

ECONOMIC TRANSLATION INTO THE GALICIAN LANGUAGE: GUIDELINES FOR DECISION-MAKING IN THE USE OF FOREIGN WORDS, LOANWORDS AND CALQUES IN THE ECONOMIC DISCOURSE¹

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Abstract

In line with previous studies (Russo 2002; Orts & Almela 2009; Orts & Almela 2012), the present paper discusses the mechanisms used in the Galician language for neologism creation in the field of economics, particularly focusing on the use of foreign words, loanwords and calques in economic texts. Two ad hoc text-based corpora were compiled for the study: (i) a monolingual corpus consisting of Galician press articles and Galician research papers drawn from the bilingual journal *Revista Galega de Economía*; and (ii) a bilingual corpus comprised of the Galician and Spanish versions of the papers from the aforementioned journal. Results point to the existence of different usage patterns of foreign words, loanwords, adapted calques and castilianisms in specialized economic papers and in economic newspaper articles, and of similar usage patterns of foreign words, loanwords and calques in research papers in Galician and Spanish.

1. This article is the English version of “Traducción económica al gallego: pautas de actuación ante la presencia de préstamos y calcos en el léxico económico” by Marta García González. It was not published on the print version of *MonTI* for reasons of space. The online version of *MonTI* does not suffer from these limitations, and this is our way of promoting plurilingualism.

Resumen

“Traducción económica al gallego: pautas de actuación ante la presencia de préstamos y cálculos en el léxico económico”

En línea con trabajos de temática similar (Russo 2002; Orts & Almela 2009; Orts & Almela 2012), el presente estudio analiza los mecanismos de creación de neologismos del campo de la economía en la lengua gallega, prestando especial atención a la entrada de extranjerismos, calcos semánticos y préstamos adaptados. Se trabaja para ello con dos corpus textuales *ad hoc* compilados de manera expresa para el estudio. El primero de ellos es un corpus monolingüe en lengua gallega conformado por artículos periodísticos de temática económica publicados en diarios de la comunidad autónoma y por artículos de investigación extraídos de la *Revista Galega de Economía*, que se edita semestralmente en lengua gallega y castellana. El segundo es un corpus bilingüe comparable conformado por artículos de la citada revista en sus versiones gallega y castellana. El análisis de los corpus apunta a la existencia de patrones de uso diferentes de los extranjerismos, préstamos adaptados y calcos en los textos económicos especializados y en los de divulgación, así como hacia una coincidencia en los patrones de uso de estos elementos en la lengua gallega y española.

Keywords: Economic specialized discourse. Galician language. Minority language. Neologism. Terminological extraction.

Palabras clave: Discurso especializado económico. Extracción terminológica. Gallego. Lengua minorizada. Neologismo.

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1. Introduction

The language for economic purposes, as it is also the case with other languages for specific purposes (LSP), acquires many neologisms from the English language, lingua franca for communication between players from different countries (Furiassi, Pulcini & Rodríguez González, 2012: 3). The way in which these neologisms are absorbed into each language depends, among other factors, on the ability of the language to develop its own neologisms at the same pace at which the terms become a part of the specialized discourse, as well as on the linguistic procedures that are most commonly used for such development. Yet, differently from what happens with other LSPs, as the scientific or the legal language, whose use is partially limited to their subject fields, the language of economics is commonly used in non-specialized or informational contexts, mainly in the media. This use of the language in an environment where the immediacy of news prevails over other factors, including content and form quality, contributes to the appropriation of foreign terms (e.g. *hipoteca subprime*) and to the adoption of weird expressions based on semantic calques (e.g. *fondos voitre; hipoteca baixo a auga*).

In the context of minorized languages, whose normalization in some subject fields may still be underway, the adoption of new terms is also influenced by the way in which those terms are adopted into their contact language. It is a widespread practice in bilingual settings that specialized discourses are prepared in one language and then self-translated into the other. This fact represents a disadvantage in business translation from English into Galician, particularly in the translation classroom, as it results in the unavailability of reliable reference sources to students who still lack the necessary sub-competence to make informed decisions. The unavailability of consistent action guidelines the students may follow when faced with this kind of terminological doubts contributes to increase the problem.

In the past years, several authors have focused on the influence of English in the adoption of terms and expressions in different European languages (Crystal, 2002; Fiedler 2011; Martí Solano, 2012; Oncíns Martínez 2009, 2012, 2014; Rodríguez González 2004; Rozumko 2012). However, similar studies are

rare in the field of minorized languages. In line with previous studies (Russo 2002; Orts & Almela 2009; Orts & Almela 2012), our paper discusses the mechanisms that are most commonly used for neologism adoption in Galician economic texts, particularly focusing on the use of foreign words, adapted loanwords and calques, as well as on the impact of the world financial crisis on such mechanisms. From a teaching perspective, we suggest that the use of simple, corpus-based terminology management methods, similar to those described in Zanettin, Bernardini & Stewart (2003), helps students adopt a consistent terminology search method in the economic translation class. In addition, we seek to define a set of decision-making guidelines that enable students to choose between a loanword and the equivalent Galician term based on the expectations of the (expert/semi-expert/non-expert) target readers.

For this purpose, the paper first provides a brief description of the use of Galician in the different areas where economic discourses are produced, followed by a discussion of the main problems of Galician economic terminology and of the most common mechanisms for neologism adoption in the Galician language. In a second part, two ad hoc text-based corpora are used, which were specifically compiled for the study: i) a monolingual corpus made up of Galician press articles and Galician research papers drawn from the biannual bilingual journal *Revista Galega de Economía*; and (ii) a bilingual corpus comprised of the Galician and Spanish versions of the papers from the aforementioned journal. The first corpus is used to identify the presence of foreign words, semantic calques, and adapted loanwords in the compiled texts and to determine any use differences connected to the type of text (specialized vs. informative) and to the author (expert vs. semi-expert/non-expert). The second corpus is used to determine whether the foreign words, loanwords and semantic calques identified in the research papers comprising the first corpus are also used in their Spanish versions, aimed at establishing whether there is a correlation in the use of such terms in one language and the other or whether authors and translators rely on different mechanisms for neology adoption.

2. The use of the Galician language in the economic life

2.1. Use of the language in the public and private sectors

According to the data compiled in the 2007 sectoral report of the *Observatorio da Lingua Galega* (OLG), (EOSA Consultores 2007: 33), the use of Galician in economic activities is low when compared to that of Spanish. Specifically, in small companies, the use of Galician is below 45% in verbal communication and below 20% in written communication. Similar data were compiled in the

fields of trade and banking. As regards the use of the language in companies' websites, the study revealed that around 83% of the companies developed their websites only in Spanish, while 11,5% used both Spanish and Galician and only 3,8% used exclusively Galician (ibid: 35). The data are even lower when the analysis focuses on the financial and corporate information the firms disclose in their websites. In a revision of over 2,000 Galician corporate websites (García González 2013), only one company was found to have part of its corporate documentation in Galician.

