VAGUENESS: A LOANWORD'S GOOD FRIEND. THE CASE OF 'PRINT' IN SPANISH FASHION

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Abstract

The language of fashion is often set as the example of a field where the use of loanwords is common practice, but has seldom been worthy of scholarly analytical attention. At the same time, vagueness is usually regarded as an inherent characteristic in natural language, but, until recently, terminology relegated it, since the traditional approaches tended to prioritise accuracy and standardisation. With the help of a combined theoretical basis, a semantic theory and a pragmatic model, this paper brings together these two worlds in order to examine the English loanword 'print' in the domain of Spanish fashion, contrasting and comparing it with native near-equivalents. We conclude that the presence of this borrowed term, exclusively restricted to specialised fashion circles, cannot be motivated by its contribution to specificity, a characteristic that usually distinguishes loanwords from their semantic near-equivalents in the recipient language. The importance of 'print' lies in its unspecified, vague nature as a loan, which permits its adaptation to a variety of fashion contexts less appropriate for the more restricted denotation of the native terms.

Keywords: Loanwords; Vagueness; Underspecification; Semantic equivalence; Language of fashion.

1. Introduction

During the last decades, English has become key to international communication, a fact largely motivated by the US political, economic and technological hegemony. Academically, this has translated into an interest in the power of English on the world's languages (Fischer and Pulaczewska 2008; Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009; Furiassi et al. 2012; Furisassi and Gottlieb 2015, *inter alia*). Yet, these works generally arrive at the conclusion that, however important this effect may be, "foreignisation of other languages through English seems unlikely" (Fischer 2008: 4).

The purpose of the present paper is to study the influence of English (i.e. the donor or source language, SL) on Spanish (i.e. the receptor or recipient language, RL), framing the discussion on the specialised domain of fashion, and more specifically, within the context of women's fashion magazines. These decisions seem relevant for various reasons. In the first place, as regards the incorporation of anglicisms and despite the efforts of the *Real Academia Española* (an official regulatory body which aims at the purity of the language), Spanish has usually been considered a rather permissible language (Pratt 1980; Lorenzo 1996, 1999; Gómez Capuz 2000, 2004). In order to shed some light on possible underlying causes for this situation, our analysis is restricted to loanwords for which near-equivalents already exist in the RL. In particular, it examines

in detail, which, according to our data, is one of the most frequent loanwords in the language of Spanish fashion, the item 'print'. It should be pointed out that the presence of this unit in Spanish is exclusively restricted to the context of fashion and has the meaning of 'pattern'.

Secondly, studying the language of fashion faces a double challenge. On the one hand, the language of fashion in general, and of Spanish fashion in particular, represents an under-researched area. To date, few Spanish studies have centred their attention on this field, and those that have done so appear to be moved more by lexicographic and lexicological concerns (García Pérez 2000; Balteiro and Campos 2012; Estornell Pons 2012; Balteiro 2014) than by exploring the true relationship between this specialised domain and the way it is articulated. Our work, nonetheless, tries to fill this gap. The language of fashion represents, on the other hand, an example of specialised communication, whose global projection makes of it an especially attractive setting of reflection for borrowing. From a multidimensional perspective, we bring together semantic, pragmatic, terminological and even sociological premises in order to find answers to the issues of how and why loanwords may replace or coexist with RL alternatives.

The third central aspect concerns the purpose of structuring our research around print media, one of the most successful and effective distribution channels for fashion. Undeniably, it facilitates a constant and reliable flow of information both for experts and for the common public. In so doing, print media fulfils a linguistic and cultural role that cannot be disregarded in a study on borrowing.

To carry out these aims, our body of analysis consists of five top quality magazines published twice in 2013, which makes a total amount of 10 issues: Five of them appeared in March (*Elle Fashion Book primavera/ verano 2013*; *Telva colecciones & accesorios primavera-verano 2013*; *Vogue colecciones. Primavera/ verano 2013*; *¡Hola! "Prêt-à-porter". Primavera-verano 2013*; *¡Hola! fashion Nº 8*) and the other five in September (*Elle Fashion Book otoño/ invierno 2013-14*; *Telva colecciones & accesorios otoño-invierno 2013/ 14*; *Vogue colecciones. Otoño/ invierno 2013-14*; *¡Hola! "Prêt-à-porter". Otoño-invierno 2013-14*; *¡Hola! fashion Nº XI*). It is at these significant dates for the fashion industry (i.e. when the changes of seasons are announced to the public) when these leading magazines launch their special editions. This represents a decisive advantage over other competing publications in the field, namely, that they concentrate exclusively on fashion matters, avoiding other pieces of information (e.g. sections on beauty tips, travel destinations, new books, etc.) that would certainly hinder the context selection process. Doubtlessly then, this distinguishing feature qualifies our sources as specialised publications.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. Section two briefly examines how the literature has seen the concept of 'borrowing' in relation to near-equivalence in the recipient language. In view of this, it puts forward a working hypothesis and justifies the reasons that have led to the choice of 'print' in this study. The theoretical bases of the work are detailed in the third part: Our approach to vagueness, together with the semantic theory and the pragmatic model that will permit an analysis of the data. The analysis itself is carried out in the fourth section, the lengthiest one. It discusses and exemplifies the use of the item 'print' in the different contexts provided by our sample, comparing and contrasting it with its Spanish equivalent. Lastly, the text closes with some concluding remarks.

2. Some considerations on borrowing

'Borrowing' can be defined as "the process of importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another, a process that occurs any time two cultures are in contact over a period of time" (Hoffer 2002: 1). The limits of this notion are often blurred, making it hard to find general consensus on a single classification and promoting, instead, a proliferation of names, each with its particular nuance. Broadly speaking, 'borrowing' may function as a general term for several distinctions. In the first place, it may indicate either the process of importing a lexical item or its meaning from a SL into the RL, or it may refer to the imported element itself (Fischer 2008: 3). Secondly, it may designate the division between semantic borrowing (i.e. the transfer of meaning alone from the donor language into the recipient language) and lexical borrowing (i.e. the transfer of both meaning and form) (Onysko 2007: 12-34; Haspelmath 2009: 14). Sometimes, lexical borrowings are labelled loanwords or, simply, loans, as mere stylistic variants, and regardless of possible orthographic, phonological or morphological adaptations into the RL (Fischer 2008: 6). Additionally, when the borrowing has been imported from the English language, it is generally referred to as 'anglicism' (but see Onysko (2007) for an in-depth clarification of the concept and its limits with borrowing).

