

Names as language and capital

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Names as Language and Capital

Reina Boerrigter, Harm Nijboer

This book contains a selection of papers that were presented at the third edition of the symposium *Names in the Economy*. This symposium was held in Amsterdam in June 2009 and continued the tradition of the *Names in the Economy* meetings held in Antwerp in 2006 and in Vienna in 2007. The objective of these meetings was to offer a platform to the growing number of scholars, especially onomasticians and linguists, dealing with names and naming in the fields of commerce and economy.

Within the broad topic area of ‘names in the economy’ each of these meetings tried to focus on a more specific field of interest. At the first edition of *Names in the Economy* in Antwerp there was a specific focus on economic history, while the Vienna meeting paid attention to potential crossovers between onomastics and business strategies. At the Amsterdam symposium we highlighted the theme ‘names as language and capital’. We felt that despite the large body of scholarly literature on topics like ‘brand value’ and ‘brand equity’ within the field of business economics (e.g. Franzen 2007), these topics remain to a great extent neglected by scholars studying names from disciplines like linguistics, cultural anthropology, and the like. On the other hand, due to the considerable impact the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1986, et al.) in the field of sociolinguistics, scholars from the latter disciplines have become quite familiar with thinking of linguistic expressions and linguistic competences as resources in a market of linguistic exchanges.

Names act in several ways as capital. They act as *resources* in the production of goods and services and in the creation of economic opportunities and other forms of capital. Furthermore, there is a growing awareness that the value represented by names can be accounted for and that they should be considered as *assets* by themselves. That names act as capital is most obvious in the case of brand names. In the modern world economy brand names embody a huge sum of capital. It is shown every year when *Business Week* magazine draws a list of the hundred most valuable brands worldwide. The almost traditional number one of the list, Coca Cola, was estimated in 2007 at a total value of 65.3 billion US dollar, an amount that exceeds the Gross Domestic Product of countries like Bangladesh, Vietnam and Croatia. Follow ups in the list are hardly doing any less. The total value of the top ten global brands was estimated in 2007 at a tantalizing amount of 411.7 billion US dollar, that is more than the GDP of developed countries like Belgium, Sweden and Switzerland.

Of course, beside names brands are made up of typography and graphic design as well, and the aforementioned estimates might suffer from inaccuracies. But even if the value of brands has to be attributed for a considerable part to their graphical component and even if the aforementioned figures are somehow exaggerated, it is undeniable that brand names play a pivotal role in modern economies and that they greatly contribute to the assets of their owners. Brand names can be valued because they act as resources in the production

of branded goods. Anyone with sufficient raw materials and adequate machinery can produce cola flavored soft drinks or hamburgers, but one can not produce Coca Cola or Big Macs without owning those specific brand names. Although successful brands do not add anything to the physical product, they do contribute to what all entrepreneurs seek to produce: *value*. Already in 1922 John Stuart, president of Quaker Oats Company, stated: “If this business were to split up, I would be glad to take the brands, trademarks and goodwill, and you could have all the bricks and mortar - and I would fare better than you” (cited by: Rivkin & Sutherland 2004: 8).

Just like brand names, personal names and geographical names act as resources and assets. One of the differences, however, is that these names often act as capital outside the formal (monetarized) economy, for instances in economies like the competition for prestige. The importance of names as ‘symbolic capital’ is reflected in standing expressions like ‘defending one’s name’ and ‘having a good name’. The awareness that names embody things like reputation and prestige and therefore (economic) opportunities was already present in biblical times (Silver 1995: 42-45). “A good name is more desirable than great riches; to be esteemed is better than silver or gold,” says Proverbs 22:1. Prestige, however, is also instrumental in the accumulation of wealth and the pursuit of material gain. In the seventeenth-century Dutch art market artist’s names had already become the main markers of the artistic quality and the economic value of paintings. And indeed it were names rather than references to specific artists. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century auction catalogues it was more important that a painting was a Brueghel than a painting by a specific member of the large Brueghel family (Jonckheere 2008; cf. Frow 2002). And in this respect little has changed fundamentally over the last centuries. As Paula Sjöblom and Ilari Hongisto show in their contribution to the present volume, names did continue to be important resources in the competition for legitimacy, artistic prestige and economic suc-

cess in the twentieth-century and contemporary music market.