In the public administration, Galician is generally used in procedures connected to the departments of the regional government, which guarantees the availability of abundant documentation on public bidding, regional budgets, strategic plans, financial policies, taxation, public investment and support to private investment, etc. In the local administration, the use of the language is more inconsistent, although it is normally possible to find Galician versions of all the information connected to the financial management of the administrations, as well as all the necessary forms for interaction between the administration and the citizens. At the state administration level, as well as in the Spanish government subdelegate's offices, access to information in Galician is more difficult. The official websites of the Spanish Departments for Economy and Competitiveness and for Public Administrations and the Treasury, despite having a "Galician" option, do not contain any macro- or micro-economic documentation translated into the minorized language.

Since *anosaterra.org* discontinued its publication in 2011, the use of Galician in newspapers is scarce and mainly limited to digital media: *Galiza Hoxe*, *Praza Pública*, *Sermos Galiza*, *Galicia Confidencial*, *Diário Liberdade* and *Galicíaé* are the most relevant Galician language newspapers. Except *Galiza Hoxe*, which was first published in 2003² and is part of the press group *El Correo Gallego*, and *Galicíaé*, created in 2007 and connected to the press group *El Progreso*, all the other publications are digital newspapers created in the past few years (*Galicia Confidencial* and *Diário Liberdade* in 2009, *Praza Pública* and *Sermos Galiza* in 2012,) by the initiative of independent journalists and of the civil society, without connection to the large press groups in the industry. They publish all types of news and have a particular section devoted to economic news. The use of Galician in other regional newspapers is around 6.5% while the presence of the language in national Spanish press is incidental or totally un-existent (EOSA Consultores 2008a: 24).

2. Although publication of the printed version was discontinued in 2011.

At the academic level, Galician is the official language of the three regional universities (A Coruña, Santiago de Compostela and Vigo) and therefore should be used as the main language both in the administration and in academic documentation, as well as in verbal communication between members of the university community. However, data collected by the OLG reveal that the percentage of use of the language in teaching is just around 24% (EOSA Consultores 2008b: 109). In research activities, data are even lower. Nogueira (2013: 26), in a study subsidized by the *Comisión Interuniversitaria de Política Lingüística*, concludes that the use of Galician as the only language for research is limited to 8% of the scholars, while 36% of them claim to combine Galician and Spanish in their research activities. In the field of social sciences, where economics and business studies are included, the data amount to 9% and 56%, respectively. There is at least one journal specifically devoted to economics, which is published entirely in Spanish and Galician, the *Revista Galega de Economía*. The journal is edited by the University of Santiago de Compostela since 1992 and has been used as a source to collect the specialized texts comprising our corpora.

2.2. Galician economic vocabulary

Giménez & Lores (2005: 7-8) highlight four basic problems in the normalization of a Galician scientific-technical vocabulary in the field of economics:

- The influence of Spanish and, in particular in the past years, of English, which is especially high on neologism adoption. The use of Portuguese as an alternative source, which is a widespread strategy in other fields, becomes more and more difficult because of the increasing inclination of Portuguese economists to borrow the English terms directly from literature instead of translating them into their language or coining new terms.
- The fact that different meanings and spellings coexist in the language for economic purposes. These variations are common both in Spanish and English, the languages with more influence on terminology adoption. Variation in the English language is found both at the spelling (labor/labour) and at the terminological level (inventory/stock), while in Spanish variation is mainly terminological (*equilibrar/balancear, renta/ingreso, tasa/tipo*). Some of these doublets have been already adopted in the Galician language (*renda/ingreso, taxa/tipo*), where they coexist with other doublets resulting from the combination of an adapted loanword with a vernacular term (*gasto/despesa, presuposto/orzamento, poupanza/aforro, demanda/procura, devengar/devindicar*).

- In connection with the above problem and due to the lack of a normalized set of guidelines for neologism adoption in the field of economics, the effort to normalize the language status of Galician by increasing its use in all fields before its corpus was developed resulted in the adoption of solutions conflicting with lexical purity.
- The Galician spelling conflict also had an impact on the development of the language and resulted in the rejection of terminological options in harmony with the Portuguese tradition. The conflict also impacted “o noso desenvolvemento cotián como usuarios do galego científico, maiormente nas aulas docentes e, nalgúns casos, na comunicación científica e cara á sociedade”³ (Giménez & Lores 2005: 8)

The result is a not standardized vocabulary, highly influenced by Spanish but also by English and Portuguese, with too many doublets that a non-expert user has difficulties in handling. The situation is worsened by the unavailability of monolingual or bilingual specialized dictionaries and by the fact that corpus resources are based on corpora of Galician texts that have been produced in the same context of lack of normalization.

2.3 Word-formation processes in the Galician language

Based on Auger & Rousseau’s definition of ‘neologism’ as a “*unité lexicale de formation récente, une acception nouvelle d’un terme existant déjà, ou encore, un terme emprunté depuis peu à un système linguistique étranger*” (1978: 54) and on their general neologism typology, we have classified neologisms into three wide categories:

- Morphological and morpho-semantic neologisms: terms that are created through prefixation, suffixation, vernacular or syntagmatic compounding, or truncation (e.g. *zapaterista*, *teledocencia*, *desfinanciar*).
- Semantic neologism: terms that are created by changing the semantic content of an already existing lexical unit. The change may take place from the general language to a LSP, between two LSPs, from one LSP to the general language or even through the extension of the meaning of a term within one LSP (e.g. *troica*, *tecido social*).
- Loanword adoption: lexical units that are adopted from foreign languages, either directly (foreign word; e.g. leasing, online) or through phonetic or spelling adaptation (adapted loanword; e.g. *márketing*,

3. “our daily life as users of scientific Galician, mainly in the classroom but also in scientific communication and in our interaction with the society (translation ours)”.

tableta). Guerrero Ramos (1997), among other authors, refers to the distinction established by Tappolet (1913: 54-55) between ‘necessary loanwords’ aimed to fill conceptual gaps, and ‘luxury loanwords’, used in regard to a speaker’s prestige, as a result of a “mimetismo lingüístico, desarrollado por el prestigio ejercido por un cierto tipo de civilización y cultura, o por ignorancia, papanatismo, etc.”⁴ (Guerrero Ramos 1997: 37). Yet, this distinction is at times difficult to apply, at least within our field of study, as the rapid integration of new concepts in the field of economics and their absorption into the language through different channels (academic communication/press) frequently results in the coexistence of loanwords and vernacular terms whose use undergoes different development processes in different contexts. Thus, a term that can be classified as a luxury term in an academic setting may be still a necessary term in a different communication setting.

For the purposes of our study, the above classification is completed with the ‘semantic calque’ category, closely connected to the loanword, which consists in the direct translation of a word or term from one language into the other, a common neology creation mechanism in the field of economics (gray market/*mercado gris*; bear market/*mercado oso*; shark/*tiburón*; vulture fund/*fondo voire...*).

