, in preference to *haize-maile* (lit. ‘wind-giver’, i.e. ‘blower, fan’), to translate the Spanish cycling term *abanico* (lit. ‘fan’) which describes a formation obtained when a group of cyclists *fan out*. Again, it is proposed (Terminologia Batzordea, 2004) that *zinta erabiligabe* (lit. ‘unused tape’) be employed in Basque, rather than **zinta birjin* (lit. ‘virgin tape’, as in the usual Spanish term *cinta virgen*), for ‘blank tape’. To render the Spanish concept *carpintería metálica* ‘metal window or door frames’ (lit. ‘metallic carpentry’), the Zehazki dictionary proposes not *zurgintza metaliko* (lit. ‘metallic woodwork’) but *arotzia metaliko* (lit. ‘metallic joining’).

3. Word morphology: lexical calques

Calques may occur at many levels of a language, but above all they affect its vocabulary. Calques at the level of the lexicon are called *Lehnbildung* in German (Lewandowski, 1990), and in this study I shall refer to them as *lexi-*

5 Calques have also played an important role in the restoration of old words such as Sp *azafata* ‘stewardess’, Bq *oreka* ‘balance’. By seeking to replicate the semantic field of items in the source language, archaic vocabulary can receive a new lease on life!

6 The primacy of English, especially in the terminological field, is undeniable.

*cal calques*⁷. Basically, the mechanism of a lexical calque consists of translating the internal structure, pattern or internal form of a word of the source language into the target language, for example (Lorenzo, 1996: 559-614, gives many examples of lexical calques from English to Spanish):

- (13) a. Eng *basketball* > Sp *baloncesto*
 b. Sp *prever* ‘foresee’ > Bq *aurreikusi* (lit. ‘fore-see’)
 c. Sp *ferrocarril* / Fr *chemin de fer* ‘railway’ > Bq *burdinbide* (lit. ‘iron-way’)

3.1. Lexical calques: process, mechanism and conditions

When a word is calqued from a foreign language, the source word’s surface shape or signifier, its phonetic substance, is not adopted, but two other things are: a) its morphological structure; b) its meaning. The Humboldtian view of calquing as basically copying a word’s internal form appears, in some guise or other, in the works of many a philologist and linguist (Gómez Capuz, 1998: 58-59). According to Werner Betz, the pioneer in German calque studies, for instance, a lexical calque is a new word created within a language under the influence of an external model.

Thus when the target language calques a foreign word, it uses its own formal resources to ‘recreate’ a complex word in the source language — the language that supplies the pattern (Gómez Capuz, 1998: 61)⁸. Therefore, the process first of all involves performing an analysis of the foreign word, and subsequently replacing its components.

In consequence, as Roberto Gusmani (1983: 8-11) observes, the foreign model needs to meet two conditions:

- (14)
- a) it must consist of more than one morpheme (be polymorphic), with a structure that is easily analysable;
 - b) it must also have a descriptive meaning, that is, a meaning that is obtainable as the ‘sum’ of its component parts.

7 Gómez Capuz (1998: 56) proposes *calco léxico*, *calco estructural* or *calco del esquema* as Spanish equivalents or translations, while Lázaro Carreter (1981) employs *calco del esquema* for *Übersetzungslehnwort*. In the literature, ‘morphological calque’ is also used for such calques, and rightly so, given that they operate at the morphological level (i.e. the level of morphological structure). However, since the present study is indebted to Gómez Capuz’s work, I shall use ‘lexical calque’ to avoid confusion.

8 Humbley (1974: 62), Payrató (1984: 54) and Lewandowski (1990, s.v. *Lehnprägung*), among others, agree with this basic idea.