Names acting as capital is not something new or specific to late capitalism (cf. Wengrow 2008), although it is undeniable that the intense processes of globalization of the last decades did have a great impact on the scale and scope of this phenomenon. Recently some commentators even stated that global brands make up a new international language, a ‘lingua branda’ as it was called by Stanford linguist Geoffrey Nunberg (2009). As he argues, one does not need to know the Chinese words for ‘softdrink’ and ‘chicken’ to order a Coca Cola and McNuggets in Beijing. Nevertheless, this argument is definitely too ‘optimistic’. Linguistic and cultural characteristics continue to play an important role in the use and development of brand names. This is demonstrated from different perspectives in several contributions to this book. Fengru Li shows in her article that Chinese orthography and the symbolic value of each of its component characters have a tremendous impact on how brand names are perceived in China. In the same vein Andrew Wong and Will Leben warn that the use of English as the international language of choice for developing new brand names is not without problems because many English words have changed meaning after being borrowed into other languages. Andreas Teutsch points out that the speakability of a trademark might differ from one linguistic environment to another and he concludes that ‘the best language in business is always the customer’s language’.

Despite the fact that branding is becoming more and more a global business, brands are still being used and given meaning in a national, regional or even local context. Paola Cotticelli, Alfredo Trovato and Vania Vigolo conclude in their contribution that it is quite often necessary for companies to adapt brand names to foreign markets, not only because the original associations may be lost in another language, but also because of the different cultural contexts in which brand names are used. Holger Wochele and Erhard Lick show

that this is even true for a champion of global branding like McDonalds. Adopting brands to local contexts helps the company to establish the atmosphere of familiarity it so eagerly wants to be associated with. Familiarity also turns out to be a key concept in understanding how names of local enterprises are formed. Katharina Leibring shows in her contribution that the names of many small enterprises in Sweden contain a direct reference to their owner. And in line with the general informalization of Swedish society over the last decades these references have increasingly become on 'first-name basis'. To establish familiarity company and product names might also refer to a region, a place or even 'a sense of place'. This is certainly the case in the eastern part of Germany. In her contribution to this volume Angelika Bergien describes how the linguistic design of company names in this region is rooted in complex interactions between regional, cultural and corporate identities.

In order to meet local peculiarities multinational companies often hold diversified portfolios of brand names. Unilever, for instance, sells the same range of cholesterol lowering products in different countries under different names like Becel, Flora and Promise. Brand differentiation can also serve various other objectives. One of them might be the disidentification between the holding company and its divisions, which makes it much easier for the former to sell the latter when the strategic need to do so arises. Another reason behind brand differentiation can be the need to target an audience with diversified lifestyles. This need is particularly felt by cosmetics companies whose products are often closely associated with individual emotions and identities. And indeed, at first sight cosmetic brands seem to be zealous advocates of individuality. A second look, however, reveals that they are clearly differentiated along social categories and especially gender lines, as is amply demonstrated in the contribution of Antonia Montes Fernández to this volume.

The papers by Cotticelli c.s. and Montes also show that there is a certain tendency towards

linguistic extravaganza with regard to cosmetics brands. We can also observe that partly because of their growing economic value, brand names adopt the form of fantasy names without any lexical roots, which makes these names easier to sell or to extend to other product ranges (e.g. Flickr, Javex, Viagra). Brands of this type are not only better suited for brand extensions but also for extensions of the brand names themselves. Flickr users, for instance, are known as Flickrites and Flickrettes. The use of (the root of) a brand name as the morphological root for the creation of subsidiary brand names is a common practice in the food industry. In her contribution to the present book Antje Zilg will demonstrate this using Italian food brands as a showcase. But it leaves no doubt that similar observations can be made with regard to brand names elsewhere in the world. In this process of producing new brand names from existing ones, the original brand name acts as a *linguistic resource*, as Zilg interestingly observes.

