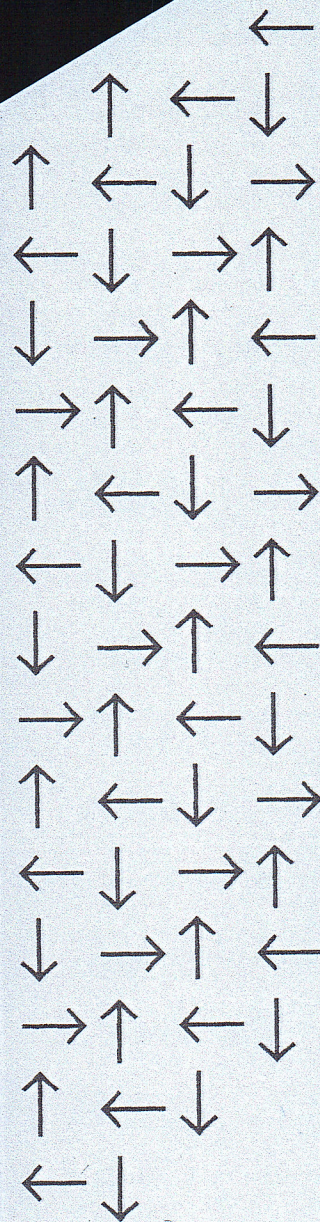


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SPECIAL ISSUE

Neology in Specialized Communication

Guest editors:

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Secondary term formation in Greek

Theoretical and methodological considerations

Georgios Floros and Simos Grammenidis

This paper aims at discussing some theoretical aspects of the creation of term neologisms through translation, using as examples Greek terms from the field of Translation Studies itself. The premise of the paper is that while a basically semiotic approach tends to be the prevailing one in theoretical discussions, in practice, the creation of neologisms seems to be mainly achieved through correspondences at signifier level only, often leading to Greek neologisms which are not totally in line with the notion (signified) lying behind the designation of a term. Within this wider theoretical framework provided by the semiotic approach, this paper will propose that a combination of terminological unit (level of signifier), notion (level of signified) and definition (transitional level) is an operational theoretical framework for the successful creation of Greek neologisms, using as example three cases taken from the Greek adaptation of the Translation terminology by Delisle et al. (1999).

Keywords: translation, secondary term formation, neologism, terminological unit, definition

"Definitions are rules for the translation of one language into another"
Ludwig Wittgenstein (2009: 43)

1. On the interface between terminology and translation

Greek neologisms generally emerge with the aim to offer equivalents to words or terms already existing in other languages. This is typically the case with most lesser-spoken languages today, especially as concerns terminology. Despite the fact that Greek has been the source language for the creation of numerous terms in various languages before, the constantly and rapidly changing scientific and academic fields, the ever-growing degree of specialization within them and the undeniable dominance of (very) few communities in the creation of scientific products

and products of thought have inevitably led 'minor' languages such as Greek to follow, rather than lead, terminological developments. Nevertheless, the world-wide dissemination of science and thought and the need for efficient expert communication require widely accepted, standardized and consistent metalanguages for the various scientific fields across languages (cf. Rey 1979, 1995; Sager 1990). This is in line with the desirable ideal of one-to-one equivalence between terms, put forward by Wüster in his seminal work on terminology (1979). Thus, the so-called 'minor' languages are heavily dependent on the creation of neologisms in order to track developments and to follow suite. In the last decades, terminology has been developed as a separate field in order to account for, among other things, the specificities of term creation.

Term creation encompasses primary and secondary instances. According to Sager (2001a: 251), "primary term formation occurs when a newly created concept has to be named", while "[s]econdary term formation occurs as a result of (a) the monolingual revision of a given terminology [...], or (b) a transfer of knowledge to another linguistic community, a process which requires the creation of new terms in the target language". Relating to this second point within secondary term formation, terminology displays a seemingly large overlap with translation, because, after all, translation is constantly concerned with the rendition of words and terms for which there are no equivalents in the target language. However, terminology and translation present two linguistically distinct activities. According to Sager (2001b: 259), the decisive difference between the two "can be summarized by saying that translators deal with instances of *parole* (i.e., language in use), whereas terminologists may use instances of *parole* but are essentially concerned with recording facts of *langue* (i.e., language as an abstract system)".

Terminology is concerned with the description, analysis, management and creation of terms as a specific vocabulary intended for a specific knowledge domain (or a sublanguage within general language) at the *langue* level. By contrast, translation is concerned with rendering texts, which involves terms in use. Ideally then, the relationship between terminology and translation should be one of 'optimal dependence'; terminological work should precede translational work, so that translators can have reliable and trustworthy reference for their work at the *parole* level. This is indeed the case in large and well-organized institutions such as the European Union translation services, where terminologists work parallel to translators preparing glossaries and terminological databases (e.g., IATE), which are then put at the disposal of translators. The result is a) a high degree of terminology standardization,¹ b) less ad hoc formulations by translators in individual texts and c) a reliable terminological supply for CAT tools and machine translation systems.