In other words, the basic condition that must be met by the external model is to be a morphologically and semantically motivated or transparent lexical unit. This double condition will facilitate the calquing mechanism, which thus consists (Gusmani, 1983) of the target language, through synthesis and using the units it possesses, creating a new word with the same semantic motivation and (reconstituted) structure as its model. The following example illustrates the double condition:

- (15) Gk *eu-logein* 'bless' (lit. 'well-say') >
 a. Lat *bene-dicere*
 b. It *bene-dire*
 c. Sp *ben-decir*

As a rule the condition of formal and semantic transparency is fulfilled most consistently in the descriptive compounds of technical jargon, but examples are also found in everyday vocabulary:

- (16) a. Fr *automobile* > Bq *beribil* 'automobile', lit. 'self-move'
 b. Sp *subrayar* > Bq *azpimarratu* 'underline', lit. 'under-line-VERB'
 c. Sp *descasarse* > Bq *desezkondu* 'get divorced', lit. 'un-marry'

Ideally terms ought to have international status to be accepted as loans or calques, but in practice such a criterion is not always applied and the results show up the degree of servility of Basque to Spanish, e.g.

- (17) a. Sp *nivel de alcoholemia* > *alkoholemia-maila*
 b. Eng *blood alcohol level* > *odoleko alkohol maila* (Zehazki, Elh.)

One may conclude from what has been said that to calque a word is, in a sense, to translate it; indeed, a calque is often defined as a *loan-translation*.

But sometimes such a translation comes up against an obstacle, such as when an idiomatic expression or usage is involved (e.g. Eng *long drink* > # Sp *bebida larga* / # Bq *edari luze*) or a literal translation results in an expression that already has a different meaning in the target language (Eng *count-down* > Germ *Abzählen* 'counting').

As we saw in (15), the foreign word triggering the lexical calque mechanism needs to be a result of a word-formation process (i.e. a lexically derived word or a compound), or to be polymorphemic, so that its structure can be translated. Most analysts of calques insist more or less explicitly on the requirement that the model word should be polymorphemic (Gómez Capuz, 1998: 62-64). Some illustrative examples follow:

- (18) a. Gk *prolepsis* [pro-lepsis] > Lat *anticipatio* [anti-cipatio]
 b. Lat *expressio* [ex-pressio] > Germ *Ausdruck* [aus-druck]

- c. Eng *basketball* [basket-ball] > Bq *saskibalo* [saski-baloi]
- d. Eng *weekend* [week-end] > Bq *asteburu* [aste-buru]
- e. Fr *autoroute* [auto-route] > Bq *autobide* [auto-bide]
- f. Sp *reorganizar* [re-organizar] > Bq *berrantolatu* [ber(r)-antolatu]

Since both lexical and semantic calques are effective and productive resources or mechanisms for the development and renewal of a language, it is not particularly surprising that lexical calques occasionally lead to linguistic change, especially in the area of morphology (see Pratt, 1980: 185-201 for examples of English-to-Spanish calques). One instance of this is seen in the deverbal agentive suffix *-tzaile* (cf. Elosegi, 2007), which was traditionally used chiefly to form nouns with animate referents, but which is now often employed, in particular in specialist terminology and (probably) as a result of foreign influence, to form adjectives and names of instruments and other resources, as in *paper xurgatzaile* 'absorbent paper' (lit. 'absorber paper').

3.2. Lexical calque types

Within the tradition of Germanic philology, W. Betz's precise and enriching typology, which is based chiefly on degrees of formal and conceptual subordination to the model, distinguishes three main sub-classes of lexical calques, starting with the highest level of faithfulness to the original:

a) In a *literal lexical calque* (*Lehnübersetzung* [= 'loan translation']), which shows the greatest faithfulness to the model by translating each of its components exactly, each morpheme of the model is translated using the closest equivalent morpheme in the target language (Lewandowski, 1990):

- (19) a. Lat *benedicere* > Sp *bendecir*
- b. Eng *basketball* > Bq *saskibalo*
- c. Eng *calendar year* > Bq *egutegi(-)urte* (contrast Sp *año civil*) [Zehazki]

b) In a *near-calque* or *imperfect lexical calque* (*Lehnübertragung* [= 'lexical transfer']), the components of the compound word are subjected to a freer translation; according to Lewandowski (1990), only one part or component of the model is translated⁹:

9 According to Lewandowski near-calques may occur for three reasons: a) Through an asymmetrical calque: one part of the compound is translated literally and the other is a free translation (e.g. Lat *paeninsula* lit. 'almost-island' > Germ *Halbinsel* lit. 'half-island'; Eng *self-service* > Fr *libre-service* lit. 'free-service'). b) Through a contracted calque: the compound is translated by means of a simple word, e.g. Eng *living-room* > Can. Fr *vivoir*; Eng *hit parade* > Fr *palmarès*; Eng *script-girl* > Sp *anotadora*; but this type resembles a case

- (20) a. Lat *patria* > Germ *Vaterland* ('father-land')
 b. Lat *paeninsula* ('almost-island') > Germ *Halbinsel* ('half-island')
 c. Sp *camión cisterna* ('tank-lorry') > Bq *isurkari(-)kamioi, erre-gai(-)kamioi* 'tanker' (lit. 'fuel-lorry')
 d. Sp *año fiscal* > Bq *zerga(-)urte* 'fiscal year' (lit. 'tax year')

c) In a *lexical calque induced by a foreign model* (*Lehnschöpfung* [= loan-creation]) the newly created word is independently formed in the target language, yet has been influenced by an external model. This is the freest variety of lexical calque; so much so that Gusmani proposes to exclude it from the category of lexical calques altogether. In such formations, in fact, the condition of formal and conceptual equivalence is not fulfilled; rather these seem to be mere translation equivalents:

- (21) a. Fr *automobile* > Germ *Kraftwagen*
 b. Fr *cognac* > Germ *Weinbrand*
 c. Fr *milieu* > Germ *Umwelt*

I will conclude this review of lexical calques by mentioning a special type, that of *hybrids* (Gómez Capuz, 2005: 42) such as Bq *boxeolari* 'boxer', *futbolari* 'football player', *eskaneatze* 'scanning', *gau-klub* 'night-club', *izotz-hockey* 'ice-hockey', *belar-hockey* '(field) hockey', which involve a loanword and a calque. One of the morphemes in these is imported or adopted directly (*boxeo-*, *futbol-*, *eskaneatu-*, *-klub*, *-hockey*), while another part is a calque (*-lari*, *-tze*, *gau-*, *izotz-*):

- (22) a. *boxeolari* (< *boxer/boxeador*), *futbolari* (< *futbolista*), *eskaneatze* (< *scanning/escaneo*)
 b. *gau(-)klub* (< *night club / club de noche*), *izotz(-)hockey* (< *ice hockey / hockey sobre hielo*), *belar(-)hockey* (< *field hockey / hockey sobre hierba*)

4. Lexical-phraseological calques

In the literature the term *lexical calque* refers to the translation of polymorphemic (compound or derived) words. So we may wonder whether, for example, Sp *complemento salarial* > Bq *alokairu-osagarri* 'wage supplement' and Sp *contrato individual* > Bq *banakako kontratu* 'private contract' are lexical calques, at least strictly speaking. What is actually translated here is not a

of equivalence more than one of near-calque. c) Through an expanded calque, wherein a simple source word is translated by means of a compound, e.g. Lat *patria* > Germ *Vaterland* 'father-land'. However, the last-mentioned type also explains an equivalence.

polymorphemic (compound or derived) word with a clear semantic motivation but rather a (terminological) ‘adjective + noun’ phrase. Roughly the same is true of calques on ‘A of B’ type expressions such as Sp *accidente de trabajo* > Bq *lan-istripu* ‘workplace accident’, Sp *componentes del salario* > Bq *alokairuaren osagaiak* ‘salary items’.

Notwithstanding certain problematic issues, my proposal is to extend the concept of lexical calque to include all constructions that are translations of terminological phrases.