The concept of linguistic resources is especially relevant with regard to processes of rebranding. Irina Kryukova describes in her contribution to this book that two different strategies emerged during the massive rebranding in Russia after the collapse of communism. When brands were no longer desirable because of a negative image (in most cases a strong association with communism) most companies and institutions choose for the option of a complete rebranding. However, when brand and company names were merely thought to be outdated, strategies tended more towards a slight refashioning of the existing brand or company name. Similar observations can be made with regard to strategies behind rebranding operations in Western Europe and North America, where rebranding has gained much popularity as a marketing tool in the last two decades. Yet, rebranding operations are expensive, require a lot of organizational effort, are time consuming and have a high risk of failure (Davis & Baldwin 2006: 60; Muzellec & Lambkin 2006). So one might wonder why rebranding has become so popular. Besides legal and organizational re-

quirements (e.g. in the case of mergers) one of the reasons might be that rebranding offers managers a tool to regain some control over brand and corporate images. However, despite all efforts undertaken by marketers to control these images, they are in the end still determined by the public sphere. Mass media do, of course, play their part in this process. In her contribution to this book An Vande Castele researches how corporate images are formed in the Spanish press. It turns out that in newspaper articles even well known companies are seldom referred to by just their name. Instead they are usually specified by several kinds of associative and descriptive elements. Vande Castele shows how these contextual elements can be used for a linguistic analysis of how corporate images are produced by mass media.

The papers in this book were written from different perspectives and within equally different scholarly traditions. Yet, they do also have much in common. In contrast to mainstream marketing studies, the scholars contributing to this volume treat names as being deeply rooted in complex linguistic and cultural systems. From this perspective it would be a folly to account for the value of (brand) names without accounting for their linguistic and symbolic characteristics. Names are language *and* capital.

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Cultural and Regional Connotations of Company Names in Local Contexts

Angelika Bergien

Abstract

This paper examines company names from a pragmatic point of view and focuses on their functions in different local and socio-cultural contexts. A company name has to fulfil many functions, among them identification, distinction, protection and promotion. The latter function is of special relevance, since the world of today is a consumer culture, where many activities in business and even in personal contexts have to some extent been influenced by promotional concerns. The promotional function of company names can be realised by different naming strategies, including linguistic form and graphic design. In recent years, however, studies of cultural, social or emotional values of names have gained in importance. The name is seen as reflecting sets of common values that are connected with the environment in people's minds, thus maintaining a certain 'we-feeling'. This can, for example be achieved by the inclusion of locations as elements of company names. The name is linked to a particular region and thus connotes the company's origin, traditions and scope of business or personal attachment to a certain place. Based on the 2007 lists of the top 100 companies, ranked by revenues, in eastern Germany and Lower Saxony (Niedersachsen), the present study aims at a more systematic description of cultural and regional connotations of company names, which are especially frequent in the eastern part of Germany. Possible explanations for this situation will be offered and discussed with respect to factors such as economic motivation, historical background, local culture and global competition.

Introduction

The practice of naming companies has long been part of ordinary economic life. Company names "are an outcome of establishing recognisable designations and symbols for goods and services, as well as firms' identities" (Mendonça et al. 2004: 1385). In addition to their identifying function these names are instrumental in differentiating, protecting and promoting goods and services in the marketplace.

However, naming a company is not just about promoting a product or service commercially, it also covers the idea of names as a minimal texts (Joseph 2004) whose intention it is to enhance the image of a company. Up to the middle of the 20th century the history of

many companies was inseparable from the history of a particular time and place. For example, as Scollon and Scollon (2001) illustrate, the history of American automobile corporations like the Ford Motor Company is closely linked to the interwar period (between World War I and World War II) and the history of European immigration to the Midwest. In the decades which have passed since that time two major historical developments had the effect of major restructuring of these corporations.