Araya & Gómez (1999: 135-160) analyzed the linguistic aspects of neology in the Galician language using a corpus of newspaper articles and concluded affixation was the most productive method of term-formation, which was in line with results obtained for other languages such as Catalanian (Cabré, Freixa & Solé 1997: 67). Yet, loanwords amounted to over 19%, of which three fourths were foreign words and only one fourth were adapted loanwords. The authors connected this prevalence of foreign words over adapted loanwords to the particular characteristics of newspaper articles, which are usually written with urgency and are not subjected to exhaustive revision. By loanword origin, English was the main source, followed by Portuguese and Italian. It should be noted, though, that Spanish loanwords (*castilianisms*) were not included in the results, as the authors considered them as interferences connected to the ignorance of the vernacular term (Araya & Gómez 1999: 148). In our opinion, Spanish loanwords need to be included in our study, as they are relevant for Galician translation students, who need to learn how to identify and avoid them in their target texts.

4. language imitation, developed in response to the prestige of a given civilization or culture, or for ignorance, simple-mindedness, etc. (Translation ours).

3. Materials and methods

3.1. Text selection for corpus compilation

Before the corpora are described, a few notes should be made on text selection criteria. Sinclair (1991: 171) defines corpus as “a collection of naturally-occurring language text, chosen to characterize a state or variety of a language”. To these features, other factors are added, as the need to meet a series of minimum requirements of quantity and quality (number of words and representativeness), simple codification and documentation (traceability of the original sources). In addition, as argued by Pearson (1998: 61), “texts must purport to represent what is known to exist, or believed to exist” (‘factuality’).

Based on a report published by EAGLES (*Expert Advisory Group on Language Engineering Standards*) in 1996, focused on text corpora, and on Torruella & Llisterri (1999, 45-77), Corpas (2001: 158-159) suggests a classification of corpora organized around five criteria: (i) percentage and distribution of types of texts; (ii) specificity; (iii) quantity of texts; (iv) codification and annotation; (v) complementary documentation.⁵

CRITERION	Type of texts	Specificity	Quantity of text	Codification and annotation	Complementary documentation
TYPE OF CORPUS	Large corpus	General corpus	Textual corpus	Annotated corpus	Documented corpus
	Balanced corpus	Specialized corpus	Reference corpus	Non-annotated corpus	Non-document corpus
	Pyramidal corpus	Genre-specific	Lexical corpus		
	Monitor corpus	Canonic corpus			
	Parallel corpus	Chronologic corpus			
	Comparable corpus	Diachronic corpus			

Figure 1: Classification of linguistic corpora. Author's elaboration based on Corpas 2001: 157-159.

5. For a more exhaustive corpus typology, based on twelve classification criteria (text production channel, corpus size, text distribution, content, text size, codification/annotation, documentation, time span, updates, purpose, sampling method and languages), see Vargas Sierra (2006).

As regards corpus design, Kennedy (1998: 60) advocates the need to guarantee the “validity and reliability of research based on a particular corpus, including whether that corpus can serve the purposes for which it was intended”. He suggests three main variables that should be considered:

- Representativeness focuses on “how to achieve valid and reliable grounds for selecting what texts go into a corpus” so “the findings based on their analysis can be generalized to the language as a whole or a specified part of it” (Kennedy, 1998: 60) As already argued by Baker (1995: 239), it is a difficult variable to measure since it involves ‘subjective’ issues as the impact of a given text or its literary merit. Although there are more objective indicators, as the number of distributed copies of a given text, it is not always possible to calculate the number of subjects that had access to each copy.
- Permanence, i.e. whether it is a static or a dynamic corpus. As argued by Hunston (2002: 30), it is an issue that is closely connected to representativeness, particularly where being representative involves being up to date with the most recent developments in language, as it is the case with terminology adoption.
- Size. Kennedy (1998: 68) argues that a large corpus is not necessarily more useful than a corpus of finite size, particularly when word frequency of use is concerned. Also Bowker & Pearson (2002: 45) claim that the size of the corpus should be subject to other factors, such as the needs of the project, the availability of data and the amount of time. Hunston (2002: 26) adds that size will also depend on the availability of adequate texts for processing and analysis, as well as on other factors as the need for manual annotation. On the other hand, as relevant as the size of the corpus are the quantity and extension of the sampled texts, the authors and whether or not the texts are complete. In ad hoc corpora compiled to be used in LSP studies, Bowker & Pearson (2002: 49) recommend the use of a large number of complete texts written by a range of different authors.

As concerns the language of the texts, Zanettin (2011: 17) connects the widespread practice of excluding translations from monolingual corpora to the assumption that they “do not represent, but rather distort a language”. Yet, in his opinion, “translation is a legitimate language production activity, and translated texts are to a smaller or larger extent part of what is read by speakers of a language”. In the particular case of the Galician language, where ‘covert translation’ (House 1981: 188-211) is a common practice (García González

2003: 63), the compilation of a ‘pure’ corpus of original texts would be almost impossible and would compromise representativeness. Zanettin (2000: 106-7) discusses a series of design issues that are specific to parallel corpora compiled for the study of translation, either as a process or as a product. Search for representativeness, for instance, may become a major issue in the compilation of bi-directional parallel corpora, as translation flows between language pairs are never balanced: text types translated from English into Spanish are rarely the same as those translated from Spanish into English, as text types translated from Spanish into Galician differ from those translated from Galician into Spanish. An attempt to compile a representative corpus of Galician into Spanish and Spanish into Galician translations would most likely result in a non-comparable corpus.

Based on the above criteria, we have compiled two *ad hoc* corpora, as defined by Pearson (1998: 48) as “a special purpose corpus, whose composition is determined by the precise purpose for which it is to be used”. The first of them is a Galician monolingual, specialized corpus comprised of economic research papers and economic press texts selected from regional newspapers. It is a textual, non-annotated, documented corpus that permits term traceability to the source document. It includes 378,655 tokens from two main sources: the specialized journal *Revista Galega de Economía* (249,338 tokens from 29 papers) and the regional newspapers *Galicia Hoxe* (44,448 tokens from 195 articles), *Vieiros* (38,304 tokens from 114 articles), *Praza Pública* (39,856 tokens from 124 articles) and *Sermos Galiza* (41,179 tokens from 178 articles).⁶ Although it is not a large corpus, in our opinion it has the appropriate size for our purpose and it is representative of the type of economic texts normally read in Galicia. The second corpus is a textual, parallel, specialized and documented corpus. It is comprised of the same 29 research papers included in the first corpus, plus their corresponding Spanish versions (249,513 tokens in Galician and 279,262 in Spanish).

For the compilation of press articles, texts were sampled from the economy sections of each selected newspaper, with priority given to articles dealing with the economic crisis, with the European Union or with the Galician economic and employment context. The texts collected from *Galicia Hoxe* and *Vieiros* range from 2000 and 2011, while those of *Praza Pública* and *Sermos Galiza* include articles written between 2012 and 2014. For consistency purposes, the year span for the research journal was also set between 2000 and 2014 and

6. The use of a *stoplist* that eliminated grammatical words resulted in a final amount of 212,998 tokens for term extraction.

again papers were selected that dealt with the financial crisis, the European Union and the Galician economic and employment context.