Since the present work analyses the transfer of the English unit 'print' into Spanish, together with its meaning, we are concerned with lexical borrowing, loanwords and anglicisms. For practical purposes, these terms will be employed as synonyms throughout the paper.

Considerations about nomenclature aside, more important for this work is the effect that the loanword produces once it arrives in the recipient language. Our decision to focus on loanwords with semantic near-equivalents in the RL circumscribes the effect to what Haspelmath (2009: 49) named 'coexistence' (the loan exists together with a native item with which it shares the same meaning). Coexistence, in turn, connects with a whole scholarly tradition that classifies lexical borrowing into necessary loans and luxury loans (for a critical analysis on this division, as well as alternative denominations, see Rodríguez González 1996: 109-111 and Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011: 1551-1553). As their name suggests, luxury loans are regarded as superfluous in as much as they duplicate a term available in the RL. Recent research (Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011), however, observes that, even in cases of incontrovertible duplication, the loanword is seen as introducing meaning nuances that eventually differentiate it from the native word. Hence, it is concluded that anglicisms tend to assume specific meanings in relation to their close equivalents.

Despite the fact that Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) examined general language, their conclusion agrees with traditional arguments about the effects of borrowing in specialised language, that is, accuracy and specificity of meaning (Cabré 1999: 74). Given the leading role of English, specialists tend to favour anglicisms over possible native alternatives because these borrowings are regarded as a guarantee to accuracy and precision. This explains why terminologists' and lexicographers' efforts are directed towards the creation of terminological corpora made up of veritable terminological variants (Kageura et al. 2004; Bergenholtz et al. 2009; Gallardo and Gómez de Enterría 2009).

Summing up, then, the loanword is commonly perceived as incorporating into the RL a specialisation of meaning, even in those instances where it coexists with a near synonym. In our view, this preoccupation for the overwhelming cases of specificity has neglected other less numerous, but equally interesting situations, where the loanword brings about exactly the opposite effect.

We hypothesise that the insertion of a loan can be motivated by reasons of vagueness, precisely because its near-equivalent native term is too restricted. Coexistence and the specialised domain of fashion reveal themselves as appropriate contexts to test our theory: The former permits comparison and contrast between the loan and the native term, the latter will help us to illustrate how specialised languages, characterised by precision, can take advantage of vagueness. Given the nature of the selected corpus, specialised language here is taken to mean expert-to-expert communication (i.e. detailed descriptions of clothes and accessories, accompanying careful, full-coloured illustrations, can be aimed at professionals such as dressmakers or tailors) as well as expert-to-layman communication (i.e. the female readership of these fashion magazines is made up of women keen on fashion; they are given tips to combine clothes and colours that will make them look trendy). Hence, in this last respect, the specialised language of fashion is popularised through print media, which brings it close to the general public.

At this point several questions arise: What is meant by vague language? How and why is vagueness used in the Spanish language of fashion? How do readers understand vague language? What effect is vagueness supposed to achieve in this specialised context?

Our hypothesis will be discussed in relation to the anglicism 'print' in Spanish women's fashion magazines, and through it we will try to answer the questions posed. This choice finds its justification in (i) the high frequency of occurrence in our corpus, which affords a variety of contextual cues for examination; (ii) the existence of not only one, but several, well-defined and common equivalents in Spanish (i.e. *estampado*, *dibujo*, *motivo*, as well as structures with prepositional phrases headed by the prepositions *a*, *de*, *con*); (iii) the undisputable specialised nature of the term, linked to fashion, as well as to its subsidiary areas of the textile industry and the textile design (even though the item 'print' is multiply ambiguous in the SL, in Spanish its use is restricted to the context of fashion); (iv) the fact that this term is attested both by itself and as part of more complex constructions (e.g. 'animal print'), which provides a wider scope for analysis.

The following section addresses the theoretical aspects of the paper. It starts with the concept of vagueness, which directly leads to the semantic theory where this notion takes shape. Finally, it tackles the communicative dimension of vague terms, which permits to explain how users interpret them.

3. The semantics and pragmatics of vague language

The aim of this section is to substantiate the theoretical bases of the paper, which are articulated into three pillars. It starts with a double definition of vagueness, understood, on the one hand, as underspecificity and, on the other, as similarity to a prototype. The next step is to blend these two definitions into an adequate semantic theory, such as

Frame-Based Terminology (Faber et al. 2005, 2006, 2007; Faber 2011, 2012), that studies specialised language and relies on corpus information. Finally, the circle is completed with the help of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995; Carston and Uchida 1998; Wilson and Sperber 2004, 2012), which provides the necessary tools for the interpretation of non-encoded or pragmatic meaning.

3.1. *What is vagueness?*

Vagueness is often acknowledged as an inherent characteristic of natural language. Despite the fact that adjectives have been favourite examples to illustrate vagueness (e.g. bald, young, red), nowadays it is beyond doubt that it affects all grammatical categories. Drawing attention from different areas, the phenomenon of vague language has been contemplated from linguistic and philosophical perspectives, but also from psychological or computational ones.

When looking for a definition of vagueness, the philosophical tradition automatically resorts to the existence of borderline cases and the sorites paradox (Williamson 1996; Keefe 2000; Hyde 2008). From a semantic point of view, there is not a unanimous answer to the question of what vagueness is; thus, efforts have been directed towards establishing similarities and differences with other related or co-occurring phenomena such as fuzziness, ambiguity or imprecision (Lakoff 1973; Chanell 1994; Zhang 1998; Égré and Klinedinst 2011; Solt 2015).

This paper pursues the line of thought according to which vagueness can be equated with lack of specification or underspecificity (Kempson 1992; Cruse 1997). Kempson (1992: 125) states that lack of specification in the meaning of an item indicates that "the meaning thought in principle quite clear is very general". She illustrates her point with the sentence "He went to the station", which can be taken to mean walking, running, going on a bicycle, a motor-bike, a Rolls-Royce, etc. This leads her to conclude that "*go* is quite unspecified as to the specification of the action" (Kempson 1992: 126).