TABLE 1

LEXICAL CALQUES (EXTENDED CONCEPT)

A. LEXICAL CALQUES (CALQUES OF COMPOUNDS AND DERIVED WORDS):

1a. [derived word] Sp <i>administrador</i> >	1b. [derived word] Bq <i>administratzaile</i>
2a. [compound word] Sp <i>acuerdo marco</i> >	2b. [compound word] Bq <i>esparru-akordio</i>
B. LEXICAL-PHRASEOLOGICAL CALQUES (CALQUES OF PHRASES):	
3a. [N + relational adjective] Sp <i>complemento salarial</i> >	3b. [compound word] Bq <i>alokairu-osagarri</i>
4a. [N + relational adjective] Sp <i>contrato individual</i> >	4b. [modifier + N] Bq <i>banakako kontratu</i>
5a. [A of B] Sp <i>accidente de trabajo</i> >	5b. [compound word] Bq <i>lan-istripu</i>
6a. [A of B] Sp <i>componentes del salario</i> >	6b. [modifier + N] Bq <i>alokairuaren osagaiak</i>

‘A of B’ or ‘N + relational adjective’-type phrases are highly relevant to naming and terminology: for instance, to find equivalents to constructions in other languages with relational adjectives such as Spanish *complemento salarial* and *contrato individual*, the procedure followed is first of all to see what the adjective refers to and then, in translation, to use either compounding (e.g. *alokairu-osagarri*) or a modifier construction (as in *banakako kontratu*), as the case may be, to convey that referent. By definition, relational adjectives are descriptive, so calquing is naturally involved where equivalents of these are sought.

I shall refer to expressions used as translations for terminological phrases as 'lexical-phraseological calques'¹⁰, and in some sense these may be said to constitute a subclass of lexical calques (Gómez Capuz, 1998: 40) within my classification.

Lexical-phraseological calques are extremely productive in contemporary Basque both in the general vocabulary and in specialist domains.

But it should be noted that in acceptable lexical and lexical-phraseological calques it is not strictly the morphological structure of the source-language word or phrase which is 'copied', but rather the construction which is 'translated' to the target language¹¹, as in Sp *fin de semana* > Bq *asteburu* 'week-end' (i.e. 'week-end' and not *astearen buru* 'end of week', as in the Spanish), Sp *mesa de noche* > Bq *gau-mahai* 'bedside table' (i.e. 'night-table', not *gaueko mahai* 'table of night' as in Spanish), Sp *hockey sobre hierba* > Bq *belar-hockey* 'field hockey' (lit. 'grass hockey', not *belar gaineko hockey* 'hockey on grass' as in Spanish). In the Spanish literature (Gómez Capuz, 1997, 1998, 2005, 2009), compound or derived words translated by syntactic units are often cited as examples of lexical calques. For example, Gómez Capuz (2009: 8) treats the following as literal lexical calques¹²:

- (23) a. Eng *brainwashing* > Sp *lavado de cerebro*
 b. Eng *service station* > Sp *estación de servicio*
 c. Eng *mountain-bike* > Sp *bicicleta de montaña*
 d. Eng *contact lenses* > Sp *lentes de contacto*

In my opinion, in the foregoing examples of calques, inasmuch as the morphological construction in each case is rendered morpheme by morpheme, they are literal translations rather than 'close calques' or 'bad calques'. Although

10 Gómez Capuz (1998: 40) classifies among literal lexical calques certain Spanish lexicalized expressions translated from complex lexical items in French such as *femme fatal* > *mujer fatal*, *haute couture* > *alta costura*, *dernier cri* > *último grito*, *lettre de change* > *letra de cambio*, *coup d'État* > *golpe de Estado*, *mise en scène* > *puesta en escena*, etc.