As regards the original language of the texts, *Vieiros*, *Praza Pública* and *Sermos Galiza* are originally published in Galician, while *Galicia Hoxe* is mostly comprised of articles either fully translated or partially adapted from the regional Spanish-language newspaper *El Correo Gallego*. The *Revista Galega de Economía*, on the other hand, includes both original Galician papers that are translated into Spanish for publication in the Spanish version of the journal, and original Spanish papers that are translated into Galician for publication in the Galician version. The paper submission guidelines require that papers submitted in Galician are accompanied by a Spanish version, the journal being responsible for the linguistic revision of both versions. On the contrary, when papers are submitted in Spanish, the journal provides for their translation into Galician. Despite the publishers were contacted for data on language submission patterns, it was not possible to get a detailed list of the papers that were originally submitted in each language, although the received information pointed towards a prevalence of Spanish as the original language. In our opinion, this circumstance does not compromise the purpose of our research, as the corpus still permits us to establish whether there is a correlation in the adoption of neologisms in one language and the other or whether authors and translators rely on different mechanisms for neologism adoption. In line with this purpose, according to Baker (2004: 172), theory of translation has traditionally attributed to target texts a series of distinguishing characteristics as compared to source texts, among which she highlights the trend towards a more conservative use of the language, to prefer more standard forms and to avoid certain features such as regionalisms and irregular spelling, to raise the level of formality, and to produce more ‘uniform’ texts, avoiding disruption of tense sequences. It could be relevant to check if these distinguishing features are also found in linguistically close language pairs as Spanish and Galician, particularly as regards the use of foreign words, adapted loanwords and semantic calques. If differences are found in the use of terminology from one version to the other of the same paper, this could be an indicator of differing behaviors between authors and translators, which might justify an extension of the corpus. It should be taken into account, however, that the widespread presence of self-translation might reduce this difference in behavior, as an author does not behave the same before its own text than a translator.

3.2 Corpora analysis

Two complementary methods were applied for the identification of the foreign words, adapted loanwords, semantic calques and *castilianisms* in the first corpus. First, a search was conducted of an initial list of English foreign words, loanwords and calques, which was prepared based on the list used by Orts & Almela (2009) in a similar work focused on the Spanish language. The list of Orts & Almela was completed with terms selected from the *Glosario Financiero de la Crisis* (BBC), the *Diccionario Básico de la Crisis* (*Expansión*) and the *Diccionario de términos económicos y financieros* (*La Caixa*). The same method was applied to identify the castilianisms, based on a list included in the reference work *Lingua galega: dúbidas lingüísticas*, published by the Area of Language Normalization of the University of Vigo. Both searches were conducted with the freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing AntConc 3.2.4., whose tool Concordance permitted us to search each term from the initial list in all the compiled texts, count the number of occurrences, check the contexts of use and trace each term to the texts where it was used. After all the terms from the initial list had been searched for, we used the Wordlist tool of the corpus analysis toolkit to create a list of all the words in the corpus. This list was then checked to find other foreign words, loanwords, semantic calques or castilianisms that were not included in the initial search list.

Finally, as a complement to the search of the terms in the compiled texts, their occurrences were also checked in several corpora and lexicographic resources of the Galician language, aimed at establishing their level of normalization in the language:

- CORGA (*Corpus de referencia do galego actual*) (1975-2014) Field: economics (CORGA).
- *Vocabulario galego de economía* (last update 2005) (VGE).
- *Novas palabras galegas do OLG* of the University of Vigo (2005) (NPG).
- CLUVI: *corpus lingüístico paralelo da Universidade de Vigo* (last update 2006) (CLUVI).⁷
- CTG: *corpus técnico do galego* (last update 2006) (CTG).

The purpose of the second corpus was to compare the use of the foreign words, adapted loanwords and semantic calques found in the Galician documents of the first corpus, particularly those of the research papers, to that of the Spanish

7. Within the CLUVI corpus, searches were only carried out in the EGAL subcorpus, comprised of Galician and Spanish economic texts.

versions of the same papers. In this case, the search was conducted manually, as once the terms had been found in the Galician papers, their search in the Spanish version could be easily conducted without a specific software. Yet, for the purposes of contrasting the results, the Spanish versions of the papers were also independently processed with the Wordlist tool of AntConc 3.2.4, to find both other occurrences of the terms identified in the Galician texts and other foreign words, loanwords or semantic calques that had not been found in the Galician texts.

4. Results and Discussion

In the following pages, we discuss the results obtained from the analysis of the two corpora as regards the use of foreign words, adapted loanwords, semantic calques and castilianisms. For clarity purposes, and to facilitate reference to the terms in the economic translation classroom, the results are presented in tables of foreign words (table 2), semantic calques (table 3), adapted loanwords (table 4) and castilianisms (table 5).

4.1. Foreign Words

Table 2 includes all the foreign words found in the monolingual corpus, classified by type of text, frequency (number of occurrences) and presence of the term in external reference sources. Terms that were found in both types of texts are highlighted in bold. When there is not a coined Galician term to replace the foreign word, the N/A indication is included in the corresponding frequency cell instead of the number of occurrences.

Type of term Foreign word/Galician equivalent	Newspaper articles		Journal papers		Reference sources
	Term's frequency	Equivalent's frequency	Term's frequency	Equivalent's frequency	Source (frequency)
beneficiary ⁸ /beneficiario	0	0	4	11	
bonus/retribución	3	0	2	0	
boom/auxe	86	196	12	4	NPG, CORGA(33)
broker/comisionista	1	0	4	0	NPG, CORGA(5), CTG(1)
business angels	0	N/A	1	N/A	

8. Used in connection to *trust*. The frequency of the Galician term “beneficiario” is only considered when used in similar contexts.

cash flows/fluxos de caixa	0	0	3	13	NPG, CORGA(14)
cash surrender value	0	N/A	1	N/A	
confirming	1	N/A	0	N/A	
credit crunch/crise de liquidez	3	2	1	1	
dealer/mediador	4	0	0	0	
dumping/afundimento de prezos	29	0	0	0	NPG, CORGA(12), VGE, CTG(5)
factoring	1	0	0	0	
fair market	0	N/A	1	N/A	
gap	0	N/A	1	N/A	
hedge fund/fondo de cobertura	3	2	3	0	
holding/conglomerado	49	0	13	12	NPG, CORGA(33), CLUVI(1), CTG(3)
holdout (fondo voitre) ⁹	8	N/A	0	N/A	
input	2	N/A	6	N/A	CORGA(12)
joint venture/empresa temporal	2	0	3	0	CTG(2)
leasing/arrendamento financeiro	5	6	2	0	CORGA(14)
leverage/apancamento	0	1	0	103	
management/xestión	3	3	0	99	
matching	0	N/A	1	N/A	
mobbing/acoso psicolóxico	146	0	88	20	CORGA(2)
offshore/extraterritorial, con vantaxes fiscais, inscrita nun paraíso fiscal, no estranxeiro	1	0	15	0	
output	2	N/A	2	N/A	CORGA(16)
output gap	0	N/A	2	N/A	
parent/matriz	0	0	4	7	
préstamo bullet	1	N/A	0	N/A	
rating/cualificación	26	9	5	0	CORGA(4), CLUVI(5), CTG(3)
renting	4	N/A	0	N/A	
safe havens	0	N/A	1	N/A	
setlor	0	N/A	2	N/A	
shock	0	N/A	31	N/A	