Cruse (1997: 154) noted that the specificity of an expression can be increased by the addition of syntagmatic modifiers or, more interestingly for our purposes, by replacing an expression by hyponyms. Going back to Kempson's example above, it would require changing 'go', as a hypernym for directional motion, by any of the possible hyponyms, particularising how the movement takes place.

Since we have argued that the advantage of the loan 'print' in the language of fashion is to introduce vagueness, in light of the definition on vagueness we have adhered to, this amounts to suggesting that 'print' works on the Spanish language of fashion as a hypernym. Determining the scope of this statement is the function of section 4.

Simultaneously, our work also explores vagueness of a different nature: The one that involves similarity to a category prototype (Rosch 1978). This type of vagueness is related to the idea that concepts in natural language can be characterised by family resemblance; the degree of membership depends on similarity to a prototype or exemplar. This claim entails that categories are predicted to have fluid membership and, hence, borderline cases. Vagueness, then, is a question of whether or not and to what degree an instance falls within a conceptual category (Hampton 2007: 357). The

asymmetries between category members are known as typicality effects. Moreover, as a usage-based description of vagueness, this view takes into account beliefs about language use in one's language community and leaves room for people to arrive at different answers on different occasions (Hampton 2007: 375).

Approaching vagueness from this perspective will be especially revealing when we deal with the Spanish near-equivalents of 'print' in section 4. But our most immediate aim is to introduce the semantic theory that supports our study of meaning and that will allow us to bridge the two approximations to vagueness here delineated.

3.2. *The conceptual representation of meaning*

Given that our paper studies specialised language as used in a corpus and that it has opted for an orientation to vagueness based both on specificity and prototypes, we have decided on Frame-Based Terminology (henceforth, FBT) as the appropriate theoretical proposal to carry out its semantic analysis. FBT (Faber et al. 2005, 2006, 2007; Faber 2011, 2012) is a usage-based approach to Terminology that has been implemented into EcoLexicon[1], an environmental knowledge database.

As Faber (2011: 15) states, FBT derives from a modified version of Fillmore's (1982) frames. Its method of analysis consists of extracting specialised information from terms by examining their behaviour in different specialised contexts and situations. This information is then organised into frames, in such a way that in order to understand an individual concept it is necessary to understand the entire frame it evokes. Such an idea, which constitutes the very essence of Frame Semantics, also ties in well with Barsalou's (2003) view on situated simulations. That is to say, that an individual concept or simulation activates the whole conceptual system.

Frames within FBT are more usually referred to as 'domains'. Domains can be understood either as conceptual categories (e.g. Geographic Object) or as specialised knowledge fields (e.g. Geography, Engineering) (León Araúz et al. 2012: 161-162). Based on the domain-specific hypothesis (Caramazza and Shelton 1998), FBT postulates that categories within conceptual domains are constrained by the nature of category members. One important conclusion that derives from this idea is that categories are structured differently from one another, being largely determined by the properties and conceptual relations in which each of them engages (Faber 2011: 21).

Concepts within domains appear to be linked by semantic relations of two types: Horizontal or non-hierarchical and vertical or hierarchical ones (León Araúz et al. 2012: 130-144). The former include 'affects', 'causes', 'has_function', 'effected_by'. Among the latter, we find those indicating subtypes of meronymy (made_of, phase_of, located_at and attribute_of) and those others like 'is_a', 'type_of' and 'part_of' that "can be regarded as access routes to more prototypical base-level concepts" (Faber 2011: 18). This is in line with the levels of conceptual specificity described in Rosch's (1978) Prototype Theory to which we alluded in section 3.1 and, therefore, asks for some comment.

Both Rosch's Prototype Theory and FBT use the words 'inclusive', 'general' and 'basic' categories in a technical sense, whereas Kempson's definition of vagueness

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[1] The detailed description of EcoLexicon can be found at ecolexicon.ugr.es/es/.

as underspecificity in the previous section did not. This can lead to some terminological confusion that should be clarified. To Rosch (1978: 31), and consequently to FBT (León Araúz et al. 2012: 173-174), the most inclusive and most general level is that at which there are attributes common to all the members of the category, for instance, the category 'chair'. This basic-level category contrasts with the hypernym or superordinate category, more abstract, and less general since, from this technical point of view, its members share only a few attributes among each other. That is to say, 'furniture' would represent this less general category, including the hyponym 'chair', together with other concepts (e.g. table, bed, chest), among which there are few attributes in common.

Kempson's vagueness, however, was defined in terms of ordinary language and so was our hypothesis on the use of the loanword 'print' in section 2. In ordinary language, the most general level corresponds to the most inclusive one, and is considered, in turn, the least specific. The hypernym 'furniture' would illustrate this broad, general category. On the contrary, a more specific and less inclusive level would be represented by the hyponym 'chair', category from which other pieces of furniture would be excluded.

Given the relevance of the concepts here discussed for our treatment of vagueness, as well as for the development of the present research, and in order to avoid problems of interpretation, notions such as 'general', 'inclusive', 'basic' or 'specific' should be understood from now onwards in their non-technical, ordinary sense.

Contrary to Rosch's Prototype Theory, in FBT, as a theory of knowledge representation, the generic-specific relation coexists with the other relations that occur in the activation of the conceptual network (León Araúz et al. 2012: 131). Yet the domain specific-relations are only activated at the specific category level (i.e. 'chair') because it is here that "concepts have a higher degree of intracategorial similarity as well as a lesser degree of intercategorial similarity" (León Araúz et al. 2012: 174). For this same reason, superordinate categories are only defined by basic hierarchical relations and are not associated with a specific mental image.

Once we have explained the point of view adopted towards the conceptual organisation of specialised language, we will complete the theoretical framework of this paper with an approach that guides the reader to the interpretation of language in actual use.

3.3. *Communication and inference*

The purpose of this section is to shift the focus of attention from the organisation of specialised information to its interpretation. We will fulfil this aim by relying on a relevance-theoretic approach.