On the one hand, the companies have developed into multinational corporations which can no longer be identified with the regional history of any particular country, and on the other, employees of these companies no longer have the long personal parallel

attachment to these companies. [...] The corporate culture of the Ford company was once very much the same as the cultural history of downriver Detroit. Now the corporate culture is carefully crafted by specialists in personnel. (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 188)

The example shows that the smaller and more local a company, the more it will share the characteristics of its time and place. Larger companies will often adapt rather artificial characteristics to provide some sense of history and culture in the absence of a more naturally occurring local history or culture. This implies that for both smaller (more local) and larger (multinational) companies cultural and regional characteristics are important, but, as Sjöblom (2007) and Boerrigter (2007) observe, they are differently motivated and differently expressed in the names of these companies. The reasons for the increasing prominence of these characteristics are manifold and include the need to harmonise marketing and branding against an undifferentiated global product offering. In other words, they are used “to create an attribute of singularity at a time when everything tends to be a replica” (Solly 2002: 217). With regard to the above discussed example, the company name *Ford*, based on the name of the founder, reflects all the cultural, historical or regional connotations so far discussed and signals prestige and power. According to De Michelis (2008: 204) this has an enormous potential for engaging customers’ imagination and loyalty: “The idea of ‘place’ [...] carries emotional connotations also inherent in the concept of ‘brand’.”

It should, however, be noted that some long-established names would hardly stand a chance if the companies were looking for an international name nowadays. Studies (for example by Kremer and Krook 1998 or Bergien 2009) have shown that because of their lexical opaqueness personal names rank lowest in consumer acceptance, followed by acronyms and abbreviations. To avoid a negative image or enhance a positive one, companies frequently include locations in their names which connote the companies’ origins, traditions and scope of business or personal attachment to a

certain place in a more direct way. This becomes even more obvious when elements of the regional dialect form part of the company name. An example from Gardelegen, a small town in the region of Magdeburg, is the name *Garley-Bräu* for a brewery, where the first element *Garley* /'ga:rlai/ can be traced back to Gardelegen’s medieval name *Garly*.

The present paper will focus on those elements which reflect regional and cultural connotations in company names. For a detailed analysis the annual lists of the top 100 companies in the federal states (Bundesländer) Saxony-Anhalt and Lower Saxony (Niedersachsen) for 2007 were compared. A first glance reveals that the names of the leading companies in the eastern Bundesland contain a higher percentage of regional elements than those in the western Bundesland. Possible explanations for this situation will be offered in the following chapters.

Region, culture and corporate identity

Regional elements in company names first of all tell consumers that a product is produced in a certain place or associated with physical features like rivers, as, for example, *Bayerische* in *Bayerische Motorenwerke (BMW)* or *Elbe* in *Elbe Flugzeugwerft GmbH* indicate. But to describe regional elements as mere indicators of location would be a very narrow view. The place of origin as the product’s source may have a “psychological and emotional impact [...] on consumer behaviour” (De Michelis 2008: 204). And, as Keller (1998: 277) points out:

Besides the company that makes the product, the country or geographical location from which it is seen as coming from may also become linked to the brand and generate secondary associations. Many countries have become known for expertise in certain product categories or for conveying a particular type of image.

Against this background, regional elements form part of a broad cultural context, where culture is undoubtedly much more than just what the individual or group wears, eats,

drinks, listens to or smokes in certain situations. Culture is the intangible symbols, rules and values that people use to define themselves, and in this way culture “creates a connection between stories, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and national rituals which represent shared experiences and concerns” (Wodak et al. 1999: 24).