9. See table 3: Semantic calques.

soft law	0	N/A	3	N/A	
spin-off	21	N/A	2	N/A	CORGA(13)
spin-out	0	N/A	1	N/A	
stakeholder/grupo de interese	0	3	30	9	
stock/reservas	6	2	12	2	CORGA(56)
subprime/baixa qualidade, alto risco	24	1	3	1	CORGA(1)
swap/permuta	8	0	9	3	CORGA(3), CLUVI(1), CTG(7)
tax lease/arrendamento fiscal	71	0	0	0	
treaty shopping	0	N/A	5	N/A	
trust/fideicomiso – fondo fiduciario	3	0	26	4	CORGA(7)
trustee / fideicomisario	0	0	4	0	

Table 2: Foreign words found in corpus 1 in alphabetical order

As shown in chart 1, the use of foreign words is more abundant in research papers, where 35 of the 45 terms were found, against only 27 words found in newspaper articles. Occurrences, however, seem to be higher in newspaper articles (chart 2), particularly if we consider the fact that in the case of papers all or almost all the occurrences for some of the terms were found in the same paper.

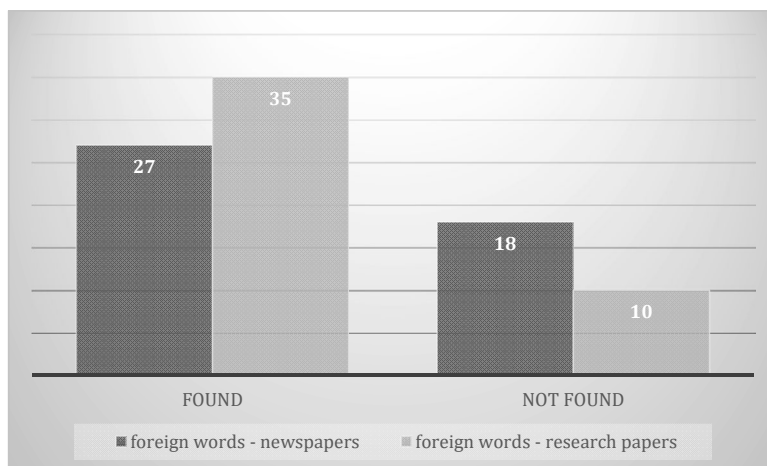


Chart 1: Global presence of foreign words by type of text

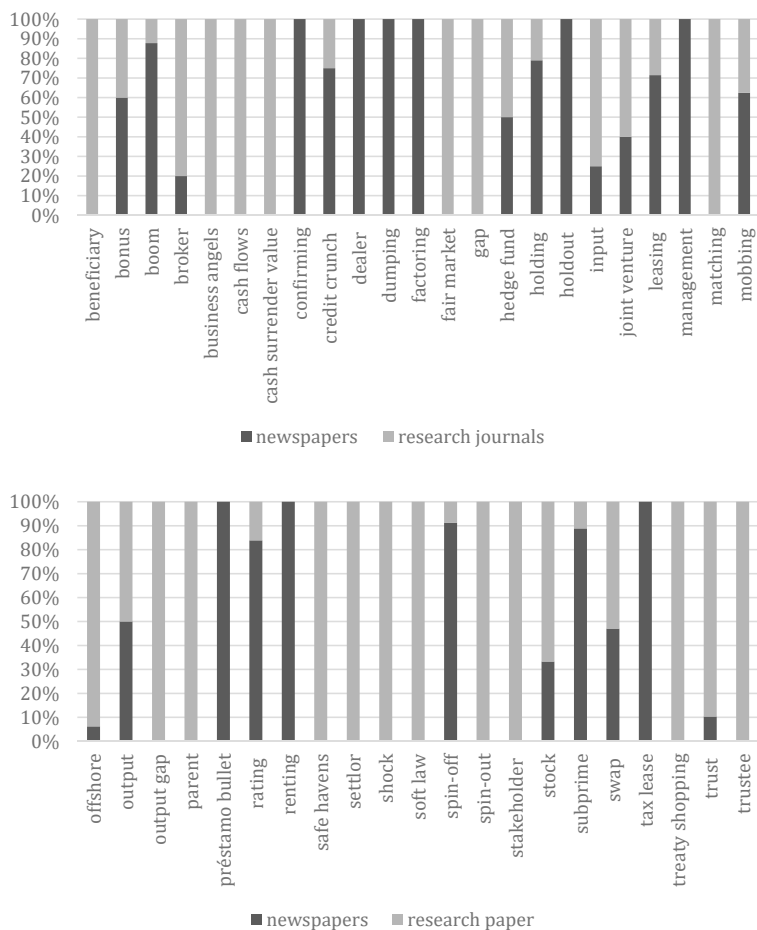


Chart 2: Occurrences of foreign words by type of text

As already mentioned, terms marked in bold in table 2, 18 of the 45, were found in both types of texts. Seven of them (*bonus*, *credit crunch*, *hedge fund*, *joint venture*, *leasing*, *output* and *swap*) do not show significant differences in the number of occurrences by type of source. Six of the terms (*boom*, *holding*, *mobbing*, *rating*, *spin-off* and *subprime*) show a considerably higher number of occurrences in newspaper texts, while five of the terms (*broker*, *input*, *offshore*, *stock* and *trust*) are more frequently used in research papers. Frequency differences in the latter group, however, are not remarkable.

Foreign words with the highest frequencies in research papers (*mobbing*, *shock*, *trust*, *stakeholder*, *offshore*, *holding*, *boom* and *stock*) are mostly neologisms that entered the language before the financial crisis. Terms connected to the crisis, whose use has become popular in the past few years, are found either in both types of texts (*hedge fund*, *credit crunch*, *swap*) or only in newspapers (*rating*, *subprime*, *tax lease*). In general, the presence of foreign words is low in the CORGA (11) and almost non-existent in other reference corpora (5 in NPG, 5 in CTG, 1 in VGE and 2 in CLUVI).

As regards the distribution of terms within the texts, some of the foreign words are found in only one research paper (*mobbing*, *trust*, *swap*). Still in research papers, foreign words are mainly found in papers dealing with international issues and are normally accompanied by a translation proposal or by an explanation, in consistency with the academic nature of the texts (example 1). In some cases, it is the English term that is used to clarify the Galician one, when the author considers it is not sufficiently normalized (examples 2 and 3). In addition, in many cases, the English and the Galician term are indistinctly used in the same paper (e.g. *parent/matriz*, examples 4 and 5).