As is well known, Relevance Theory (RT) (Sperber and Wilson 1995) inherits Grice's (1975) division between what is explicitly communicated from what is implied. Grice wanted to show that 'what is said' is best accounted for by semantics, while the complexity and nuances of utterance/ sentence interpretation fall on the implicit side (Carston 2002). Interestingly, exploring the gap between the linguistically encoded meaning and the speaker's meaning can be done not only at sentence level, but also at the level of lexical words. This is the task of lexical pragmatics (Wilson and Carston

2007: 230). Lexical interpretation implies the construction of ad hoc concepts, conventionally represented by an asterisk on the right (RIGHT*).

Within the framework of RT, understanding a lexical item is a question of perceiving its intended relevance. Relevance is a function of effect and effort standing in an unequal relationship: The greater the contextual effects, the higher the relevance of the stimulus; the lower the processing effort, the higher the relevance of the stimulus (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 156-157). The processing task is an arduous one because it involves memory, attention and reasoning; therefore, according to the relevance-theoretic account, the receiver engages in communication under the presumption that this effort is going to 'pay back'. The benefit appears in the form of contextual effects, that is, the modification of "the individual cognitive environment by adding new beliefs, cancelling old ones, or merely altering the saliency or strength of existing beliefs" (Sperber and Wilson 2012: 88).

When this machinery is applied to lexical interpretation, the process can result either in narrowing or in extending the original concept's denotation. This effect may prove extremely valuable when envisaged from the perspective of how users understand borrowing. As Wilson and Carston (2007: 237) remarked "there is no principled limit on the possible interpretations of words in use (i.e. given that there are indefinitely many possible contexts, there are indefinitely many possible adjustments of the encoded sense(s))".

Having an inferential nature, the ad hoc concept construction process places a certain degree of responsibility on the reader. The level of the reader's involvement appears tied to the degree of indeterminacy in an inverse relationship: The less explicit the meaning, the more responsibility the addressee must take for the final interpretation she[2] constructs.

According to the explanations offered by RT, we hypothesise that the interpretation of loanwords in Spanish women's fashion magazines will result in an ad hoc concept construction with the extension of encoded meaning. Arguably, since the loan is used in an underspecified way, the reader will take a heavy responsibility in arriving at the relevant interpretation.

The rest of the paper will show how to implement these theoretical premises in order to explain how, why and to what extent 'print' and its near equivalents coexist in the Spanish language of fashion.

4. Analysis and discussion

Up to this point we have stressed that the study of borrowing from the perspective of near-equivalents in the RL can uncover interesting aspects about the semantic and pragmatic behaviour of the terms involved. Specifically, we want to test the acceptability of the hypothesis advanced in section 2, according to which the loanword 'print' does not come into the Spanish language of fashion to contribute accuracy, but rather to bring unspecificity. To fulfil this aim, the section begins with the analysis of the terms involved so that their level of equivalence can be assessed, then it continues

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[2] RT customarily employs the pronoun *he* to refer to the addressee and the pronoun *she* to indicate the addresser, but since the readership of women's magazines is taken to be mainly female, in the present work such pronoun use has been reversed.

with the reasons that can motivate the growing presence of 'print' in the Spanish context of fashion and finally it considers specific combinations with the term 'print' that are used in the field.

4.1. *How near are semantic near-equivalents?*

So far it has been assumed that the borrowing of 'print' into Spanish is not driven by the existence of a lexical gap in the RL. Thus our first task is to demonstrate that the English item 'print' does really have a Spanish equivalent, *estampado*; once this is established, it will be necessary to check the closeness between the two terms. In order to look up and contrast the definitions of the two units, we have relied on four monolingual dictionaries: In the case of English we have chosen the print edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (ODE) and, given the importance of American English in fashion, the *Merriam-Webster* online (available at www.merriam-webster.com). For Spanish, we have selected the online edition of the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (DRAE) (available at www.rae.es), together with Seco et al.'s (1999) dictionary of current Spanish usage, only available in print edition, *Diccionario del Español Actual* (DEA).

Let's begin with the term 'print'. The OED defines it as "a piece of fabric or clothing with a coloured pattern or design printed on it". According to the Merriam-Webster, it means "cloth with a pattern or figured design applied by printing" [last access 15-12-2015]. As can be observed, both sources emphasize the fact that it is a pattern or design found on clothing.

Translating 'print' into Spanish renders *estampado*; a unanimous version that can be easily crosschecked in any online bilingual dictionary[3]. Moving now to the definition of *estampado* in the selected Spanish dictionaries, in the DRAE we can read "Dicho de un tejido: Que tiene estampados a fuego o en frío, con colores o sin ellos, diferentes labores o dibujos" [last access 15-12-2015] (Eng. Applied to a fabric: When it has hot imprints or cold imprints, with or without colours, different works or designs). In turn, Seco et al. define *estampado* as "tejido que tiene dibujos estampados" (Eng. Fabric with designs printed on it).
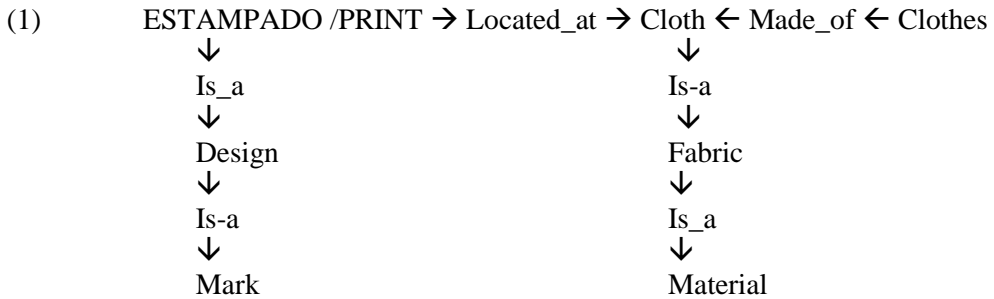
From the examination of these four lexical entries, it can be concluded that the English term 'print' and the Spanish unit *estampado* can in fact be regarded as semantic equivalents. Framing this information into our theoretical structure, the concepts PRINT/ ESTAMPADO will be delimited by

- Is_a: basic hierarchical relation indicating the type of element to which the category belongs, that is, a Design, or more generally still, a Mark.
- Made_of: this relation identifies the Material with which the Garment has been elaborated. This material is usually Cloth.
- Located_at: it relates to the design of the Fabric, that is, its pattern, which is superimposed on the piece of Cloth.
- Type_of: it refers to the formal description of the design, its shape.

