

Anahit Galstyan
Tamara Sirakanyan
YSU

Indirect Borrowings in Armenian

Loanwords and calques seem inevitable when two languages are in contact. Analysing different approaches to the problem of indirect borrowings, we tried to reveal the dual nature of the calque: first as a phenomenon that naturally arises whenever there is contact between two languages and then as a tool for conscious creation of new words. The concepts of loan rendition and loan creation are tied to loan translation. Therefore, the basic arguments that hold for loan translation are also valid for the analysis of loan rendition and loan creation.

Our survey has revealed that indirect borrowings are mainly the result of purist attitudes. In Armenian we can find more calques and loan-renditions or loan creations than, for example, in Russian. This can be explained by the fact that Armenians tend to keep the language as pure as possible. As calques are formed with native elements on foreign models, they do not constitute a danger for a language to lose its identity.

Key words: Armenian- English contacts, indirect borrowings, calques, loan renditions, loan creations.

Languages have always influenced one another. Colonization and invasions are examples of periods during which new cultures and unfamiliar ways of living have spread quickly. "Each cultural wave brings to language a new deposit of loanwords" as Edward Sapir points out (1921: 205). Languages, as Bogaards argues, are "alive" (2008: 97). They are a way of communicating in a linguistic community which is always in evolution and which continually needs to adapt itself to the communicative needs of its speaker. People have started interacting across borders to a far greater degree than ever before. To meet the communicational needs of a globalizing world, the English language has come onto the stage as a global language. Globalization presupposes higher intensity of contact between the languages. In turn, the outcome of language contact is borrowing. Borrowings can be direct and indirect. The latter will be studied in the present paper, which is aimed at illustrating the influence of the English language on other languages with concentration on Armenian. Particularly we are interested in revealing and analyzing a special type of borrowing, i.e. indirect borrowing, to be more exact: structural borrowings in Armenian.

The borrowing of vocabulary and other linguistic elements of one language by another is a common and ancient phenomenon seen in languages all over the world, including English.

The English language has thousands of words and expressions that either originated in other languages or were translated from them. These borrowings often have names similar to

“Anglicism” that reflect their own origins, such as “Latinism,” meaning a word borrowed from Latin, and “Gallicism,” meaning a word borrowed from French. Ironically, some English words now used in other languages actually entered the English language as loanwords from other languages, such as French, but have been used by English speakers for so long that they are considered native English words and are considered Anglicisms when borrowed.

An Anglicism, as most often defined, is a word borrowed from International Standard English or lingua franca English into another language. “Anglicism” also, and more properly, describes English syntax, grammar, meaning, and structure used in another language with varying degrees of corruption.

It should be noted that most of the studies in this field operate with words as the central unit of investigation (Onysko 2007, Picone 1996, and many others).

Görlach defines an Anglicism as a “word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language” (Görlach 2003:1).

Nonetheless, the term “Anglicism” is also sometimes used more generally to refer to the incorporation of other aspects of the English language, such as using English grammatical structure while speaking another language or literal translations (English phrases and expressions translated into another language, known as *calques*).

As the editors of the book “The Anglicization of European Lexis” note “English-induced forms of borrowing seem to encompass a much wider range of phenomena than in the past, including larger phraseological units, idioms and proverbs” (Furiassi et al 2012:5). That is why many scholars suggest adopting a broader view of Anglicism.

“Anglicisms can be defined as English lexical items that, adopted by the receiving language, maintain some or most of their features, thus becoming – depending on the modalities of their incorporation – non-adapted, adapted Anglicisms, or calques. Indeed, in its more general meaning, the term Anglicism is an umbrella term referring to any linguistic influence English exerts on another language” (Gaudio in Furiassi et al 2012:307).

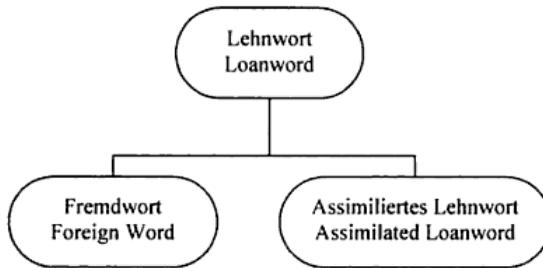
According to Gottlieb (in Furiassi et al 2012:169) “Today single-word lexical borrowings are merely the tip of the iceberg of English impact. Thus, the notion of Anglicism should encompass all language features either adopted from English, adapted from English, or inspired by English, used in intralingual communication in another language”.