E.g. 1: *o termo stakeholder ou grupo de interese foi definido por Freeman (1984) como “aquelas persoas, grupos ou organizacións que manteñen unha relación directa ou indirecta coa empresa e que, polo tanto, poden verse afectados polas decisións e accións da organización, e que reciprocamente poden influír ou exercer poder nela”* (RGE) (underlining ours).

E.g. 2: *Os créditos hipotecarios estadounidenses de baixa calidade (subprime) desenvólveronse con extraordinaria rapidez debido principalmente á abundancia de crédito derivada do exceso de liquidez mundial* (RGE) (underlining ours).

E.g. 3: *Por outro lado, as axencias de cualificación de risco (rating agencies) tampouco fixeron ben o seu traballo e, ademais, seguiron sendo un oligopolio estadounidense* (RGE) (underlining ours)

E.g. 4: [...] *non podemos, porén, realizar a tradicional análise dun proxecto de investimento internacional tanto desde a óptica local como desde a do parent cando se trata dun proxecto de investimento directo ou real* (RGE) (underlining ours).

E.g. 5: [...] *os fondos poden ser enviados á empresa matriz, reinvestidos ou transferidos como préstamos ás filiais* (RGE) (underlining ours).

On the contrary, in newspaper texts, foreign words are found in different articles and in all the sources, although they are more frequent in the most recent sources (*Praza Pública* and *Sermos Galiza*), except for *rating* and *subprime*, which are equally frequent in all the newspapers. Special attention deserve the terms *dumping* and *holding* that, despite of being anglicisms already identified by Araya & Gómez Clemente in their 1999 study, were not found in the texts

compiled from *Vieiros* and *Galiza Hoxe*.¹⁰ In general, terms are used with no definition, clarification or translation (examples 6 and 7), and the use of typographical marks follows inconsistent patterns even within the same publication (examples 8-11). This may be an indicator of their lack of normalization in the language and of the non-existence in the publications of consistent guidelines to use them.

E.g. 6: A “*medida estrela*” do executivo de Bush sería a creación dunha axencia pública que se vai facer cargo das *hipotecas subprime* que lastran gravemente as entidades financeiras (*vieiros.com*) (underlining ours).

E.g. 7: A axencia Fitch baixa o *rating* do Popular, no que se integrou o Pastor (*Galicia Hoxe*) (underlining ours).

E.g. 8 A CIG oponse á venda de Novagalicia Banco ao fondo Guggenheim, ao que cualifica como “*especulativo*” e responsabiliza de ser un dos máximos responsábeis da crise das ‘*subprime*’ (*Sermos Galiza*) (underlining ours).

E.g. 9 [...] poucos meses antes de que estoupara nos USA a crise das hipotecas *subprime* (*Sermos Galiza*) (underlining ours).

E.g. 10 [...] a pesar das rebaixas de nota por parte das axencias de ‘*rating*’ (*Galicia Hoxe*) (underlining ours).

E.g. 11 [...] que non se conceda a unha axencia de *rating* o privilexio de determinar se a decisión do Eurogrupo é un éxito ou un fracaso (*Galicia Hoxe*) (underlining ours).

Concerning the co-existence of the foreign word and a Galician coined equivalent (where such an equivalent exists and its presence has been documented), data from the corpus reveal that, in newspaper texts (chart 3), the use of the foreign word generally prevails over the Galician equivalent, except for the terms *credit crunch*, a rather technical term, and *boom*, whose frequency of use is lower than that of the vernacular term *auxe*. Special attention deserves the use of *mobbing* vs. *acoso psicolóxico* or *acoso laboral*, *holding* vs. *conglomerado*, *tax lease* vs. *arrendamento fiscal*, *rating* vs. *cualificación*, *dumping* vs. *afundimento de prezos* and *subprime* vs. *lixo/baixa calidade*.

In research papers (chart 4), on the contrary, there are more cases in which the equivalent term is used with the same or even higher frequency than the foreign word (*fluxos de caixa* vs. *cash flow*, *conglomerado* vs. *holding*, *matriz* vs. *parent*) and cases where only the equivalent is used and not the foreign word

10. This lack of use is not consistent with the present use of the term, as a search through the search tool of *Galiza Hoxe online* retrieved 113 articles with the term ‘holding’ and 137 with the term ‘dumping’, the older being from 2007 and most of them from 2012 onwards. This might be an indicator of a change in the patterns of use of foreign words in the past few years, which should be confirmed with a more specific diachronic study.

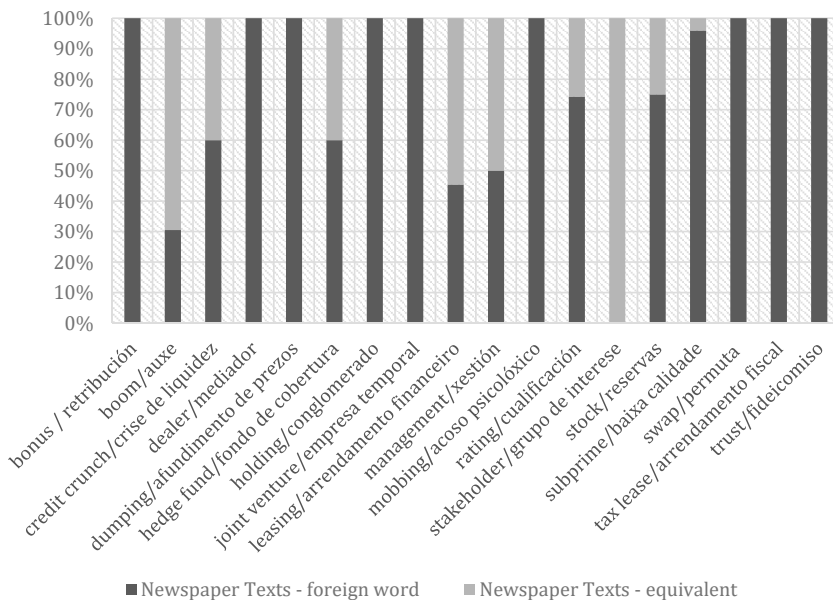


Chart 3: Co-existence of foreign word and equivalent term in newspaper texts

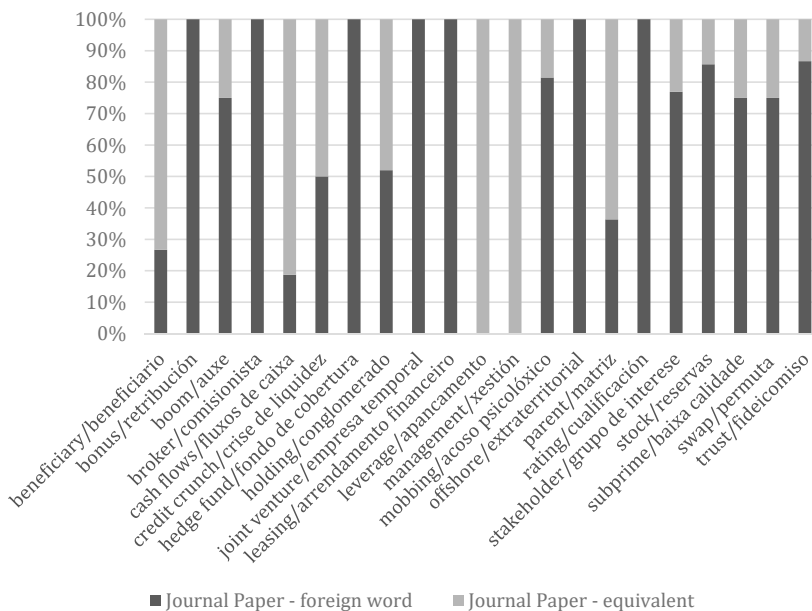


Chart 4: Co-existence of the foreign word and the equivalent term in journal papers