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[3] Some examples of these dictionaries can be: www.diccionarioinglesespanoloxford.es; www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english-spanish; www.spanishcentral.com; diccionario.reverso.net/ingles-espanol.

Grapically, this set of relations can be represented as in (1):

(1)   ESTAMPADO /PRINT → Located_at → Cloth ← Made_of ← Clothes
                     ↓   ↓
                   Is_a   Is-a
                     ↓   ↓
                   Design   Fabric
                     ↓   ↓
                   Is-a   Is_a
                     ↓   ↓
                   Mark   Material

Since the semantic symmetry between the two items seems beyond doubt, what exactly motivates the borrowing of the loanword 'print' into Spanish? At this point it should be pointed out that the loan is not included in any monolingual Spanish dictionary, nor is it used in everyday conversations by Spanish native speakers; therefore, its distribution is confined to professional fashion circles.

Detailed analysis of our data reveals that the term *estampado* is frequently followed in these magazines by a specification of the type of pattern, giving way to sequences such as those below:

(2)   a. *Estampado patchwork, damero* (…). *<Telva colecciones & accesorios primavera-verano 2013*, p. 224> (Eng. Patchwork, chess-board pattern)
             b. *Estampados de torsos de mujer* (…). *<Elle Fashion Book primavera/ verano 2013*, p. 40> (Eng. Print in the shape of a woman's body)
             c. *Estampados geométricos. <Telva colecciones & accesorios primavera-verano 2013*, p. 245> (Eng. Geometric patterns)
             d. *Estampado a rayas blancas y negras. <¡Hola! "Prêt-à-porter". Primavera-verano 2013*, p. 79> (Eng. Black and white stripes)

The problem with all of these combinations is that they sound strange, if not impossible, as instances of *estampado*. It is undeniable that the constant changes in fashion trends give way to types of patterns that compete with the traditional, prototypical ones. We put forward the thesis that the predicate *estampado* behaves as a graded category and, consequently, shows typicality effects. The prototype or exemplar being *estampado de flores* 'floral print', whose attributes have mainly to do with an irregular roundish shape (as the petals in a flower) and bright colours. All of the combinations in (2) can be described as borderline cases, whose degree of 'printhood', just as happens in other vague categories, can be considered "shifty, more or less arbitrary and left to the speaker's discretion" (Égré and Klinedinst 2011: 1). Spanish, nonetheless, possesses other lexical resources that would have eluded this type of vagueness linked to prototypicality, in particular, the items *dibujos* 'designs' —more appropriate in examples (2a,b)—, *figuras* 'shape, figures' —suitable for (2c)—, or prepositional constructions headed by *de* 'of', *a* 'of', *con* 'with' —more adequate in (2d)—, whose use illustrates (3):

(3)   a. *Falda <u>de</u> cuadros* 'chequered skirt'.
        b. *Camisa <u>a</u> rayas* 'striped shirt'.
        c. *Jersey <u>con</u> rombos* 'a sweater with a diamond pattern'.

While it would be wrong to conclude that these alternatives are completely absent from our data (see (4) below for some examples), it is true that they do not set the stylistic tone for these publications. Semantically and stylistically satisfactory, the large number of words that the sequences involve may be, however, at the root of their low level of occurrence.

(4)   a. *Estampado con motivo pata de gallo.* *<¡Hola! "Prêt-à-porter". Otoño-invierno 2013-14*, p. 93> (Eng. Print with the shape of houndstooth = houndstooth print)
        b. *Estampado con motivos surrealistas.* *<¡Hola! "Prêt-à-porter". Otoño-invierno 2013-14*, p. 43> (Eng. Print with surrealist designs = surrealist print)
        c. *Gabardinas estampadas con dibujos naif.* *<Elle Fashion Book otoño/invierno 2013-14*, p. 91> (Eng. Trench coats with prints consisting of naïf designs = Trench coats with naïf prints)

It is our firm belief that at the core of this type of vagueness, motivated by an overuse of the term *estampado* in detriment of other possible combinations, lies in the journalists' malpractice in translation. As has often been highlighted in studies on media translation (Kurz 1997; Vourinen 1997; Orengo 2005; Aben-David 2014), information is distributed by international news agencies in English and, after a long and intricate transmission process, it is translated into various languages, in our case Spanish. Despite the fact that journalists feel more comfortable calling this work "editing" (Vourinen 1997: 169), translation really occurs and the decisions taken affect readers' linguistic perceptions of their language. The point we want to make here is that the examples in (2) present a low degree of membership to the category ESTAMPADO as a result of a careless translation of the English item 'print' into Spanish.

It can be concluded then that, despite the fact that 'print' and *estampado* are close semantic equivalents, they are not interchangeable in all contexts. The Spanish term *estampado*, being heavily conditioned by a prototype (floral print), reveals itself as a vague predicate which cannot be applied to types of designs that share little attributes with it, giving way to typicality effects that result in awkward sequences.

Yet, the pervasiveness of the term 'print' in English fashion can lie behind not only the origin of the borderline cases illustrated in such combinations as those in (2), but also, and even more interestingly, the presence of this unit as a loanword in the Spanish context of fashion. The following lines develop this idea.