As we see the problem of “What is an Anglicism?” has stirred intense debates and still remains inconclusive and controversial today. As already mentioned, the term Anglicism is used by some linguists to refer to English loanwords, while others adopt it as a general term to refer to all forms of direct and indirect borrowing from the English language. However, to fully understand the essence of Anglicisms and to give the precise

definition of the concept we should first of all study different scholarly views of language contact.

If we try to follow the model of Betz, who attempted to structure the field of lexical borrowing based on an analysis of Latin influences on the German vocabulary, a basic distinction can be drawn between direct and indirect loan influences (loanword vs. loan coinage and its subgroups) (Onysko 2007:12).

(a) Direct loan influences



(b) Indirect loan influences

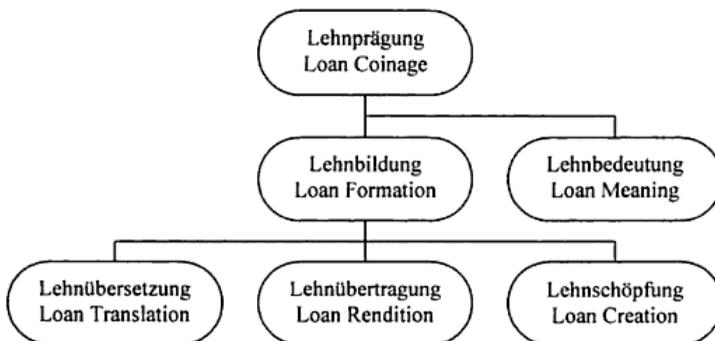


Figure 1: Reconstruction of Betz' classification of loan influences (1959: 128)

However, Onysko’s critical assessment of the concepts of loan meaning and loan formation as established in Betz as well as the analysis of different approaches to the problem reveal the “fuzzy conception of loan translation as a factor of language influence” (Onysko 2007:23).

The discussions on the topic by different scholars lead to a differentiation between the “concept of borrowing as the transmission of linguistic units and conceptually induced creations comprising loan translation (calques), and its variants of loan rendition and loan creation” (Onysko 2007:5).

Drawing on different scholarly views of language contact, Furiassi, Pulcini and González offer a comprehensive typology of lexical borrowings:

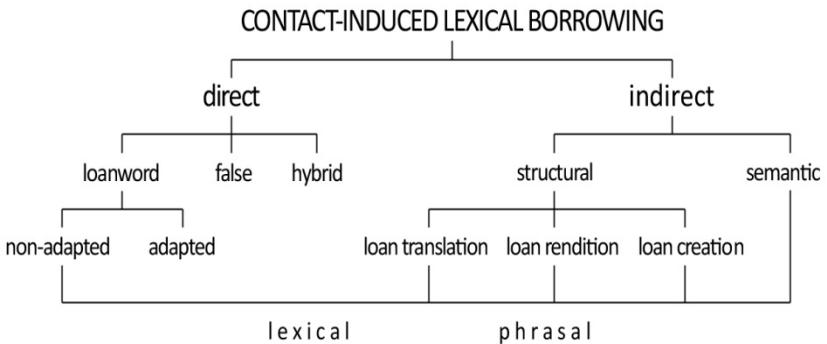


Figure 2: Contact-induced lexical borrowing (2012:6)

In figure 2 the first distinction is made between direct and indirect borrowings, like in the model of Betz. Direct borrowings from SL (source language) to a RL (receiving language) take shape in several different forms (loanwords, false loans, hybrid loans), in which formal evidence of the SL is detectable.

However, the status of hybrids and false Anglicisms may be controversial, due to the fact that they are independent creations within the RL. In the case of hybrids, a distinction has been proposed between loanblends and hybrid creations, the former being referable to an existing English model, the latter lacking an English model (Furiassi et al 2012:9).