Returning to the issue of minor languages, such an optimal dependence is not always afforded in practice. The specificity of minor, or lesser-spoken, languages

is not confined to a limited number of speakers or to a limited body of texts being translated from and into that language. It also revolves around sociological issues concerning, among other things, the establishment, organization and functioning of language-related professions within those languages. Therefore, minor languages are not only faced with the need to keep up with the aforementioned rapidly changing knowledge fields through secondary term formation (neologisms), but also with the lack of clearly delimited and institutionalized language professions. For example, the distinction between terminologists and translators is not always relevant in the Greek-speaking area. This, in turn, leads indeed to an overlap of activities, with translators and experts very often assuming the role of terminologists for a specific knowledge field. An additional reason for such an overlap is presented by the status of the knowledge domain itself. Habitually, secondary term formation in the Greek-speaking area is undertaken by field experts when it comes to highly disseminated technological or scientific domains of knowledge, whereas term formation in less disseminated, and perhaps conceptually fuzzier, knowledge sub-domains of the humanities, for instance, depends to a large extent on the work provided by translators of foreign texts into the minor language.² Both cases, however, usually result in a sometimes accidental, sometimes deliberate proliferation of competing terms (variants and synonyms), the obvious consequence being the lack of standardization — a consequence which in turn makes systematic terminological work even more urgent.

The fact that translators are constantly confronted with the task of reproducing L_2 terms by creating ad hoc L_1 neologisms prior to a corresponding systematic attempt by terminologists does not necessarily mean that such systematic attempts are totally missing. National or international agencies are set up precisely in order to undertake this crucial task. For the Greek language, the *Hellenic Society for Terminology* (ELETO) and the Greek unit of the EU translation services are constantly at work, along with various other agencies (cf. Kakridi-Ferrari 2001), to provide terminology for important scientific and technical domains, old or new. Nevertheless, much of the methodology used by these bodies to form Greek terms reveals that translation is both *explicitly* and *implicitly* being used in the creation of term neologisms. But this is by no means specific to Greek term formation. As Sager (2001a: 253) asserts,

[s]everal methods of secondary interlingual term formation co-exist; they include borrowing, loan translation, paraphrase, parallel translation, adaptation and complete new creation. These methods can be used simultaneously or sequentially and often give rise to several alternative or competing new terms. It can therefore take time before a terminology stabilizes in this field.

These methods of secondary term formation are not different from some of the principal methods used to translate (culturally-bound) words in texts (cf. Newmark 1988). Therefore, it can be said that while terminology and translation are theoretically distinct areas, part of the practical activity in terminology coincides with that of translation.

Moreover, an often neglected fact is that many ad hoc neologisms suggested by translators are soon taken up by other translators, thus acquiring the status of an 'accepted standard translation', which has been described by Newmark (1988) as yet another legitimate translation procedure. Normally, such accepted standard translations are immediately adopted even in more systematic terminological attempts, if a) they do not violate word formation patterns of the target language, and b) they do not present phonetically awkward configurations. Their conceptual validity tends to remain unchallenged, even in cases where they do not seem to adequately correspond to the concept they are supposed to be verbally expressing — a condition *sine qua non* in terminology.

The above discussion reveals that under certain circumstances (language status, sociological aspects of language-related professions, instance/aim of term formation etc.), the work produced by translators is barely distant from that of terminologists (and vice versa) and that there is a strong methodological overlap between the two activities (see also Grammenidis and Floros 2011). But the realization of any interrelations between terminology and translation is not an end in itself. The crucial point to be made here is not so much about possible overlaps, but mainly about the consequences of such overlaps. Actually, there is nothing wrong with translators occasionally playing the role of terminologists. This may not represent an ideal situation, of course, but translators (or experts) can possibly assume this role provided a) they are conscious of what this role-shift entails, and b) they are willing to follow basic principles of terminology (and terminography).³ Secondary term formation is always conditioned by another term in another language (cf. Sager 2001a: 253). Thus, as an activity, it is always related to translation. But beyond that, secondary term formation remains an instance of *per se* term formation and is therefore susceptible to specific guidelines necessitated by terminological principles. The aim of this paper is to investigate and challenge the theoretical and methodological 'guidelines' which have been applied to the creation of Greek term neologisms using as examples some older as well as some recently coined Greek terms from the knowledge field of Translation Studies itself. Translation Studies is a rather novel and still fuzzy domain in a still ongoing process/attempt to stabilize its terminology. The ultimate aim is to highlight some problematic aspects concerning secondary term formation in this field, as well as to propose an operational theoretical and methodological framework for more successful practical work in the creation of Greek term neologisms.