Region and culture have therefore become important attributes of the identities and images of companies. The company name makes people aware of the region and provides desirable associations. A powerful indication of the close relationship between region, culture and identity is to be found in “cultural markers” (Riley 2007: 41-43) where culture is directly encoded or lexicalised in place names. As cultural markers these place names refer to a ‘sense of place’ rather than to a physical place. According to Riley, a case in point would be the way in which French towns are associated with a very varied but highly specific set of historical or gastronomic references (e.g. *Bordeaux*: wine, *Dijon*: mustard). The generic parts indicating the nature of the product or business are frequently deleted in communication and the place names take over the inherent characteristics of the business. If a place name is used as the common designation of a product or business, rather than an indication of the place

of origin, then the name no longer functions as a geographical indication. For example, “cologne” now denotes a certain kind of perfumed toilet water, regardless of whether or not it was produced in the region of Cologne.

Regionalisation in eastern Germany

Regionalisation is an important dimension in the process of differentiation within the eastern part of Germany. In 1990, five Bundesländer were refounded: Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saxony, Thuringia, and Saxony-Anhalt. These federal states were effectively dissolved by the GDR leadership in 1952. After 1952, the practice of centralism denied autonomy to the regions; all decisions would flow from East Berlin to the periphery. After 40 years of centralism the revival of these states as loci of political and economic activity is, among other things, visible in the restoration of historic landmarks and street names or, more specifically, the naming of companies. Regional and cultural connotations of these names develop out of the economic, cultural and historical significance that a company has acquired. The name thus offers a shortcut for complete ideas or thoughts about the local company.

Table 1: Regional elements in the top 100 company names for 2007

Region/Bundesland	Regional elements (total)	Pre-modifier function	Post-modifier function	Examples
Central Germany	49	13	36	<i>Jenoptik AG</i> <i>Elbe Flugzeugwerft GmbH</i> <i>Erdgas Südsachsen GmbH</i>
Saxony-Anhalt	51	18	33	<i>Ilseburger Grobblech GmbH</i> <i>Zellstoff Stendal GmbH</i> <i>MIFA Mitteldeutsche Fahrradwerke GmbH</i>
Lower Saxony (Niedersachsen)	17	8	9	<i>Salzgitter AG</i> <i>Stadtwerke Hannover</i> <i>Uelzener eG</i>

In order to describe the role of regional elements more systematically, the 2007 list of the top 100 companies, ranked by revenues, in Mitteldeutschland¹ (= Central Germany, a name frequently used for the three federal states Saxony, Thuringia and Saxony-Anhalt) and Saxony-Anhalt² were analysed and then compared to the top 100 companies in Niedersachsen³ for the same year. Names with general elements such as *Deutschland* in *Dow Gruppe Deutschland* were not considered in the quantitative and qualitative analyses. Table 1 shows that regional name elements are especially frequent in the eastern part of Germany.

Although this sample survey does not claim statistical reliability, the material reveals some interesting and partly expected findings. In Central Germany as well as in Saxony-Anhalt about 50 per cent of the top 100 company names contain regional elements, whereas in Lower Saxony only 17 per cent of the listed names are marked that way. The possible reasons for these differences are manifold and not easy to pinpoint. In addition to what has been said about the close link between region, culture and corporate identity, new companies in eastern Germany may need to become distinctive from already existing (German) companies in the same sector or as subsidiaries of larger and more important companies (e. g. *Volkswagen Sachsen*). In addition, longer established companies may simply be driven by a desire to escape the GDR past, as in the case of the former company *VEB* (Volkseigener Betrieb) *Agrochemie*, which was transformed into *SKW Stickstoffwerke Piesteritz GmbH* in 1990.

It is interesting to observe that in the eastern top 100 lists transparent names seem to dominate. Those with a regional element frequently contain generic elements that describe the nature of the product or service. As a consequence, geographical locations become the major differentiating factors. Another observation is that in the eastern lists far more regional elements occur in end position, compared to Lower Germany, where the difference is not so striking (cf. Tab.1). The regional element as premodifier in the sequence has a scene-setting and categorizing effect,

and this may be the reason why the pattern, although less explicit, has successfully made inroads into company names. Premodification by regional elements thus relies heavily on shared regional and cultural knowledge, and this type of modification therefore provides the necessary prerequisites for the development of regional elements into cultural markers, such as *Jena* in *Jenoptik*, where *Jena* represents a long and successful tradition in the production of optical instruments, or *Salzgitter AG*, where *Salzgitter* is inextricably linked with iron and steel manufacturing. In contrast to this, regional elements as postmodifiers do not have such a scene-setting effect. Here, the postpositive location modifies the preceding generic element by naming the geographical origin of the company.