4.2. *'Print' vs 'estampado' in Spanish fashion*

Bearing in mind that the use of the anglicism 'print' in Spanish is restricted to fashion circles, its inclusion in women's fashion magazines can surely be regarded as an attempt to sound professional; by reproducing the jargon of those experts working in the field, journalists pretend to transfer this aura of professionalism to their publications. Perhaps,

invoking the near equivalence between 'print' and *estampado*, the presence of the loanword in these same publications can also obey stylistic reasons, that is, a determined effort to give variation to the Spanish text that describes fashion details. Not to be dismissed is the attraction of the monosyllable 'print' against the more lengthy, four-syllabled *estampado*. But from a purely linguistic viewpoint, the advantage that immediately derives from employing the term 'print' is that it circumvents the oddity of combinations such as those in (2). Our data indicates that this borrowed predicate can be followed by an infinite number of designs with different shapes and forms, from familiar ones, to more or less common patterns, to others that are difficult to imagine:

> (5)   *Flores* 'flowers', *étnicos* 'ethnic', *tribales* 'tribal', *bambú* 'bamboo', *naturaleza* 'nature', *cuadros y rayas* 'chequers and stripes', sudokus, *sellos* 'stamps', *mosaicos* 'mosaic', *galáctico* 'galactic', etc. → Type_of → Print

A question arises at once: What makes 'print' so tolerable? Recent studies on borrowing noted that "the loanword is less transparent than a near equivalent in the RL" (Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011: 1553) and, similarly, that swear words and expletives experiment a reduction of their illocutionary force from the SL into the RL (Andersen 2014: 28). Even though these statements seem to back our observation that the loan 'print' and the term *estampado* behave differently with respect to the semantic relation *Type_of*, they do not offer an explanation of why this should be so. We believe, however, that part of the answer can lie in the pragmatic dimension of the loanword as explained by RT.

One of the basic tenets of this paper is that the interpretation of terms cannot be dealt with from purely semantic or pragmatic grounds, but rather from a mixture of them. Going back to (5), the diversity of elements with which the anglicism can be combined activates encyclopaedic properties about the difference with traditional designs, the importance of the world around us (nature, art, common objects) as a source of inspiration for designers, the changes in fashion trends, etc. In agreement with RT, the reader will follow a path of least effort drawing contextual implications about the innovation and modernity represented by these shapes, the daring effect of these shapes as examples of designs or their attractiveness as something new and different. Furthermore, the foreignness embodied by 'print' itself brings about additional benefits in so far as it makes the receiver trigger implications about novelty, differentiation and glamour. All of this information is transmitted to PRINT, broadening its denotation and giving way to an ad hoc concept PRINT*. This new concept, represented by the loanword 'print' in Spanish, is not conditioned by an exemplar, it does not present vagueness linked to a prototype and, consequently, the typicality effects disappear.

This analysis of the material in (5) also bears important consequences for another semantic relation established by the loan 'print', in particular, the conceptual relation *Is_a*. The variety of printable designs is so wide that it seems more appropriate to call them Marks, that is, the anglicism would be used in Spanish as a cover term for any unspecific type of Mark.

Additional study of our data reinforces this unspecified function of the loanword. In this regard, the item 'print' appears used in Spanish women's fashion magazines not only for garments, and hence, associated with Cloth, but, curiously enough, it is also found on shoes, sandals, slippers, accessories such as glasses, bags and clutches, and

even on jewellery. Therefore, the loanword disrupts the initial semantic relations *Made_of* and *Located_at*. The former is altered because, as has just been indicated, the anglicism 'print' does not deal any more with Clothes, but rather with any type of Footwear and Accessories, all of them more adequately represented by the hypernym Things-to-wear (Cruse 2011: 170-171). This general category affects, in turn, the *Located_at* relation since only a part of the elements belonging to the Things-to-wear category is made of Cloth, the others are made from various indeterminate 'substances', more safely corresponding to the unspecified and inclusive level Material.

The conceptual representation of the anglicism 'print' would be conformed as in (6):

(6)　　　　　PRINT → Located_at → Material ← Made_of ← Things-to-wear
　　　　　　　　　↓
　　　　　　　　　Is-a
　　　　　　　　　↓
　　　　　　　　　Mark
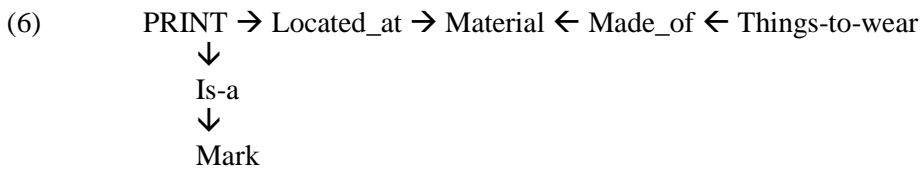
Contrary to other studies on semantic borrowing where the loanword enters the RL with a restricted meaning, we have shown how the anglicism 'print' in Spanish fashion exemplifies the opposite situation: The already existing near-equivalent *estampado* is too restricted, too specific. On the one hand, the native term shows vagueness linked to a prototype, hence it gives rise to typicality effects and awkward sequences to refer to new types of design. On the other hand, its conceptual representation is attached to Cloth as a Material and to Garments or Clothes as elements where it can be found. Nevertheless, our data clearly points at fashion trends in continuous evolution, where prints materialise in many different shapes and forms, to the extent that sometimes they are even difficult to name, where not just clothes, but also footwear, accessories or jewellery, are equally covered in prints and, consequently, where cloth cannot be the exclusive realm of prints. In this new atmosphere, the Spanish language of fashion hails the arrival of the loan 'print', whose great advantage lies in its vagueness, that is, in its unspecified meaning, hence it is understood as a general, inclusive term more adequate to reflect the new fashion reality.

In order to assess the validity of these claims and to test them further, the remaining part of the paper deals with another group of related examples present in our corpus, that is, those consisting of the item 'print' in combination with the name of certain wild animals (e.g. python, leopard, crocodile). This sequence, common in Spanish fashion magazines, will be contrasted with and compared to its near-equivalent phrase formed by the Spanish unit *estampado* plus the same range of wild animals. The pragmatic implications elicited by each of these combinations will determine their suitability for the context of fashion.

4.3. *'Print' and its associates*

As stated in our discussion above, the vagueness of the loanword 'print' has decisive advantages for the Spanish language of fashion. This part of the paper deepens this argument, exemplifying it with the sequence conformed by the loanword 'print' plus a type of wild animal.