2. Denotative neologisms in Greek: Adequacy and fields of tension

There is an extensive Greek bibliography concerning issues of secondary term formation (cf. for example the portal of the *Centre for the Greek Language*), which are mainly concerned with research on borrowings and loan translations from other languages into Greek. From the vast array of works we deemed it necessary to focus on those ones which provide theoretical and methodological guidelines for secondary term formation in Greek. One of the earliest and perhaps among the most influential works on Greek neologisms is Anastasiadi-Symeonidi (1986). She provides a detailed account for the creation of Greek neologisms through, among other processes, changes either in the *signified* or in the *signifier* of a lexical unit, as well as an extensive discussion of *multiword-terms* (or *polylectic terms*) in Greek.

A basically semiotic approach seems to be the prevailing one in theoretical discussions of terms, their formation and their relationship to the concepts which they denominate. Much of the international bibliography on terminology seems to imply an analogy between terms and words as regards the relation of their linguistic side to their conceptual one. Consequently, one could roughly say that the signifier of the lexical sign would correspond to the term (as designation), while the signified would correspond to the concept (or notion) which the term denominates (see Figure 1).

This basic semiotic approach is contested by Anastasiadi-Symeonidi in later work (2001) as being an oversimplification. Contrary to a widespread understanding of *signified* and *concept* as synonyms, she draws on Didi-Kidiri (1998), Béjoint and Thoiron (2000) and Depecker (2000) to clarify that a concept is a mental representation, while the signified, placed at the linguistic level, forms part of the term itself and, more generally, of the lexical unit (cf. 2001: 3). Thus the main difference between signified and concept probably lies in that the concept is not thought to be the immediate (mental) representation as 'image', but a mental representation which is constructed and varies individually as well as across languages and social settings (cf. Béjoint and Thoiron 2000: 7). Since, however, both *signified* and *concept* are thought to be representations of some sort, it seems more than logical to assume that both are placed at the mental level, which is certainly distinct from the level of linguistic manifestation. This, in turn, would lead to assume that *term* and *signifier* are both placed at the latter level. Furthermore, social semiotics and the

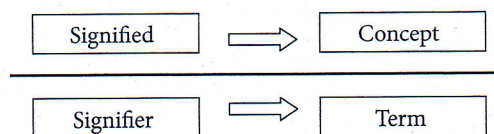


Figure 1. Assumed correspondence between lexical sign and term/concept

investigation of intercultural differences between seemingly corresponding signifiers across languages reveal that individual and cultural variations are characteristic not only of specific vocabulary and domains of knowledge (concepts), but also of general language (signified). Therefore, an overall differentiation between concept and signified does not seem to hold. But this should not be taken to imply synonymy between the two, either. The difference seems to be more a matter of point of view. Perhaps a more useful approach is provided by Didi-Kidiri (1998), who maintains that the concept-level is primarily concerned with questions of knowledge, its nature, its objectivity and its universality, while the signified-level is mainly concerned with issues pertaining to meaning construction.

Regardless of whether a total or complete analogy can be drawn between lexical sign and term/concept, a more fundamental issue is posed a) by the possible function which the *definition* of a term assumes in a configuration such as the above, and b) by the relevance of all these considerations to secondary term creation. Literature on terminology univocally accepts that the definition is an integral part of the assumed unit formed by term and concept. Unlike general language dictionaries, terminology proceeds usually onomasiologically (cf. Sager 2001b:260), which means that the definition of a concept is undertaken before an attempt is made to name this concept. Although this approach is no longer widely accepted nowadays, the fact remains that the definition fixes the position of a concept within the wider knowledge framework (field) to which the concept belongs and provides the conceptual accuracy implied by the term. The abstract character of the concept and the (relative) arbitrariness of its linguistic side (term) in fact hamper the clear description of a concept or of the relation between concept and term. It is precisely the definition which helps to avoid a fuzzy reference and to establish "a clear link between the linguistic system and the conceptual structure of knowledge" (Sager 2001b:260; cf. also Pozzi 2001). One could go as far as to assume that it is at this level (the level of definition) that words differ from terms. Believing with Cabré (cf. 2000:37) that both words and terms constitute each a unit activating either a general or a specific meaning respectively, depending on the conditions of usage within discourse, it would be logical to assume that one of the main differences between the two lies in the degree of accuracy of its definition.

Methodologically, definitions are of paramount importance for secondary term formation; when a term needs to be created in another language, it is indispensable to work from an existing definition. This, we would argue, poses one of the most important constraints on secondary term formation processes. Returning to the assumed analogy between lexical sign and term/concept, the above figure could be redrawn as in Figure 2.