Mitteldeutschland (Central Germany) as a case in point

Among the most frequently used regional elements in the top 100 lists for eastern Germany is *Mitteldeutschland* and its derivational form *Mitteldeutsch(e/er/es)*. In the list for Central Germany six and in the list for Saxony-Anhalt eight occurrences could be found. *Mitteldeutschland* is not the exact centre of Germany, but the name mainly refers to the Central German economic region around the cities of Halle and Leipzig, which connects the three federal states Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia. After German reunification activists in the economy and in administration thought that this region would profit by claiming to have its own economic identity. In the first years after reunification this attempt was met with strong opposition from the population (cf. Kirchgeorg and Kreller 2000), since people did neither know what exactly the name referred to nor could they identify with the cultural, social and emotional connotations it was meant to represent. But these cultural, social or emotional values are important to maintain a certain ‘we-feeling’, which is necessary for the unity of the citizens. As a consequence critics rather ironically speak of a “deutsche Sehnsuchtslandschaft” (John

2009). To enhance the image of the region, structurally influential companies like The Dow Chemical Company present Central Germany as an attractive cultural region on their homepages.⁴

However, in spite of all problems related to the regional element *Mitteldeutschland*, companies seem to ignore the vague image of the name and continue to identify with and use it. Consequently, the name is gaining in importance and consumers do no longer seem to bother about it. One of the latest economic developments is the company *Solarvalley Mitteldeutschland*, which carries an umbrella name for the activities of companies and research centres in the crystalline silicon technology market. Today enthusiasts already speak of the trademark status of *Mitteldeutschland*. Can the name therefore be considered a cultural marker like *Bordeaux* or *Dijon*? The answer is 'no', since people's attitudes towards a certain region are primarily based on affective feelings which usually bypass the purely cognitive evaluation of a place.

The inflationary use of this name element may lead to another, rather unexpected problem. As a matter of fact, routinisation and ritualisation of certain naming practices may serve as driving forces of change, because the need for distinctiveness seems to prevent a long-term survival of frequently used and thus worn down patterns. Striving for distinctiveness may even lead to the complete disappearance of a particular form, which then paves the way for new and more expressive naming patterns. This consideration may, for example, have affected the use of English elements in *Solarvalley Mitteldeutschland*, where *Solarvalley* is no doubt the distinctive part and *Mitteldeutschland* a mere label for the (rather vague) scope of business. The struggle for uniqueness in the naming of companies may thus promote or limit the use of certain regional elements.

According to the industrial initiative for Central Germany, which unites about 50 structurally influential companies as well as chambers of commerce and city administrations, in the not too distant future Central Germany will be one of the most attractive and most innovative economic regions in Eu-

rope and link dynamic growth with a high quality of life.⁵

It remains to be seen whether this will promote the use of the place name *Mitteldeutschland* as a 'place of the heart'.

Concluding remarks

In this study I have tried to show that names in the economy are an important symbolic capital and that the linguistic design of company names is based on a complex of different criteria, amongst which the reflection of the link between region, culture and corporate identity seems to be of increasing prominence in the eastern part of Germany. To reach the level of statistical reliability one would, of course need a much larger corpus. Thus the findings can first of all be seen as an attempt at clearing the ground and suggesting fields for further investigation.