(*xestión* vs. management, *apancamento* vs. leverage). There are also some cases, however, where the foreign word prevails over the equivalent (*trust* vs. *fideicomiso*, swap vs. *permuta*, stock vs. *reservas*), even when some of the involved terms might be classified as luxury foreign words (stakeholder vs. *grupo de interese*, hedge fund vs. *fondo de cobertura*, offshore vs. *extraterritorial*, *libre de impostos*, *en paraíso fiscal*, etc.)

4.2. Semantic calques

Although the presence of semantic calques (table 3) is similar in both types of texts, calques with the highest frequency rates, i.e. those related to the financial crisis, show more occurrences in newspaper texts. Most calques were found in the CORGA, which covers texts up to 2014. This reveals their use is widespread in the Galician language. Only a few of them were also found in other reference sources, probably because they are based on older texts. This is the case, for instance, of *fondo voitre*, *bono lixo*, *banco malo* and *activo tóxico*, that are used in newspaper texts but not in journal papers. It is also the case of *prima de risco*, the term with the highest frequency of use in our corpus, whose use was only found once in the CTG and none in the CLUVI, the VGE or the NPG. Although *burbullas* and *rescate* may be considered two exceptions to the main trend, as they both appear in the CTG (*burbullas* also in the VGE), we should not disregard the fact that they both are terms whose meaning has widened, which may be the reason for their presence in the reference sources. Nevertheless, data concerning their presence in the CORGA, under the subject field ‘economy’ (76 occurrences for *burbullas* and 319 occurrences for *rescate*), show that they are loanwords of relatively widespread use in economic texts. The most technical terms found in the corpus, *apancamento* and *titulización*, on the other hand, were only found in research papers, which is consistent with the type of text and the target reader.

Vernacular alternatives to the calques were only found for the terms *bancarrota* and *activo tóxico*, with different patterns of use. Thus, the term *bancarrota*, which was only used in newspapers, is most times replaced by *quebra* or *creba*, the latter being the only term found in research papers. On the contrary, the term *activo tóxico* is preferred to the vernacular *activo deteriorado*, whose use was only recorded once in each type of text.

Type of term Loanword	Newspaper articles		Journal papers		Reference sources
	Term's frequency	Equivalent's frequency	Term's frequency	Equivalent's frequency	Source (frequency)
<i>acordo marco</i>	7	N/A ¹¹	1	N/A	CORGA(23); NPG
<i>activo tóxico/ deteriorado</i>	35	1	0	1	CORGA(19)
<i>alcista</i>	0	N/A	6	N/A	CORGA(35), CLUVI(2), CTG(44)
<i>apancamento</i>	0	N/A	10	N/A	CTG(1)
<i>baixista</i>	0	N/A	1	N/A	CORGA(17), CLUVI(2), CTG(8)
<i>bancarrota/quebra</i>	26	106	0	16	CORGA(40), VGE, CTG(1)
<i>banco malo</i>	26	N/A	0	N/A	CORGA(8)
<i>bono/hipoteca lixo</i>	10	N/A	1	N/A	CORGA(4), CTG(1)
<i>burbulla</i>	56	N/A	24	N/A	CORGA(76), VGE, CTG(14)
<i>capital risco</i>	23	N/A	1	N/A	CORGA(49), CLUVI(16), CTG(10)
<i>fondo voitre</i>	12	N/A	0	N/A	
<i>liña de crédito</i>	17	N/A	0	N/A	CORGA(11), CLUVI(1), CTG(2)
<i>OPA</i>	11	N/A	0	N/A	CORGA(90)
<i>prima de risco</i>	155	N/A	11	N/A	CORGA(22), CTG(1)
<i>rescate</i>	69	N/A	8	N/A	CORGA(319), CTG(41)
<i>risco cambiario</i>	9	N/A	16	N/A	VGE, CLUVI(2)
<i>titulización</i>	0	N/A	10	N/A	CORGA(4), CLUVI(5), CTG(20)
<i>valor nominal</i>	4	N/A	3	N/A	CORGA(10), Vg2, CLUVI(6), CTG(22)

Table 3: Semantic calques found in corpus 1 in alphabetical order

4.3. Adapted loanwords

The occurrence of adapted loanwords in the corpus texts is very low (table 4) and they are mostly general words whose use is highly normalized in

11. As in table 2, N/A is used where no coined equivalent exists in the Galician language.

the Galician language and which may be identified as loanwords but not as neologisms.

Type of term Adapted loanword	Newspaper articles		Journal papers		Reference sources
	Term's frequency	Equivalent's frequency	Term's frequency	Equivalent's frequency	Source (frequency) ¹²
<i>absentismo</i>	1	N/A	1	N/A	DRAG
<i>auditoría</i>	14	N/A	4	N/A	DRAG
<i>boicot</i>	1	N/A	0	N/A	DRAG
<i>consultoría</i>	5	N/A	3	N/A	DRAG
<i>deflación</i>	22	N/A	4	N/A	DRAG
<i>inflación</i>	42	N/A	57	N/A	DRAG
<i>status/estatus</i> ¹³	1	1	4/4	7/7	RAG/CORGA (76) CTG (100), CLUVI (1),

Table 4: Adapted loanwords found in corpus 1 in alphabetical order

4.4. Castilianisms

Although strictly speaking a castilianism is a type of foreign word, the results of our study show that most of them are interferences connected to the lack of acquaintance with the vernacular alternatives, as argued by Araya & Gómez Clemente (1999: 135). This is why we have decided to discuss them in a different section, and not to include them in the foreign word section.