Notably, Figure 2 does not suggest that a signifier cannot be defined. It only points to the fact that in terminology the definition provides a much clearer

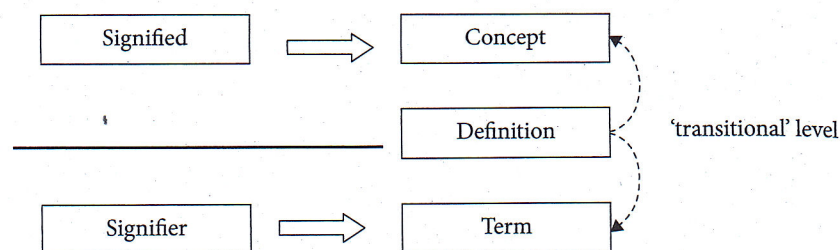


Figure 2. Assumed correspondence between lexical sign and term/definition/concept

description and 'positioning' of the concept than a definition of general vocabulary and that it establishes a more 'fixed' connection between designation and concept than between signifier and signified. Therefore, we suggest that the definition of a term be seen as part of the 'unit' constituted by term and concept. Cabré seems to imply that concept and designation indeed form a unit comparable to the lexical sign (cf. 1998, 1999), although it is rather unclear whether her use of the term 'terminological unit' (1999) really implies a close synergy of term, definition and concept. However, viewing the term definition as a 'transitional' level within the term/concept unit in secondary term formation would methodologically help to avoid searching for interlingual correspondences between terms at signifier-level only. In other words, viewing the tripartite term/definition/concept as a unit may account for the difference between terminological and (purely) translational processes, which are mainly placed at the level of parole. When translators or other experts undertake terminological work, the above entails a fundamental procedural shift: The formation of neologisms is not simply a problem of coining equivalents accounting primarily for the morphological and phonetic constraints posed by the receiving language, but turns into a problem of coining equivalents which primarily cover the fundamental conceptual 'constraints' posed by the relationship between concept and term, which (relationship) is explicated in the term definition.

As will be shown in the examples further below, secondary term formation in Greek often shows instances of 'direct' rendition from the source language at signifier-level only. Before presenting such examples, though, it is important to discuss further theoretical and methodological guidelines to secondary term formation, specifically those presented by Babinotis (1993, 1995) and Xydopoulos (2002, 2008).

Babinotis has developed a set of four criteria, which he considers as prerequisites for rendering terms from foreign languages into Greek. These criteria could be viewed as fundamental features of the ideal scientific term. They include:

- a. *αποδεκτότητα* 'acceptability'
- b. *πληροφορητικότητα* 'informativity'
- c. *ανακλησιμότητα* 'retrievability' and
- d. *μεταφρασιμότητα* 'translatability'.

Each of the above four criteria is understood to incorporate multiple meanings. Acceptability is achieved through *linguistic well-formedness*, but also through *avoidance of overlaps* with existing terminology and *derivational possibility*, which implies the possibility of a term to be conjugated and to create other terms. Informativity is understood to include *denotability* (i.e., adequacy in the denotation), *transparency* or *recognizability* (i.e., the ability of a term to lead immediately to the source of the conceptual information), and *clarity* or *explicitation* as to a term's conceptual content (again with the aim to avoid overlaps). Retrievability is an umbrella-term for *brevity*, *avoidance of polylectic terms* and *derivational consistency*. Translatability is understood not in its strict, conventional sense as the ability to be translated, but rather as *reversibility* (i.e., the neologism leading easily back to the original term) and general *correspondence* among languages. Thus a better Greek term for what is meant here could perhaps be *αντιστρεψιμότητα* 'reversibility'. Of these four criteria, the second (informativity) seems to refer more closely to the constraint imposed by the term definition (see above), while the fourth (translatability) seems to be in line with Wüster's ideal of one-to-one equivalence among terms of different languages.

Babiniotis offers some very interesting examples in support of the above criteria. Nevertheless, neither the criteria nor some of the examples seem to be unproblematic. For exemplifying (a) acceptability, Babiniotis (1993) shows a preference for *δομή* over *στρουκτούρα* (for EN/FR *structure*, DE *Struktur*), *ύφος* over *στυλ* (for EN/FR *style*, DE *Stil*) and *εστίαση* over *ζουμ* (for EN *zoom*), mainly due to assumed derivational and conjugational weaknesses of the latter, as opposed to the former. However, *στρουκτούρα* has given *στρουκτουραλισμός* 'structuralism', *στρουκτουραλιστής* 'structuralist' and the adjective *στρουκτουραλιστικός*, -ή, -ό in Greek, *στυλ* has been accommodated in Greek also as an adjective (e.g., *στυλιστικές/στιλιστικές επιλογές* 'stylistic choices') and, as to *zoom*, this does not seem to be an official term, given the existence of EN *focus* and *focusing* [n]. In fact, the use of the loanword *στιλ* seems to be extremely convenient in Greek, as it presents a very good alternative to *ύφος* for different fields of knowledge, as Kakridi-Ferrari (2001) also asserts. So, while the latter is widely used in linguistics and literary theory, for example, the former remains reserved for art history — thus avoiding unnecessary overlapping. As to (b) informativity, Babiniotis gives a very good example arguing that *αθροωτός* covers both transparency and recognizability as the Greek equivalent to EN *modular*. But this does not seem to be the case with other commonly accepted and standardized Greek neologisms, such as *δυφίο*, which is a clipped compound (cf. de Bessé et al. 1997), formed by fusing the words *δυαδικός* and *ψηφίο* in order to create an equivalent to EN *bit*, which was created in a similar way (*binary* + *digit*).⁴ This implies that transparency and recognizability present *desirable* aspects rather than *necessities* in term formation.