Hybrids being multi-word units, which freely combine an English word with a RL element, in the language of Armenian IT users manifest themselves in the following forms:

- Eng. analogical computer – Arm. անալոգային համակարգիչ
- Eng. input-output model – Arm. ներածման-արտածման մոդել
- Eng. peripheral equipment – Arm. պերիֆերային սարքավորում
- Eng. Plug-and-Play Technology – Arm. Փլագ ընդ Փլեյ տեխնոլոգիա
- Eng. sound card – Arm. ձայնային քարտ
- Eng. sensor monitor – Arm. սենսորային էկրան

As for false Anglicisms/pseudo-Anglicisms, they are words that often combine elements of multiple English words to create a new word that appears to be English but is unrecognizable to a native speaker of English. It is also common for a genuine English word to be used to mean something completely different from its original meaning. The reason why hybrids and false Anglicisms have been included in figure 2 under the category of direct borrowings is explained by the fact that “the English component of their lexical make-up is still visible” (Furiassi et al 2012:10). An example of false Anglicism in Armenian is the brand name “Artfood”.

If the English component can somehow be deduced in false Anglicisms and hybrids, the same cannot be said about indirect borrowings. The latter implies “copying of morphosyntactic and semantic patterns” and it is obvious that SL model is reproduced in the RL through native elements (Furiassi et al 2012:11).

Another matter of controversy is semantic loan. It is a process of borrowing semantic meaning (rather than lexical items) from another language, very similar to the formation of calques. In this case, however, the complete word in the source language already exists; the change is that its meaning is extended to include another meaning its existing translation has in the source language.

A special case of interest is the Armenian word “*սկնիկ*” for a small hand-held input device used to move a cursor on the computer screen. By the analogy with the English word “*mouse*” in computer science, the new meaning of the word “*mouse*” was also extended to Armenian “*սկնիկ*”. It is noteworthy that in Armenian the word denoting the animal is

“*unly*”, but when it is used for the computer device, it acquires the diminutive suffix “-*hly*”, which indicates its smallness.

Another semantic loan in the language of IT users is “*yuunnlhuŭ*”. The latter has gained an additional meaning “an area on the computer screen that displays information for a specific program” by the analogy of the English word “window”.

According to Onysko’s approach, the postulate of loan meaning as meaning borrowed without form contradicts the nature of language. “Meaning is accessed through form or, in other words, form evokes meaning depending on linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts. In terms of language influence this means that borrowing phenomena are discernible on the level of word form since signs generally change across languages whereas the concepts that are signified (i.e. the meaning of the signs) are more likely to remain the same or similar. For a theoretical understanding of borrowing, the arbitrary relationship of form and meaning leads to the notion that borrowing can be ascertained when the same or similar meaning is found in two different languages” (Onysko 2007:15).

In Picone’s study loan meaning is described as semantic borrowing which occurs “when a pre-existing French word, morpheme or locution shifts in meaning or becomes more extended or more restricted in meaning due to imitative language contact with English” (Picone 1996: 4). Thus, the French verb *realizer*, which traditionally meant “to bring about, to concretize” expanded its semantic scope presumably under the influence of English *realize* to include the meaning “to become aware of” (1996: 4).

Another debatable question is the problem of structural borrowings. Hence Haugen, Betz, Weinrich, Furiassi et al, and many others distinguish between:

- 1) *Loan rendition* (a term also coined by Weinreich in order to match the Germán term “Lehnübertragung”), is an approximate loan translation (Betz 1959:136 and Weinreich 1970:51); therefore, another valid term is A. Martinet’s “calque approximatif” (1960:170).
- 2) A *loan creation* is another form of borrowing. A loan creation is a rather complicated type of borrowing, since a word or the meaning of word is not actually borrowed. If a new word is created in a language, and there was some sort of influence from other languages, even if only to a small degree, it is called a loan creation
- 3) *Loan translation (calque)* is a word or multi-word unit which translates an English item into the RL.

Like loanwords calques are formed in the language because of the foreign influence. But the measure and character of influence in both cases are different. If, in case of loanwords the foreign element is imported fully, in case of calques only the inner form, i.e. semantic form is borrowed (Barlezizyan 2006: 78). Sometimes the same structure is borrowed and expressed in native components. It is worth mentioning that some scholars use the term *calque* as synonym to the term *loan translation*, whereas others use it as an umbrella term for all structural borrowings.

Several linguists, motivated by deep conviction that calques occupy an intermediate position between the native and

borrowed units, clearly differentiate them from both loanwords and loan creations (see Barlezizyan 1997, Onysko 2007). Proving that a word is a calque sometimes requires more documentation than does an untranslated loanword, since in some cases a similar phrase might have arisen in both languages independently. This is less likely to be the case when the grammar of the proposed calque is quite different from that of the language proposed to be borrowing, or the calque contains less obvious imagery.