As shown in table 5, except for the term *plantilla* used instead of *cadro de persoal*, which was found in a research paper, castilianisms occurred only in newspaper texts. The search for castilianisms that are normally used in the Galician economic language, as *presuposto* (*orçamento*), *apalancamento* (*apancamento*), *inversor* (*investidor*), *devengo* (*devindicación*) or *intereses* (*xuros*) produced no occurrences in research papers, which can be explained by the process of linguistic revision the Galician texts (both originals and translations) undergo before publication. Three of the castilianisms included in the original list, *bursátil*, *rentabilidade* and *subasta*, were not found in newspaper articles either, while other terms, as *calificación* and *venta*, produced very few

12. As the use of all the terms is widespread in the Galician language, all of them are included in the *Dicionario da Real Academia Galega* (DRAG). Hence, they have not been searched in other reference sources, except for “estatus” (see note 13).

13. Although of Latin origin, it is considered to have entered the language through English. The *Dicionario da Real Academia Galega* includes only the unadapted form ‘status’. However, ‘estatus’ was found in the CORGA, the CTG and the CLUVI, and both forms were found in the corpus, the occurrences for “estatus” being slightly higher than for “status” in research papers.

occurrences. Finally, the frequency of use of the vernacular term was higher in all cases, and their use was documented both in research papers and in newspaper articles, except for *apancamento*, which occurred only in research papers.

A relevant exception is the term *devengar*, which is always used instead of the Galician coined term *devindicar*. This is most probably due to the recent coinage of the term (*devengar* was included in the Galician reference dictionary, DRAG, only in 2011 (RAG, online), while *devengar* and *devengo*, despite their historical description as castilianisms, were the common terms used in many legal texts translated from Spanish into Galician, including the General Accounting Plans (PGC) of 1990 and 2007.

Castilianism ¹⁴	Galician term	Frequency of castilianism	Frequency of Galician term	Source of castilianism	Source of Galician term
* <i>intereses</i>	<i>xuros</i>	18	193	Newspaper	Newspaper/ Journal
<i>pago</i>	<i>pagamento</i>	9	54	Newspaper	Newspaper/ Journal
<i>presuposto</i>	<i>orçamento</i>	7	120	Newspaper	Newspaper/ Journal
* <i>devengar/devengo</i>	<i>devindicar/ devindicación</i>	6	0	Newspaper	N/A
* <i>producto</i>	<i>produto</i>	6	398	Newspaper	Newspaper/ Journal
<i>inversor/inversión/</i>	<i>investidor/ investimento</i>	4	347	Newspaper	Newspaper/ Journal
* <i>venta</i>	<i>venda</i>	4	57	Newspaper	Newspaper/ Journal
* <i>calificación</i>	<i>cualificación</i>	2	98	Newspaper	Newspaper/ Journal
* <i>apalancamento</i>	<i>apancamento</i>	1	10	Newspaper	Journal
* <i>plantilla</i>	<i>cadro de persoal</i>	1	9	Journal	Newspaper/ Journal
* <i>bursátil</i>	<i>bolsista</i>	0	4	N/A	Newspaper/ Journal
* <i>rentabilidade</i>	<i>rendibilidade</i>	0	49	N/A	Newspaper/ Journal
* <i>subasta</i>	<i>poxa</i>	0	4	N/A	Newspaper/ Journal

Table 5: Castilianisms found in corpus 1 by frequency of repetition

14. Castilianisms that are not accepted as Galician terms in the reference dictionary (DRAG) are marked with an asterisk.

In newspaper texts, castilianisms are equally frequent in translations of original Spanish articles (*Galicia Hoxe*) and in allegedly Galician originals. It might be relevant to analyze the extent to which this is actually due to the widespread practice of covert translation, as argued in section 3.1.

4.5. Analysis of the parallel corpus

In the analysis of the second corpus, the occurrences of all the foreign words, adapted loanwords and semantic calques found in the Galician research papers were checked against the Spanish versions of the same papers. Occurrences proved to be exactly the same for all terms. The search for further occurrences of the terms, as well as for terms not recorded in the Galician versions was unsuccessful. This result might be inconsistent with Baker's theory of a more conservative use of the language in translation (2004: 174) and confirms our hypothesis (Section 3.1.) that this trend might not exist between as linguistically close languages as Galician and Spanish. It should be emphasized that the coincidence rate in the use of the researched terms was 100%, which discards the possibility that coincidences existed only in cases of self-translation. At any rate, a detailed study should be conducted with a larger corpus of original and translated versions of different types of texts, as the fact that all the texts were compiled from the same source might have contributed to biasing our findings.

5. Final Remarks

After compilation and revision of the corpora, we can draw a series of tentative conclusions that should necessarily be confirmed with further studies including both a larger number of words and a wider range of text types.

First, as regards the mechanisms of neologism adoption in the Galician language, despite the relevance of loanwords in LSPs, it may be claimed that they have not replaced morphological and morpho-semantic neologisms as main sources for terminology adoption. On the other hand, based on the findings of the second corpus and on those of previous works (Orts & Almela 2009; Orts & Almela 2012), no differences are found between the patterns of adoption of economic terms into the Galician language and those of the Spanish language.

Concerning patterns of use by text type and their usefulness for translation students, our findings seem to confirm that the use of foreign terms in research papers is a conscious decision of the author, who in most cases uses foreign/vernacular doublets in a complementary manner. This trend persists in the translated version of the text, both in self-translated papers and in papers translated by the journal publishers. This fact confirms the conscious use of the

terms and the possibility that authors would reject a change in terminology by a translator. Nonetheless, the occurrence of foreign terms in this type of texts showed to be very low in general. Therefore, students and future translators should try to limit their use to cases where they are dealing with highly-specialized terms or lacking an exact equivalent. In addition, the use of foreign terms in research papers together with a translation proposal turns this type of text into a relevant reference resource not only at the informational but also at the terminological level, which students should prioritize against less productive sources such as dictionaries and vocabularies or texts of dubious reliability downloaded from the internet.

In contrast to the use of foreign terms and semantic calques in research papers, their use in newspaper articles seems to be connected to the urgency in the preparation of the article or to the unawareness of the existence of a vernacular term. Foreign terms are not used when there exists a normalized Galician term, as it is the case with the doublet '*matriz*/parent'. In this respect, and although the reliability of newspapers as a source of reference may be lower than that of research papers, unless they are written by experts/semi-experts in economics, consideration should be given to the fact that they reflect the language to which newspapers' readers are exposed. Therefore, their use as reference sources should not be discarded when translating informative texts targeted to non-expert readers.

From the methodological point of view, the simplicity of the applied methodology makes it really useful in the English-Galician economic translation classroom. In particular, the implementation of the corpus compilation and search method on their own enables students to assess the appropriateness of using or not a term based on the results obtained by themselves, instead of relying on Spanish or Portuguese sources only, a widespread practice in the translation of economic texts into Galician. Although some practical teaching experiences have already been implemented to this respect, their results are beyond the objectives of this paper and will be discussed in future works.

Further research requires a larger and more varied textual population of the compiled corpora that makes it possible to confirm or reject the necessarily tentative conclusions of our analysis. In particular, the research paper corpus should be enlarged to include papers from other sources, while the time span of the newspaper article corpus should be widened to analyze the development of Galician economic terminology over time, and particularly in the coming years, as the presence of information about the economic crisis in the media seems to be gradually diminishing.

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