11 Cf. Rodríguez González (2005: 182): "Conviene advertir que la literalidad del calco en los casos examinados en español hay que considerarla de modo relativo, en la medida en que los dos términos son traducidos literalmente, pero haciendo caso omiso de la sintaxis, que por tratarse de una lengua romance sigue un orden latino, lineal, donde el término 'determinado' precede al 'determinante' o cualificador, a diferencia del alemán, que sigue el orden inverso característico de las lenguas germánicas (cf. *Vochenende* < *week end*, *Gehirnwäsche* < *brainwashing*). A la mente me viene un caso singularísimo de traducción que sí se ha hecho fielmente, al cien por cien, sobre el modelo inglés, *ciencia ficción* (< *science fiction*) y quizá por esta razón se le ha criticado en ámbitos académicos."

12 In examples of hybrid complex lexical items, a compound word is found in the source language, e.g. *ice hockey* > *hockey sobre hielo*, *table tennis* > *tenis de mesa*, *role playing* > *juego de rol*.

it may seem contradictory, they are literal calques even though the translation is not strictly 'literal'. It is in fact mindless copying of the *morphological* structure of the source-language form and consequent abuse of the target-language morphological system that leads to the majority of bad lexical or lexical-phraseological calques, such as Sp *cortometraje* > Bq **laburmetraia* 'short (film)' (*film labur* 'short film' being the approved Basque term).

5. Word syntax: lexical-syntactic calques

Certain lexical items, including many verbs and some adjectives and nouns, have the peculiarity of being associated with particular syntactic patterns or argument structures which require a certain kind of grammatical pattern as in (24). Sometimes a semantic calque is accompanied by the calque of a word's syntactic characteristics, i.e. the kind of complements it accepts. For instance, according to the *Hiztegi Batua* dictionary and literary tradition, *behatu* in the sense of 'look, watch' governs the dative case; yet in contemporary prose (see ZTC), in its use as the equivalent of Sp *observar*, and even elsewhere, it is often made to govern the absolutive like a normal transitive verb, as in (25):

- (24) a. *Observar (algo)* 'observe (something)': *observar los movimientos de los astros* 'observe the movements of the heavenly bodies' [DRAE: *observar*]
 b. *Observar (que)* 'observe (that)': *Es curioso observar que en el índice temático...* 'It is curious to observe that in the subject index...' [CREA]
- (25) a. (*Zerbait*) *behatu (du)* 'observe (something)' (with absolutive): *Zulo beltzaren ingurua urrutitik beha daiteke* 'The periphery of a black hole may be observed from a distance' [Elh. *behatu*: 'observar, examinar']
 b. (*Zerbaiten*) *behaketa egin* 'carry out an examination (of something)': *bakterioen behaketa egin mikroskopioaz* 'examine bacteria under the microscope' [Zehazki: *observar*]
 c. (*Zerbaiti*) *behatu (dio)* 'observe (something)' (with dative): *bakterioei mikroskopioz behatu* 'look at bacteria under the microscope' [Zehazki: *observar*]
 d. *-(e)la behatu (du)* 'observe (that)': *erraila ezkerrekoa baino gehiago hingatzen dela behatu da, oro har noski* 'it has been observed that the rail wears out more than the left-hand one, on average of course'. [ZTC]

Such calques as these are usually included among morphosyntactic calques (see below), but since they involve both morphosyntactic and lexical features I think it would be preferable to treat them as a special subset of lexical calques. I propose referring to calques such as those in (25) as *lexical-syntactic calques*.

But this kind of calque is of limited productivity and scope in contemporary Basque word creation: although it may be considered a strategy, it is not used at all systematically as a means of addressing the language's new terminological needs.

6. Idiomatic expressions: the phrasal calque

By definition, each language has its own idiomatic sayings and phrases¹³ which defy literal translation (Corpas, 1997). But this does not mean that certain languages cannot display formal parallelisms between their expressions. On the contrary, languages often do agree concerning the form and figurative sense of their sayings.