Also desirable is (c) retrievability, but it cannot be fulfilled at all instances, as, at the same time, it is conditioned by the source language and by linguistic differences between source and target language. Brevity and avoidance of polylectic terms could, for example, be achieved in the case of *διατηρηματικός* for EN *end-to-end*, but does not seem to be feasible for EN [LING] *bottom-up*, *top-down*, or *localization*, for instance. The same applies to the last criterion, (d) translatability. While calques and calqued translation may indeed be the most frequently used techniques in secondary term formation, especially for lesser-spoken languages, the notion of 'correspondence' (as understood by Babiniotis) does not necessarily imply literalness. A case in point would be the Greek neologism *αυτοσήμαντη λέξη* for EN *content word* (Delisle et al. 2008: 41), or *περικείμενο* for EN *contextual knowledge* (Delisle et al. 2008: 122). In each of these examples, the Greek terms *correspond* to the English terms without being calqued translations of their originals.

The above criteria seem to be repetitive in some instances, for example *derivational possibility* in (a) and *derivational consistency* in (c), *linguistic well-formedness* in (a) and *clarity* in (b), and contain some overlapping, for instance (d) translatability, which overlaps with the term 'translatability' as found in Translation Studies. But their main weakness lies in that, to some extent, they reflect desirability rather than necessity. *Acceptability* and *denotability* (from (b) informativity) present necessary conditions to be met at all times (otherwise the neologism will not hold as a term), while *transparency*, *brevity*, *avoidance of polylectic terms* and *translatability* are desirable conditions which cannot, and need not, be met at all times in secondary term formation, especially given the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign and the differences between languages. On another note, the above criteria reflect an ideological stance against loanwords and in favor of Greek-rooted neologisms. This is neither surprising, nor undesired. After all, neologisms do signal a transition from one language to another and loans cannot be the panacea for secondary term formation — they are, rather, the easy solution, which is favored often due to widespread usage before standardization, as well as for reasons of language economy. Secondary term formation is always conditioned by ideological factors and attitudes can differ in this regard. Sager (2001a: 253) distinguishes between 'purist' and 'permissive' attitudes not merely to secondary term formation, but, more generally, to any kind of foreign language influence. As to the Greek example, Kakridi-Ferrari (2001) presents legitimate arguments in favor of a rather permissive approach. She argues, for instance, that it is quite difficult to replace a widely used, standardized calque or loanword with a Greek-rooted term just for the sake of (language) purity (e.g., *δοκιμασία* instead of *τεστ* for EN *test* [n]), and that polylectic and uneconomic terms should not be preferred in secondary term formation, if the corresponding original does not display similar characteristics (e.g., *τηλεομοιότυπο* should not be preferred over *φαξ* for EN *fax*). She concludes

by saying that the final decision always lies with the members of a linguistic community, a fact often neglected when term translations are proposed.

However, we would like to argue that the issue at stake in secondary term formation should not primarily concern ideology. Returning to the tension between necessity and desirability, ideology and attitudes refer to individual and social preferences on how terms should be formed. Such preferences cannot be avoided in term formation; after all, terminology also serves social purposes. But the main concern should be placed on the informative/denotative aspect. Tsakona, in her description of the bilingualization of Peter Trudgill's *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics* (2003) into Greek, also seems to be moving along these lines by reaffirming that criteria used in secondary term formation cannot but be disproportionally weighted (2007: 128f.):

Our experience corroborates the observation that not all the criteria are relevant in every case and that, in some cases, they may well be clashing. In many cases, the lexicographer needs to assess the relevant criteria and evaluate the different possibilities before reaching a decision. [...] [S]emantic transparency and precision emerged as an overarching criterion, while the rest appeared to be complementary to that one.

The ideologically motivated choice between 'alternatives' cannot take precedence if one of those 'alternative' designations do not adequately cover, or are in conflict with, the term definition and, by consequence, with the concept. Xydopoulos (2002, 2008) explicitly places the denotative aspect of secondary term formation in a hierarchically top position in his methodology for rendering terms. He presents four macro-rules for secondary term formation in Greek, which (rules) aim at satisfying the criteria proposed by Babinotis. They include:

1. *Checking the term definition*; this responds to informativity and translatability.
2. *Checking the degree of standardization*; this aims at covering retrievability through the choice of lexically convenient terms.
3. *Checking the morphological (and other) linguistic rules governing term production*; this responds to acceptability and translatability.
4. *Differentiation from other existing terms as much as possible*; again aiming at informativity and avoidance of ambiguity.