Onysko (2007:24) claims that there should be a difference between a “normal” borrowing and loan translation, i.e. between a morphologically simple term and a complex term. He adds: “Two major arguments obstruct the understanding of loan translation as similar to borrowing. First of all, the combination of translational equivalence and structural similarity of a term in two languages (SL, RL) does not prove lexical transfer if the word formational process is productive in the languages in question. Secondly, the mere existence of the same conceptual imprint in two languages is not sufficient to establish the direction of language influence. In order to find out which term originated first, cultural-historical analyses are necessary which are tied to the scope and validity of reference sources” (Onysko 2007:26).

The introduction to the *Dictionary of Anglicisms* discusses various linguistic aspects of the loans; the authors distinguish between semantic borrowing and calque, but their definition of the calque is still not quite comprehensible. The calque here is seen as “the most subtle type of loan” (Rey-Debove et al. 1981: IX) and applies to both simple and compound words as well as phrases.

It should be noted that linguists are not unanimous on the question of which elements of a language may be calqued. Some consider only the lexical level, while others extend the area of the calques to phraseological level. There is even disagreement regarding the lexical units capable of calquing: while some linguists consider only compound words, others are willing to accept that simple words can also be calqued.

The authors of the linguistic dictionary (Dubois et al. 1973: I2) consider that the notion of the calque covers only the simple and compound words: it is said that there is a linguistic calque when in order to demonstrate a concept or a new object, language A translates a simple or compound word belonging to language B in a single word already existing in the language or in a compound word formed by using existing words in the language.

According to Deroy, compound words are the most often calqued units in the language. He brings many examples of both old and new words (1980: 220–221). If Deroy hesitates to include simple words in the domain of calques, he is, nevertheless ready to include the phrases, either long or short, another point at which his ideas differ from those of Dubois.

Summing up the discussions concerning the nature and characteristic features of calques we can extract these general ideas in order to characterize this category:

- a) Complete morphemic substitution of lexical units of the language model produces the category known as “loan translation”, also known as “calque”.
- b) Loan translation consists of the reproduction of a foreign lexical complex by means of native material,

usually after having analysed the elements of this foreign complex.

- c) As this reproduction tends to be faithful to the model, the loan translation is said to be a borrowing caused by a translation, an “emprunt par traduction” in Deroy’s words (1980:215) or a “Lehnübersetzung” as defined in the Germán tradition (Betz 1959:136).
- d) As the model is composed of two or more elements, firstly analysed and later translated, it becomes clear that the loan translation is always a polymorphemic unity (although graphically either uni verbal or multi verbal).
- e) In relation to this, another important idea set out by French and German scholars is that loan translation (unlike “semantic borrowing”) creates a new lexical unit in the receiving language (Deroy 1980:215–16): *chef du credit* (< English *credit manager*) is new in French. The “lexical loan translation” is therefore the morphemic substitution of a polymorphemic unity of a foreign language by means of elements, previously existing in the source language as independent lexemes, but new as a lexical compound with a global sense.
- f) The translation is based on the analysis of portions rather than the whole (*laveuse à vaisselle* – dish washer).
- g) The calque tends to transfer the order of words in the receiving language (quartiermaître, from German Quartiermeister, Nord Vietnam, from English North Vietnam).

Summing up the definitions of different scholars, calques or loan translations proper are word for word translations made from foreign languages in order to fill a vocabulary gap by native means meanwhile avoiding foreign words.

As already mentioned, loanwords and calques seem inevitable when two languages are in contact. Deroy noted that “the calque supposes ... always a more or less perfect bilingualism” (Deroy 1980: 222). The calques that appear in a given language can be literary or colloquial according to the degree of bilingualism. Syntactic and phraseological calques can both be found in the language of the educated classes and among lower class. Deroy notes, however, that “the lexical calque, which includes a word creation always more or less artificial, is the prerogative of educated people”. However, he observed that “translations of foreign works help many calques to popularize” (Deroy 1980: 217).