Idiomatic expressions of various kinds pertain to the lexicon. Apart from text-organizing elements, anaphoric markers and so on which are associated with discourse, e.g. *era berean* 'in the same way', and will be dealt with below, we may distinguish the following types of set phrases (Altzibar, 2004; Corpas, 1997): a) idioms (such as *ziria sartu* 'to fool, to dupe', lit. 'stick a pin in', *adarra jo* 'pull [someone's] leg', lit. 'play the horn to', *antzarak ferratzera bidali* 'tell to go jump in a lake', lit. 'send to shoe geese'); b) collocations (such as *auzia erabaki* 'settle an issue', lit. 'decide a dispute'; *argi eta garbi esan* 'make clear, state clearly', lit. 'say light and clean'; *langile porrokatu* 'hardworking person', lit. 'knackered worker'); c) conversational formulae (*Zer moduz* 'How are you doing?', lit. 'What way?') and proverbs (*Lan lasterra, lan alferra* 'Fast work, useless work').

Many phraseological calques are language mistakes. For example, **ilea hartu* (lit. 'take hair') has been calqued spuriously from Spanish *tomar el pelo* 'pull someone's leg', lit. 'take someone's hair', to express an idea for which Basque already possesses an authentic idiom of its own: *adarra jo*, lit. 'play the horn to').

13 Some features of phraseological units are (Corpas 1997): a) frequency (such combinations often occur together as a unit); b) institutionalization (conventionalized, constantly reproduced, included in dictionaries); c) stability (fixed, semantically specialized); d) idiomaticity; e) changeability (relative fixedness). But not all phraseological units have all these features, and some kind of scale may be applied.

However, there are more perfectly acceptable phrasal calques than one might think, as is shown by even a cursory perusal of today's bilingual dictionaries, e.g. *soldatak izoztu* 'freeze wages', *aipu-markak ireki/itxi* 'to open/close quotation marks', (*norbait*) *poltsikoan izan*, 'to have (someone) in the palm of one's hand', lit. 'to have (someone) in one's pocket' (as in Spanish), *alderdiz aldatu* 'change sides' vs. Sp *cambiar de chaqueta* lit. 'change coats', *goitik behe-ra ireki* 'to slit open, tear apart', lit. 'open from top to bottom', cf. Fr *ouvrir de haut en bas*, but Sp *abrir en canal* lit. 'open in channel'¹⁴.

Most phrasal calques work at the signifier level: a new expression is formed by combining words of the target language in imitation of the source language: *soldatak izoztu* 'freeze salaries', *ordainketak etetea* 'interrupt (lit. cut, cf. Sp *cortar*) payments', etc.

A full study of what newly-calqued phrasal units are acceptable remains to be done, but it would certainly seem that many expressions have been, and will continue to be, calqued from neighbouring languages¹⁵.

7. Morphosyntactic calques

This type includes any kind of calque that involves morphosyntactic issues, at the level of the noun-phrase (quantifiers, determiners, etc.), the verb phrase (aspect and tense, periphrastic constructions) or the sentence (case markers, postpositions, coordination, subordination and so on).

Of all the parts of a language, syntax is probably the most impermeable to outside influence and interference. In the creation of new words and expressions, in fact, the general rule is to steer clear of syntactic borrowing altogether (Terminologia Batzordea, 2004: 3). Moreover, given that Basque is typologically very different from its neighbours and other relevant languages of culture, it is natural for syntactic borrowing to be rare (taking *borrowing* in the strict sense, as importing).

But syntactic *calques* are a different matter and are not infrequent in Basque, both in the past and the present. Since calques are 'translations' of the meanings of foreign expressions using the forms of the target language, syntactic calques are most common where there is a functional resemblance and the value or function of a source-language form is assigned to a form or construction in the target language. The mechanism is then the same as that

¹⁴ These examples come from Sarasola's *Zehazki* dictionary.