Notes

- ¹ For a complete overview cf. <http://www.sachsenbank.de/imperia/md/content/sb/pdf/fokus_mittelstand/TOP_100-Unternehmen.pdf> (10/05/2009)
- ² For a complete overview cf. "Die 100 größten Unternehmen in Sachsen-Anhalt". *Magdeburger Volksstimme*, Wirtschaft. 18 Dezember 2008.
- ³ For a complete overview cf. <<https://www.nordlb.de/Regionalanalysen.3653.0.html>> (10/05/2009)
- ⁴ For a more details cf. <http://www.dow.com/valuepark/life_work/index.htm> (09/05/2009)
- ⁵ For more details cf. <<http://ebn24.de/index.php?id=27778&L=1>> (11/05/2009)

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Brand Name and Brand Image between Linguistics and Marketing*

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine the interplay between marketing tools and the linguistic properties of a brand-name. Theory in brand management and psychological research on advertising has shown that a brand image is the result of various associations originating from marketing communication tools as well as from the brand name. In fact, consumers draw inferences from brand names. Scholars have identified several important properties a brand name should possess, such as memorability, simplicity, distinctiveness or meaningfulness, which must be taken into account in the naming process of a new brand.

Several studies dealing with the creation of brand names can be found, but most of these are characterized by a one-sided approach: the brand name strategies are mainly investigated from a marketing point of view. The present research integrates the different perspectives of linguistics and marketing for the study of a brand image.

The main objective of this paper is to assess whether marketing tools and linguistic brand name characteristics can contribute to the creation of a consistent brand image. The case study examines the experience of the international company Lush in the Italian context.

The novelty of the paper consists in a conjoint research which combines linguistic and marketing-oriented knowledge.

“Shakespeare was wrong. A rose by any other name would not smell as sweet. Not only do you see what you want to see, you also smell what you want to smell. Which is why the single most important decision in the marketing of perfume is the name you decide to put on the brand”.

(Ries & Trout 1981: 71)

0.1. Conceptual Framework

Since the end of the seventies, several studies have been carried out on the relevance of those linguistic features which are employed in advertising strategies, in order to analyse the effect of language tools in the achievement of marketing goals, i.e., the role of linguistics in the creation of brand-names.

The employment of such linguistic features may correspond to two different possibilities:

either it was a coincidence, or it could be due to a conscious strategy applied in the attempt to achieve an attractive brand, strictly related to the psychological or emotional effect of certain words or sounds.¹

In the last twenty years it has been shown that semantics and sound symbolism play an essential role in the creation of meaningful brand names.² Current works suggest that these features of language affect the way consumers perceive, and also respond to, various marketing stimuli, for example, advertisement and brand names. Advertising agencies have demonstrated that new brands have to possess some specific features, such as shortness, distinctiveness, memorability, which take shape in the process of “word-formation”.

It should be noted that the naming process has to combine with other communication tools in order to spread the brand identity. This may be accomplished by several devices, concerning the interaction between what the brand “means” as well as what the brand “designates” (Robertson 1989: 66).

In the light of the complexity of the brand naming process, a multidisciplinary approach aiming at the description of the linguistic features of a brand name as well as its relationship with the marketing tools may constitute a step forward, thus going beyond the state of the art.

This study attempts to highlight the possibilities opened up by the use of a joint perspective with the said focus. In the last few decades, marketing literature has recognized that the linguistic nature of a brand has become an important topic of debate in relation to the globalizing tendencies of international markets (Sosinsky 1999; Bowmann 2003). In a multilingual context, the change of cultural, historical and behavioural characteristics affects the consumer’s perception of external stimuli. This perspective implies a redefinition of the references involved in naming strategies. As Petty argues:

Laudatory names such as ‘optima’ or ‘ideal’ are analysed as either descriptive or suggestive in the US, but may be analysed as descriptive or non-distinctive in Europe [...]. The word ‘Lite’ has been found to be generic in the US and devoid of any distinctive character in the EU. (Petty, 2008: 193-194).

The relationship between linguistics and brand names has been outlined in the studies by Cotticelli-Kurras (2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2011) and Zilg (2006). A general linguistic categorisation is presented by Ronneberger-Sibold (2004).