The direction of a calque is sometimes difficult to specify. Deroy asks whether “couleur locale” is a calque of English “local color” or right the opposite. Some expressions appear in several languages, and it is difficult to identify where the expression came from. Examples offered by Deroy include:

French *ni chair ni poisson*, German *weder Fisch noch Fleisch*, Russian *ni ryba ni myaso*, Bulgarian *ni riba ni meso*, Hungarian *sem hal sem ús*, Italian *ne carne né pesce*, Spanish *ni es carne ni nescado*;

French *dent de sagesse*, Italian *dente de giudizio*, Portuguese *dente de siso*, German *Weisheitszahn*, Danish *visdomstand*, Russian *zub mudrosti*, Bulgarian *madreci zabi* (plural) (Deroy 1980: 223).

Deroy postulated that the increase of similar structures in such cases correspond to the trends of major cultural and literary movements. It would be reasonable to consider that the French “profond sommeil” (fast asleep) and similar expressions in many other languages were all born from the same Greek model. But how can one explain the presence of the same phrase in Arabic?

Ullmann develops the idea of “parallel development” noting that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between foreign influence and parallelism. The term *sky-scraper* (born in the United States in the late nineteenth century) served as a model for the reproduction of the same image in French *grate-ciel*, Armenian *երկաշար*, Italian *grattaciello*, German *Wolkenkratzer*, Russian небоскрёб. Ullmann (1966), however, considers that in the case of a metaphor or analogy it is quite obvious that the same expression can occur independently in multiple languages. A parallel development of the same image can also be based on a metonymic association, as in the case of *tongue* for *language*. Deroy observes that calque appears most frequently as mode of borrowing in some languages rather than in others. He offers various reasons to explain this trend. He emphasized the type of language, more or less widespread bilingualism, nationalism, borrowers’ social class, etc. He underlines that it is impossible to establish general rules to this matter but he found out that preference of calques over loanwords is done in order to avoid foreign forms because of linguistic purism or nationalism (Deroy 1980: 217).

It remains to consider the place of calques in contemporary neologisms. If in the classical period scholars were worried to keep the language pure, were suspicious of neologisms, the

situation is quite different in our days. As *Dictionnaire de linguistique* points out “the scientific, technical, cultural progress resulted in necessity for systematic and flexible neologisms (Dubois et al. 1973:335). The authors continue by noting that there is a hesitation between borrowing and formation of new lexical units. Although the calque appears to be a compromise between the two solutions, everyone is not ready to adopt it as an ideal way to add a language gap. If new calque such as *économiquement faible* (economically weak (modeled on German)) manage to fill a gap while avoiding a loan, Vinay and Darbelnet (1977) propose to avoid "painful" calques such as *thérapie occupationnelle* (occupational therapy).

Still, there are others who accept the calque as a means of neologism. R. Kocourek (1982:136–137) observes that “this process often criticized is simpler and more effective”.

Though André Goosse (1975: 52) claims that calque is a “manifestation of servility to English”, he mentions its advantages. First, it is simple. Goosse also asserts that “scientific language, so abstract, so pedantic and scrupulous, would find such a breath of fresh air to draw metaphors that English allows in the most serious terminologies”. Finally, the calque based on equivalence from language to language gives the terminology international character, which is very useful according to Goosse. He notes, nevertheless, that one seeks other equivalents in the case where the calque gives birth to much longer words or expressions than found in the original language (Goosse 1975: 52). Aurélien Sauvageot also emphasizes the international character of the calque: it facilitates the “free exchange” between languages (Sauvageot 1978: 162).

Ultimately, the authors of the Dictionary of Anglicisms (Rey-Debove et al 1981) are right to say that it is always the use which has the last word: “It is not just to invent a word, it is still to be circulated and used. It sometimes happens that a well-formed equivalent is proposed without success” (Rey-Debove et al 1981).

Lexical borrowings tend to be adapted in terms of phonology, morphology of the receiving language and become essentially indistinguishable from native words. However, calques pose little or no problem at all for syntactic, phonological and morphological assimilation, because the constituent parts of the calque are formed by native lexical means.