Traditionally, wild animals (e.g. leopard, zebra, crocodile, python) have appeared in the context of fashion for the high quality and exoticism of their fur or skin, yielding sequences as those below taken from our sample:

(7)   a. *Cinturón de piel de pitón*. *<Telva colecciones & accesorios otoño-invierno 2013/ 14*, p. 71> (Eng. Python skin belt)
b. *Bolso de piel de cocodrilo*. *<Telva colecciones & accesorios otoño-invierno 2013/ 14*, p. 183> (Eng. Crocodile skin bag)
c. *Botines de piel de serpiente*. *<Telva colecciones & accesorios otoño-invierno 2013/ 14*, p. 201> (Eng. Snake skin short boots)

Their distant natural habitats, the singularity of their skin and their special abilities as hunters have conferred upon these wild creatures an aura of attraction, mystery and power. Consequently, items that have been elaborated with their skin (i.e. clothing as coats, skirts or jackets, but mainly accessories —handbags, shoes and belts) symbolise luxury and exclusivity, only available to a selective group. More recently, factors such as danger of extinction, illegal trade and ecological pressure have been introduced as new variables in people's perception of the use of these animals' skins. Nevertheless, their beauty and elegance continue to exert considerable appeal. All of this contributes to make the sequence "print + wild animal" a favourite in today's language of fashion, and thus in Spanish women's fashion magazines.

Let's examine the examples below extracted from our corpus:

(8)   a. *Bolso con estampado de leopardo*. *<Vogue colecciones. Otoño/ invierno 2013-14*, p. 147> (Eng. Leopard print bag)
b. *Sandalia con* print *de serpiente*. *<Telva colecciones & accesorios primavera-verano 2013*, p. 201> (Eng. Snakeskin print sandal)

When compared with (7), a sharp difference is immediately appreciated: The presence of the items *estampado* and 'print' in (8) indicate that the wild animal's skin is not the raw material of either the bag or the sandal, which makes them more ecological and economical products. But what effect do they produce on the audience?

Arguments as those put forward in section 4.1 help us again to explain the oddity of the string *estampado de leopardo* (print of leopard = leopard print): It is affected by typicality effects and, hence, does not seem fully appropriate. Again, in all likelihood, its origin can be found in a direct translation from the English 'leopard print'. This copying from English appears to be preferred over other possible combinations more semantically and stylistically appropriate in Spanish, although, unfortunately, less frequently attested in our corpus:

(9)   a. *Cuerpo en raso estampado con manchas de piel de leopardo*. *<¡Hola! "Prêt-à-porter". Otoño-invierno 2013-14*, p. 234> (Eng. Satin top with leopard print spots = leopard print satin top)
b. *Sudadera gris con efecto piel de serpiente*. *<Elle Fashion Book otoño/ invierno 2013-14*, p. 229> (Eng. Grey sweater with snakeskin effect = grey snakeskin print sweater)

Just as sections 4.1 and 4.2 showed that the loanword 'print' has advantages over the native term *estampado* for the language of fashion, we want to argue now that the

sequences 'print + wild animal' is generally more convenient than the term *estampado* in this specialised field. The previously suggested vagueness of the loanword lends itself to interesting semantic and pragmatic considerations. The two examples in (8) invite the following assumptions:

(10)   a. This bag / these sandals is / are made of a non-specified material.
         b. The material of the bag / sandals has a pattern that resembles that of leopard fur / snakeskin.
         c. The bag /sandals imitate(s) the finish of leopard fur / snakeskin.

Upon closer inspection, these assumptions have a different weight in each of the two examples. As we have already argued, the Spanish predicate *estampado* behaves as a graded category, whose prototype is *estampado de flores* 'floral print'. In (8a), the conceptual representation of *estampado* points at Cloth as a Material and at Flowers as a type of Pattern and, therefore, it can hardly lead the reader to the activation of implications about the softness and beauty of the leopard's fur. It is the literalness of the Spanish lexical unit, combined with the element 'leopard', that strengthens the assumptions in (10), reinforcing the idea that the product is not genuine. Therefore, the use of *estampado* emphasises the derogation attached to concepts as "resemblance" and "imitation", especially harmful in the context of fashion.

On the contrary, the picture evoked by sentence (8b) is very different. As previously explained, the anglicism 'print' is not constrained by the typicality effects of *estampado*, assuming instead the broad meaning of the hypernym Mark and being located at the hypernym level of Material. This vagueness permits the foreign term to ignore the negative consequences of the specificity of the Spanish unit. Simultaneously, on the type of pragmatic approach envisaged, the loan 'print' may be understood as conveying the expanded concept PRINT*, which includes the broader category of different, varied and modern designs —among them those that imitate the skin of wild animals— and which are found in fashionable and stylish Things-to-wear. Furthermore, the foreign origin of the borrowing indicates exoticism. This feature, distinguishing characteristic of the wild animals' skin, is also incorporated into the lexical expansion of the ad hoc concept, making of it a decidedly positive term.

Lack of specification triggers pragmatic inferencing, calls for a greater effort of interpretation and demands the reader's involvement, but it yields richer contextual effects. In this way, the presence of 'print' has proved to be relevant in the technical sense, with the resulting weakening effect of the assumptions above that pointed at the lack of authenticity of snakeskin. All in all, this justifies why the loan 'print' should be preferred over its Spanish correlative *estampado* in this particular context.

Continuing with the examples of wild animals' fur and skin, it would be unwise to obviate the sequence 'animal print', whose presence in the publications under analysis can be illustrated with the following extracts.