¹⁵ Sarasola has said (1997: 76): 'However, I rather suspect that in bilingual dictionaries, where it comes to foreign idioms, instead of seeking their equivalents in our own tradition we tend to prefer to invent Basque substitutes.'

of the semantic calque: the ‘meaning’ or ‘inner form’ is translated but no new signifier is introduced. The phenomenon thus only concerns the signified (Sala, 1998: 182-185). An example of this is the use of the postposition *-en inguruan* ‘around, about, surrounding’ to express the concept of topic or subject matter (i.e. ‘about, concerning’, cf. Sp *acerca de*):

- (26) ... *hizkuntzaren inguruan* egina zegoen eta egiten ari zen ikerlana baizik (OEH: sub *inguru*) [...but rather research that had been and was being done *about the language*]

In fact, occasionally new constructions or signifiers do come into being as a result of a calque. I believe there are few such instances in Basque. Possibly the *zein(a) (...) bait- (-n)* pronominal relative construction might be considered a signifier-level syntactic calque. In this use of an interrogative pronoun as a relative pronoun, it sometimes takes a determiner suffix (cf. *lequel, el cual*), otherwise impossible. Another may be the adnominal suffix *-gatiko* ‘on account of, because of, for...’ as in *heriotzogatiko baimen* ‘bereavement leave’ (Euskalterm), from the non-traditional combination of *-gati(k)* and *-ko*. Here again, there is very little traditional precedent for such a turn of speech, and in most cases it is not very difficult to think of a valid alternative expressions.

As may be surmised from these comments and the small number of examples, syntactic calques are not very productive and have little to contribute to language renovation. As a matter of fact, most morphosyntactic calques that do occur may be considered wrong (see Garzia, 2005) and are unacceptable in terminology creation.

8. Discourse-level calques

In the last category of calques, I include those which stand outside the lexicon and grammar (excluding discourse mechanisms shared by all languages). These are elements pertaining to the level of discourse in some respect, but which vary from language to language. The chief items to be considered here will be calques on the level of connexion, cohesion or modalization; these include discourse markers, anaphoric markers and so on.

Most discourse-level calques again involve the signified: in most instances, a form or expression in the target language acquires a new value or discourse use through imitation of an item in the source language. Most are bad calques, but some discourse-level calques are used widely in contemporary prose, such as the expression *era berean* ‘in the same way, likewise’. In traditional usage this is chiefly a phrase expressing a comparison (see *OEH*), but

in recent times its use as a discourse marker has become extremely common (see EPG) to the detriment of older forms such as *orobat*, *berebat* etc. having a similar force, which have become virtually obsolescent¹⁶.

Even granting the need for innovation, there do not seem to be many discourse-level calques (i.e. text-organizing elements, anaphoric markers and similar items) which may be considered correct or which play an important part in modern Basque¹⁷.

9. Conclusions

Calquing consists of the ‘copying by translation’ and ‘substitution’ of a foreign item; in other words, reproducing the meaning of an item in another language through imitation using signifiers and structures from the target language. A calque is the consequence and product of calquing, and in this study the following types of calque have been distinguished: at the level of the lexicon, semantic calques (e.g. *estrella [de cine]* > [*zinema-*]izar ‘[film] star’, *ratón [Informatika]* > *sagu* ‘(computer) mouse’), lexical calques (*prever* > *aurreikusi* ‘foresee’, *ferrocarril* > *burdinbide* ‘railway’), lexical-phraseological calques (*línea telefónica* > *telefono-línea* ‘telephone line’, *complemento salarial* > *alokairu-osagarri* ‘wage supplement’, *accidente de trabajo* > *lan-istripu* ‘workplace accident’), lexical-syntactic calques (*se ha observado el comportamiento* > *jokaera behatu da* ‘(such-and-such) behaviour has been observed’) and phrasal calques (*congelar sueldos* > *soldatak izoztu* ‘freeze salaries’, *suspensión de pagos* > *ordainketak etete* ‘interrupt payments’); morphosyntactic calques (*reflexiones en torno a X* > *zenbait gogoeta Xren inguruan* ‘some thoughts about X’, *zeina bait-* ‘which’, pronominal relative); and discourse-level calques (*era berean* ‘in the same way’ as a discourse marker).