Analysing different approaches to the problem of indirect borrowings, we tried to reveal the dual nature of the calque: first as a phenomenon that naturally arises whenever there is contact between two languages and then as a tool for conscious creation of new words. We have already noted the usefulness of the calque in the technical field whose rapid expansion introduces many concepts and new processes that need to be named. These new realities are often of foreign origin, and calque proves to be a convenient means to avoid foreign words while allowing a benchmark between terminologies in various languages. For example:

- Eng. External Memory - Arm. արտաքին հիշողություն
- Eng. LCD (Liquid Crystal Display) – Arm. հեղուկաբյուրեղային ցուցասարք
- Eng. lease back – Arm. հետվարձակալում
- Eng. Main Memory – Arm. հիմնական հիշողություն
- Eng. Password – Arm. անցաբառ

- Eng. Shadow ROM (Read Only Memory) – Arm. ստվերային ՀՀՄ (հաստատուն հիշող սարք)
- Eng. to download – Arm. ներբեռնել
- Eng. to upload – Arm. վերբեռնել

The concepts of loan rendition and loan creation are tied to loan translation. Therefore, the basic arguments that hold for loan translation are also valid for the analysis of loan rendition and loan creation. The difference between these taxonomic categories is that the postulate of translational equivalence is weakened for loan rendition and abandoned for loan creation. Weinrich understands loan renditions as the product of a model compound which “furnishes a general hint for the reproduction” in the receiving language (Weinrich 1970: 51).

According to Furiassi et al (2012:8) *a loan rendition* is a word or multi-word unit which translates part of an English item and provides a loose equivalent (morphologically or semantically different) for the other in the RL.

- Eng. Internet – Arm. համացանց
- Eng. manpower – Arm. մարդկային ռեսուրսներ
- Eng. motherboard – Arm. մայր քարտ
- Eng. (to) de-orbit – ուղեծրից դուրս բերել
- Eng. customer contact employee – Arm. հաճախորդների հետ հաղորդակցման աշխատակից
- Eng. diskette formatting – Arm. սկավառակի չափանշում
- Eng. jet fuel – Arm. ռեակտիվ վառելիք
- Eng. focus group – Arm. թիրախային խումբ

Loan creation is a new word or multi-word unit in the RL which freely renders the English model word in the RL:

- Eng. alcohol test – Arm. ոգեչափ
- Eng. diskette – Arm. ձկուն սկավառակ
- Eng. digitizer – Arm. թվավորող
- Eng. interface – Arm. փոխկապակցիչ
- Eng. hardware – Arm. համակարգչի սարքակազմ
- Eng. shopping trolley – Arm. բեռնասայլակ
- Eng. trackball – Arm. գնդաձև մկնիկ
- Eng. web site – Arm. կայք

In sum structural borrowings are mainly the result of purist attitudes. In Armenian we can find more calques and loan-renditions or loan creations than, for example, in Russian. This can be explained by the fact that Armenians tend to keep the language as pure as possible. As calques are formed with native elements on foreign models, it does not constitute a danger for a language to lose its identity. Our survey has revealed that loanwords from English are mainly used in colloquial Armenian, whereas in the official language the corresponding calques or loan renditions are preferred.

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Անահիտ Գալստյան
Թամարա Միրականյան

ԵՊՀ

Անուղղակի փոխառությունները հայերենում

Սույն հոդվածի խնդրո առարկան անգլերենի ազդեցությամբ երևան եկած անուղղակի փոխառություններն են (indirect borrowings)՝ պատճենումներն ու ազատ թարգմանությունները:

Ուսումնասիրության արդյունքները վկայում են, որ, ի տարբերություն շատ այլ լեզուների, հայերենում գերակշռում են ազատ թարգմանություն-նորակազմություններն ու պատճենումները: Դարեր շարունակ հայ ժողովուրդը ամեն գնով պաշտպանել է իր ազգային ինքնությունը՝ հիմքում դնելով լեզվի անաղարտության հարցը: Բնականաբար հայախոս հանրությունը առաջնությունը տալիս է մայրենի միավորներով նորակազմություններին:

Բանալի բառեր, հայ-անգլիական առնչություններ, անուղղակի փոխառություններ, պատճենումներ, ազատ թարգմանություններ

Анаит Галстян
Тамара Сиракян

ЕГУ

Косвенные заимствования в армянском языке

Предметом этой статьи является косвенное заимствование. Рассматриваются свободные переводы и кальки в армянском языке. Полученные данные свидетельствуют, что, в отличие от многих других языков, в армянском языке больше встречаются свободные переводы и кальки-неологизмы, чем заимствования с английского языка. На протяжении веков, армяне защищали свою национальную идентичность, имея на основе вопрос истоты языка. Естественно они отдают приоритет переводам и калькам-неологизмам.

Ключевые слова: Армяно-английские отношения, косвенные заимствования, кальки, свободные переводы.