The above macro-rules place particular emphasis on core aspects of secondary term formation (cf. (1) and (3)) as well as on the relationships emerging between competing terms (cf. (2)) or among terms within the same field of knowledge (cf. (4)). He thus focuses on necessities rather than desirable aspects of term production. Checking the term definition is by no means as trivial as it might sound and it is very felicitous that this procedure takes a prominent position in the above

methodology. Very often, secondary term formation is unconsciously downplayed to merely an imitation of the linguistic side of the original term. In such cases, the possibility to opt for neologisms which are more adequate, despite their structural dissimilarity to the original, is disregarded.

This is a very common problem in translation didactics as well; future translators encounter huge difficulties in 'distancing' themselves from focusing on structural features only, so as to search for semantically and pragmatically more adequate solutions. This phenomenon is largely due to the lack of lucidity and transparency of notions such as *correspondence* and *equivalence*, which are still debated on in Translation Studies. In order for newly coined terms to establish an adequate relationship to pre-existing concepts, the definition must be checked in detail, because the theoretical basis of terminology is both linguistic and cognitive at the same time (cf. Katsoyannou and Efthymiou 2004: 27), and definitions provide the only point of access to abstract entities/representations such as concepts. Moreover, definitions provide the only epistemological basis on which a neologism could gain primacy over other competing terms or even replace a standardized one. Checking the degree of standardization is extremely useful; but in our opinion, a high degree of standardization of an existing term should not be seen as an impediment for introducing a neologism, if this neologism proves to cover the definition (and concept) more adequately than the existing term.

To summarize the above discussion, it seems that secondary term formation in Greek is very often a matter of attitude towards foreign language influence, as well as a matter of standardization through widespread usage by the linguistic community. This results in overstressing ideological aspects of the linguistic side of terms at the expense of more fundamental aspects in term production, such as the term definition. The definition does not only prove to be an important theoretical consideration, when seen as an integral part of the term/concept unit. In addition, it has crucial methodological implications, as Xydopoulos (2002, 2008) emphasizes. In what follows we will discuss some examples of secondary term formation which prove to be problematic because their linguistic side does not correspond completely to the respective definitions, thus creating ambiguity.

3. Examples of problematic terms

The following three examples come from the relatively young discipline of Translation Studies, which is still striving for the establishment and standardization of its terminology, especially in the Greek-speaking area. They concern already standardized as well as recently coined Greek terms and will be discussed in terms of their conceptual adequacy to their definitions. Subsequently, new terms will be

proposed as replacements to each of them. These new terms are included in the recently published Greek adaptation (2008) of the *Translation Terminology* by Delisle et al. (1999) (both made under the aegis of FIT), as they form part of a group of terms for which a revision was deemed necessary when adapting the above work by Delisle et al. (1999) into Greek. From the overall number of terms we revised by proposing neologisms (or neologisms different than the ones already in the process of standardization) we would like to present the following three examples as the most representative cases of neologisms where the signifier-level clashes with the term definition — and thus with the concept behind the designation. An extensive presentation and justification of the overall methodology followed for the Greek adaptation is provided in Grammenidis and Floros (2011).

The first example concerns the term EN *deverbalization*/FR *déverbalisation*, which (in EN) is a compound from *de-* + *verbalization* [*< verbal*], to denote “the process of deriving the conceptual meaning of a text segment independent of its linguistic signs” (Delisle et al. 1999: 133). In Translation Studies, this sub-process or phase is thought to occur in the translator’s or interpreter’s mind between the understanding of the original text and its re-expression in the target language as part of the whole translation process. The term was introduced by Seleskovitch (1968) in the framework of the *théorie du sens*, one of the most influential, but also controversial, in Translation and Interpreting Studies. The Greek neologism which was coined, but not yet standardized in the sense of occurring in secondary and tertiary sources (cf. Xydopoulos 2002), is *απολεξικοποίηση*, formed from *από-* + *λεξικοποίηση* > *λεξικός*, -ή, -ό, in apparent analogy to its French original.⁵