In Basque studies it is mostly bad calques that are mentioned or analysed, hence the pejorative connotation often attached to them in the literature. But calques are a highly productive resource or mechanism that has often been, and must be, used in the creation of neologisms and new terminology in any language (cf. Gómez Capuz, 2005: 39) and particularly in Basque and languages in a similar minority status and unnormalized, since the descriptive character of lexical calques makes them well suited for technical terminology and a good way to avoid excessive ‘surface’ borrowing.

16 In present-day prose, the construction *A, B eta C bezalako materialak* ‘materials like (i.e. such as) A, B and C’, although considered unfortunate, is surprisingly common.

17 In this study I have omitted from consideration so-called frequency calques because they involve all levels of language and do not constitute a separate category.

I believe that calques are the most effective and widely used way of or mechanism for modernizing the Basque vocabulary, and semantic, lexical and phrasal calques in particular. Pending further study it would seem that morphosyntactic and discourse-level calques, on the contrary, are far less productive.

Sometimes calques are set in contrast to derivation, compounding and semantic extension as if these phenomena were comparable and competing, mutually exclusive resources which cannot occur simultaneously. But as has been shown in this paper, a calque often underlies instances of derivation, compounding etc. For example, *burdinbide* ‘railway’ comes from a lexical calque (< Sp *ferrocarril*) yet is formed as a native compound. I think there is a tendency to confuse the issue by treating calquing and borrowing as concepts that stand in opposition to derivation, compounding and widening of a word’s meaning, whereas in fact lexical calques are realized through derivation and compounds, while semantic calques represent one kind of widening or semantic change¹⁸. Thus calques serve to activate derivation, compounding, coining of phrases and other resources for vocabulary building.

When calques are resorted to, whether they involve single words or word groups, certain guidelines ought to be followed: a) it should be made sure first that no suitable word or term already exists in the inherited Basque lexicon (spoken or written) serving to express the concept or meaning; b) a calque should conform to Basque grammatical and morphological patterns; c) the meaning to be calqued or translated should have international status (or at the very least Spanish and French should coincide in this regard); d) calquing a word or expression should not generate lexical or semantic ‘noise’ in Basque.

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18 For example, in *indar armatuak* ‘armed forces’ a semantic change has occurred (resource), but as a consequence of the semantic calque mechanism.

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Abbreviations of dictionaries and corpora

- CREA: REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: Banco de datos (CREA). *Corpus de referencia del español actual*. On line: <http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html> (14-04-2010)
- EH: Sarasola, I. (2007): *Euskal hiztegia*. Donostia: Elkar. On line: <http://www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-15172x/eu/sarasola/sarasola.apl> (14-04-2010)
- Elh.: Elhuyar. *Elhuyar hiztegia*. On line: http://www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-15172x/eu/hizt_el/index.asp (14-04-2010)
- HB: Euskaltzaindia. *Hiztegi Batua*. Internet: <http://www.euskaltzaindia.net/hiztegitua/> (14-04-2010)
- OEH: Michelena, L. (1987-2005): *Diccionario general vasco-Orotariko euskal hiztegia*. Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia. On line: <http://www.euskaltzaindia.net/oeh> (14-04-2010)
- Zehazki: Sarasola, I. (2005): *Zehazki. Gaztelania-euskara hiztegia*. Alberdania: Donostia. On line: <http://ehu.es/ehg/zehazki/> (14-04-2010)
- ZTC: *Zientzia eta Teknologiaren Corpusa (ZTC)*. On line: <http://www.ztcorpusa.net/cgi-bin/kontsulta.py> (14-04-2010)

Language abbreviations

- Bq: Basque
- Eng: English
- Fr: French
- Germ: German
- Gk: Greek
- It: Italian
- Lat: Latin
- Ptg: Portuguese
- Rom: Romanian
- Sl: Slavic
- Sp: Spanish