(11)   a. *Chaqueta de pedrería* animal print *y solapas de seda negra. <Telva colecciones & accesorios primavera-verano 2013*, p. 86> (Eng. Precious-jewel-like animal print jacket and black silk lapels)
         b. *(Bolso Emporio Armani) Con* animal print. *<Elle Fashion Book primavera/ verano 2013*, p. 208> (Eng. Emporio Armani animal print handbag)

> c. *Estampados florales y pinceladas de* animal print *se dan la mano en una colección evanescente y ligera como una caricia* (…). *<¡Hola! "Prêt-à-porter". Primavera-verano 2013*, p. 41> (Eng. Floral prints and touches of animal print go hand in hand in this fine and light-as-a-touch collection)

For the time being, the interest of 'animal print' lies mainly in that we are no longer dealing with individual lexical items, but rather with a complex expression that comes into the RL as a unitary block. This situation can only be correctly interpreted from a perspective where the whole sequence enjoys in the SL the status of fashion jargon; jargon that the Spanish fashion magazines strive to reproduce and for which it is not always easy to find a near equivalent (although, we will come back to this point later in this same section). Technically then, 'animal print' would constitute an example of a specialised lexical combination (SLC) (L'Homme 2000). Despite the fact that there seems to be consensus in that SLCs share certain features with general language collocations —most notably their composition (two lexemes that are bound to one another), studies on terminology (L'Homme 1998, 2000) emphasise that in SLCs these two lexemes behave in a special way. Thus, if in general language the base element or key word selects a co-occurrent or accompanying item and restricts it lexically, in SLCs "these co-occurrents convey a particular meaning —not especially when they are combined with a given terminological unit— but within the field of computing as a whole" (L'Homme 2000: 97).

Observations such as these can equally be applied to our area of study. Within the domain of fashion, the meaning of the lexical unit 'animal' cannot be accounted for by general definitions, because this item is never used to talk about living organisms apart from human beings and plants. On the contrary, since it specifically refers to wild animals with a distinctive patterned skin or fur (e.g. leopard, zebra, giraffe, crocodile), it can be concluded that 'animal' in the context of fashion behaves as a true terminological unit itself.

Now some aspects need to be clarified, namely, how the sequence is understood and what effect it seeks to produce. Obviously, expert readers, accustomed as they are to their language of speciality, will understand the expression as the stabilised and routine concept it has become, that is, the print that replicates the skin or fur patterned of certain wild animals. But this combination becomes all the more attractive when we consider the non-expert Spanish readership.

The general public, being addressed with a sequence employed in professional, restricted circles, whose special and foreign status is reinforced by the frequent use of italics, can only aim at an interpretation heavily supported by the elements that surround it, a predicament found at the base of our semantic model of analysis. Going back to the examples in (11), items such as "precious stones", "black silk", the name of the renowned designer Armani or the adjectives "fine" and "light as a touch" activate encyclopaedic properties such as colour and brightness (gems), sobriety and elegance (black colour), smoothness and shyness (silk), professionalism and minimalist cut (Armani), as well as lightness and gentleness (fine and touch). It should be noted that most, if not all of these properties, characterise the way the alluded wild animals live and hunt in their native habitats. Following a path of least effort, the reader will draw contextual implications about beauty, elegance, luxury, distinction, professionalism, softness or gracefulness. This information is transmitted to the otherwise poorly

encoded meaning of 'animal print', giving way to a broadened ad hoc concept ANIMAL PRINT*.

But the account of this loaned string would be incomplete without reference to a subtle, though relevant, point concerning its pronunciation, which definitely heightens the degree of intricacy of the sequence in question. Even though the English item 'animal' happens to be a homograph of the Spanish unit *animal*, the English pronunciation involves shifting the Spanish stress from the last syllable to the first one. Ignorance of this English phonetic rule would downplay the powerful effect of the foreign sequence.

It is largely the literalness of the Spanish item *animal* that spoils the effect of two sequences modelled on the SLC 'animal print', namely, the hybrid anglicism 'print *animal*' and its full Spanish version *estampado animal*. In both instances, the native form *animal*, with its stress on the final position, appears too attached to its ordinary, zoological prototypical sense to be perceived as a terminological unit and, as a result, it does not manage to convey the contextual implications about glamour, elegance and beauty of the original English combination. This would account for the low occurrence in our data of such expressions, and would offer additional support for the existence of a variant form, *estampado animalier*, where the unit *animal* appears replaced by the French element *animalier*. The insertion of the Gallicism does produce the intended effect. Its foreignness is perceived by the reader as relevant enough to activate contextual effects about the allure of French fashion, its attractiveness, exquisiteness, sophistication and professionalism. In this way, the language of fashion keenly seeks to reflect the beauty and style that surround this particular specialised field.

5. Conclusion

This paper has studied one of the most common English loans within the Spanish language of fashion, the term 'print', contrasting and comparing it with already existing equivalents in the RL, most notably with the item *estampado*. Focusing on semantic equivalence within the context of specialised language has allowed us to meet the challenge of proving that, contrary to standard views on borrowing, the arrival of a loanword in the RL is not always motivated by reasons of accuracy and specialisation of meaning, but rather by vagueness. To arrive at an understanding of how the terms behave in the sequences and how the readers interpret them, we have invoked two theoretical approaches, the Frame-Based Terminology model and Relevance Theory. FBT has provided the support to address vagueness in terms of conceptual relations. The importance it gives to the surrounding context has permitted us to explain how the vagueness exhibited by the term *estampado* is linked to an exemplar or prototype, while the vagueness shown by the loanword is a question of underspecificity, establishing semantic relations at the general and inclusive level of hypernyms. In this way, the anglicism 'print' does away with the typicality effects raised by the native term and turns out to be a more adequate unit to express the fashion reality.

Addressing the issue of near equivalence from a pragmatic viewpoint offers new insights for comparison. RT elucidates the different behaviour of *estampado* and 'print', demonstrating that the specificity of the former leaves little room for inferencing, in contrast to the lack of specification of the loanword, whose interpretation unleashes an

inferential process with heavy responsibility on the reader. These inferences are incorporated into the encoded sense of the loan, having as a result an ad hoc concept with a broadened meaning. Once more, 'print' emerges as the most flexible term, apt to give verbal shape to the changing fashion trends.

The analysis of the data under these perspectives has had other findings worth considering. Generally speaking, Spanish women's fashion magazines favour the item *estampado* over other possible native choices that would have been more semantically and pragmatically adequate in the contexts. The causes for this negligence can be varied, from the need to use more words that finally would originate lengthy sequences, to a malpractice in translation from English sources. Whatever the reasons, the loanword 'print' comes out strengthened of the comparison with the native term *estampado*; hence, its lack of specificity, its broadened meaning, its foreign origin and its monosyllable nature, make of it the perfect candidate to evoke an atmosphere of innovation and distinction, characteristics that we readily identify with fashion.

Acknowledgements

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