However, the lexical correspondences to EN/FR *verbal* in Greek are multiple, referring to both linguistic terminology and general vocabulary: (a) *ρηματικός*, -ή, -ό, (b) *λεκτικός*, -ή, -ό, (c) *λεξικός*, -ή, -ό and (d) *φραστικός*, -ή, -ό. The choice to be made among these can easily be narrowed to two alternatives out of four, namely (b) and (c), as (a) refers to the notion of *verb* and (d) does not seem to lend itself to the production of a new noun (possibly: *αποφραστικοποίηση*), given the lexical power of the nouns *φράση* ‘phrase’ and *έκφραση* ‘expression’. On the other hand, (b) *λεκτικός* and (c) *λεξικός* are usually regarded as synonyms (cf. Babiniotis 1998: 1007). The use and derivatives of the two lexemes does, nevertheless, reveal some difference: *λεξικοποίηση* is a term in phonology/lexicography denoting *παγίωση ως λέξη* ‘standardization as word’. On the contrary, *λεκτικός* is defined as *αυτός που γίνεται με το λόγο, με λέξεις* ‘happening with words’, the antonym being *εξωλεκτικός* (*με πράξεις* ‘with actions’) (cf. Babiniotis 1998: 1005). Further, *απολεξικοποιημένος* is a standardized term which implies maintaining the grammatical weight while losing the lexical one. Consequently, *απολεξικοποίηση* would mean losing the lexical weight. Thus, this term proves unsuitable as a correspondent to EN *deverbalization*/FR *déverbalisation* not merely because it is an already

occupied and standardized term, but mainly because the definition of the original indicates a quite different concept — that of mentally representing the meaning of a text segment ‘dissociated’ from the words it is expressed with. The only suitable candidate seems to be (b) λεκτικός, -ή, -ό. An additional argument in favor of this choice comes from psychology, where λεκτικοποίηση is a standardized term denoting the oral expression of the subconscious (cf. Ioannidis 2007). It thus appears that από- + λεκτικοποίηση is a neologism not only avoiding overlap with standardized terms, but also, and most importantly, expressing the concept it attempts to denominate in a more adequate way. In this case, the relationship to psychology cannot be seen as undesirable overlapping, but, on the contrary, as a desired epistemological interconnection.

The second example is provided by the term FR *faux ami(s)* (and EN *false friends*), which denotes “[a] word in a given language whose form resembles a word in another language, but the meaning of the two words or one of their senses is different” (Delisle et al. 1999: 140). Again in apparent analogy to the French original, a series of competing Greek terms were formed: ψευδόφιλες λέξεις, ψευδόφιλα, ψευδόφιλες μονάδες (cf. among others Anastasiadi-Symeonidi 1994, 1997; Kassapi 1997; Terkourafi 2005). The French and English originals consist each of a noun accompanied by an adjective: *faux* [adj.] + *amis* [n] / *false* [adj.] + *friends* [n]. The Greek correspondences display some important particularities, which, we believe, render the solutions mentioned above unsuitable for expressing the relevant concept. Leaving the second alternative aside, as ψευδόφιλα presents a morphologically rather peculiar formation to function as term, the other two polylectic alternatives ψευδόφιλες λέξεις and ψευδόφιλες μονάδες have each incorporated the whole original term in the determiner. This determiner is obviously a compound consisting of an adjective and a noun: ψευδόφιλος [adj.] < ψευδής [adj.] + φίλος [n], in analogy to ψευδοροφή ‘false roof’, for instance. The problem lies in that φίλος is in fact a lexicalized adjective and, in the above compound, it could be mistaken as determining a noun preceding it (ψεύδος ‘lie’), as in many other Greek terms and words such as υδρόφιλος ‘hydrophilic, water loving’, ομοφυλόφιλος ‘homosexual’, etc., instead of being determined by the adjective preceding it (ψευδής ‘false’). This would result into ψευδόφιλος meaning φίλος του ψεύδους ‘lie loving’, in analogy to the above examples and contrary to the definition of the term discussed here. In order to eliminate the possibility of ψευδο- being interpreted as a noun determined by the adjective φίλος as well as the ensuing terminological ambiguity, we have proposed the compound ψευδοφίλιος from ψευδής [adj.] + φίλιος [adj.] unambiguously meaning ψεύτικα φιλικός ‘falsely amicable’. This would then create the polylectic terms ψευδοφίλιες λέξεις and ψευδοφίλιες μονάδες.

Our last example concerns the terms FR *calque*/EN *calque* or *loanword* themselves. They denote: “[a] translation procedure where a translator transfers a

source language word or an expression encountered in the source text into the target text using *literal translation* of its component elements' as well as '[a] lexical item that has been formed by a *literal translation* of the component elements of a foreign word" (Delisle et al. 1999:122, our emphases). The widely accepted and standardized Greek neologism is μεταφραστικό δάνειο, apparently based on EN *loanword* and *loan translation*, the competing and widely used variations of the official term/entry *calque*, as this entry is found in Delisle (cf. *ibid.*). The standardization of the Greek equivalent is documented among many others by Petrounias (1998), Kelandrias (2007) and Xydopoulos (2008). The Greek term is a polylectic one, consisting of the noun δάνειο 'borrowing' accompanied by the adjective μεταφραστικός 'translational'. This, we believe, might create unnecessary confusion. In translation studies, δάνειο (EN *borrowing*, FR *emprunt*) is an already standardized term denoting words which enter a different language (either unaltered or phonologically naturalized). Thus the term μεταφραστικό δάνειο does not seem sufficiently delimited from other terms of the same knowledge field. Μεταφραστικός, -ή, -ό generally means *referring to translation*; it does not reveal any significant differentiation to the already existing EN *borrowing*. More importantly, it remains uninformative about the crucial distinctive feature of *literalness* described in the definition; *calque* primarily implies *literal translation*, not *any* kind of translation, as is the case with the adjective μεταφραστικός (and with the English term *loan translation* itself). For the crucial distinctive feature of *literalness* to find an expression, we follow Batsalia and Sella (2010) by proposing the term έκτυπο 'calque', which, besides being more informative, avoids unnecessary prolixity.

4. Conclusion

Secondary term formation draws on translation and is often undertaken by translators. Often, though, correspondences are sought at signifier-level only, while less attention is paid to the fact that the term definitions need to be taken for granted and thus pose a serious 'constraint' on these processes. It is hoped that this paper has contributed to making explicit the importance of definitions within a semiotic framework of rendering terms. In addition, it is hoped that the assumed 'unit' of term, definition and concept will provide a more operational theoretical framework for secondary term formation. As a result of this assumption, it might be worth attempting to redefine the *terminological unit* in a way which would allow it to subsume not only the levels of term and concept, but also the transitional level of the term definition.

Methodologically, the specificities of secondary term formation do not only revolve around the proper consideration of the term definition, but also around other

aspects such as prevailing attitudes towards foreign language influence and the degree of standardization of previous terminology. Such ideological aspects and more fundamental, epistemological ones are very often conflated to the degree that they appear as equally important in secondary term formation. However, it seems that some sort of ordering is needed here. The rendition of a term cannot primarily be an ideological concern, nor can it entirely depend on a set of rigidly structured sub-processes. It is admittedly too difficult to strictly define a series of steps to be followed in secondary term formation. What is feasible — and perhaps more important — is to define priorities. Since terms primarily serve the expression of a clearly defined concept with the aim of contributing to expert communication, the epistemological concerns should precede the ideological ones. What could be suggested, therefore, is that secondary term formation be implemented in two stages: The first one is crucial to secure the adherence to the definition and the equivalence to the conceptual aspects of a term, furthermore to safeguard informativity/linguistic acceptability and the delimitation from other terms of the same, neighboring or different knowledge fields. At the second stage the term creation process may give attention to ideological concerns referring not only to preferences of domestic over foreign material or vice-versa, but also to issues of standardization and translatability, in the sense put forward by Babiniotis (1993). This, we believe, might prevent unnecessary ideology-centered debate taking place at the expense of fundamental issues concerning the nature of terms and term formation.

Notes

1. This is meant in a positive way here. Contrary to refreshing approaches against standardization, for example Temmerman (2000), who adopts a socio-cognitive perspective and maintains that standardization in fact interferes with natural language processes such as the diachronic change or the individual perception of terminology creation and definition, we adopt the traditional stance, as put forward by Tsakona (2007) in her extensive argumentation in favor of standardization, particularly in the case of secondary term formation in Greek, where univocity and unambiguous communication appear to be important for practical reasons resting mainly on the status of Greek as a lesser-spoken language (cf. 2007: 123f.). Nevertheless, term variation is hardly ever avoidable, despite standardization efforts, and should not necessarily be conflated with lack of functionality. For an extensive discussion with data, see Rogers (2007, 2008).

2. At this point it needs to be acknowledged that, very often, the terms proposed in foreign texts are actually themselves borrowings from minor languages, as is sometimes the case with Greek. When translated, these borrowings are re-inserted into the minor language as so-called *repatriated loans* (αντιδάνεια), for example EL εγκυκλοπαίδεια < FR *encyclopédie* [< Latin *encyclopaedia*] < EL εγκύκλιος παιδεία. Henceforth, the following abbreviations will be used: EL for Greek, EN for English, FR for French and DE for German.

3. Part of the analysis here stems from the observation that, despite the multidisciplinary nature and orientation of the theory of translation, translators often fail to get involved in the necessary (epistemological) traffic with other disciplines on the practical level — something which becomes particularly apparent in the context of lesser-spoken languages where language professions are not fully established. Thus, what is a topos for terminologists may not always be equally self-understood for translators involved in secondary term formation. For the relationship between terminology and translation see also Gouadec (2005). For the relationship between terminology and linguistics see a. o. Kageura (1995) and Depecker (2005).
4. The example is taken from Valeontis and Mantzari (2006), where the authors describe the *analogue rule* in secondary term formation. According to this rule, the formation of the target term (in a foreign language) is guided by the procedure followed for the formation of the original term. Obviously, the result of such a procedure cannot always be transparent and recognizable so as to become immediately relatable to the original term.
5. This Greek coinage is found in Karatzali (2006). To the best of our knowledge, there is no other document which uses the above coinage officially. However, we have good reason to believe that the term *απολεξικοποίηση* is unofficially used in oral explanations and/or presentations of the original term in the Greek context.

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