0.2. *Research questions and method*

The research questions (RQ) relevant for this study were based on the discussion above and focus on the following issues:

RQ1) What is the Lush brand image emerging from the analysis of marketing communication tools?

RQ2) What is the Lush brand image emerging from the linguistic analysis of brand names?

RQ3) Is there any coherence between marketing communication tools and linguistic strategies for the creation of a consistent brand image?

The research method used is the case study approach, which allows the researchers to “investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context” (Yin, 1989: 23). The data used in the analysis of marketing communication tools were collected from the company website, from the company catalogue and from direct observation of Italian points of purchase. The data used in the linguistic analysis derived from the company website and the catalogue.

1. **A marketing perspective**

1.1. *The relevance of brand in marketing literature and in practice*

Since the symbols found on ancient Roman clay pots or the marks stamped on livestock, the brand’s main role has always been to identify the producer, the owner or the seller (Interbrand, 2004). But it is with the Second Industrial Revolution that a brand started to convey something more to the product it was marked upon (Wengrow, 2008: 7-34). Up until then, most of the time, products used to pass directly from the artisan to the consumer: the trust in the product was based on a personal relationship with the producer or the seller. By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the situation had definitely changed, and the scenario in which consumers bought products had undergone a deep transformation (Grandinetti, 2008). Machines and factories began to replace human work and craftsman’s studios, competition increased; developments in transport systems (railway in the first place) made it possible to distribute goods in a short time throughout large areas. The Second Industrial Revolution enhanced the need to turn to brands in order to convey an implicit set of expectations and to reassure consumers about the quality of products.

According to the American Marketing Association, a brand could be defined as “a name, term, design, symbol, or any other feature that identifies one seller’s good or service as distinct from those of other sellers. The legal term for brand is trademark. A brand may identify one item, a family of items, or all items of that seller” (www.marketingpower.com).

Companies try to communicate a brand identity (Aaker, 1996; Aaker and Joachimsthaler, 2001; Van Gelder, 2003), i.e. brand values and personality (Aaker, 1997), working on the creation of a strong and positive brand image. Brand image could be considered as “the perception of a brand in the minds of persons. The brand image is a mirror reflection of the brand personality or products being. It is what people believe about a brand, their thoughts, feelings, expectations” (www.marketingpower.com). In other words, a brand image is the result of the associations aroused by the brand; it reflects the consumer’s perspective. Brand associations can be divided into three main categories:

- attributes (i.e. product-related and non-product-related brand characteristics, such as price);
- benefits (advantages brought by brand use);
- attitudes (stable opinions and beliefs about the brand) (Aaker, 1992; Keller, 1993).

A brand name is the pronouncible element of a brand, and it plays an important role in defining a brand image (Kapferer, 2004). It can be considered a product-related attribute, though it represents an entity that goes far beyond the actual product. In fact, brand names and logos (i.e. the visual sign that identifies the brand) with a strong positioning can become icons in which consumers recognize themselves. A case in point is Nike and the famous “swoosh”: there are people who decided to get this tattooed onto their skins, not because of extreme loyalty towards the product, but rather because of what the logo represents: a style, a way of thinking and an attitude towards life (Orend-Cunningham, 2003).

The branding process is a critical moment in product development, since “branding determines your overall image, strategies, and priorities for using resources” (Crosby and

Johnson, 2003: 10). It includes all the phases from brand name choice to communication strategies (Rossiter and Percy, 1985).

The long-term success of a brand depends on marketers’ ability to define a brand meaning before market entry, to translate the meaning into an image and to maintain and reinforce that image over time (Gardner and Levy, 1955).

Communication is one of the main marketing tools through which companies or organizations try to create a distinctive brand image. Communication includes both “above the line” and “below the line” activities, i.e. advertising on the one hand, and public relations and trade marketing on the other.

Some companies decide not to use advertising to communicate brand identity. Advertising is a form of impersonal communication and, even if directed to specific targets, is often a kind of “mass communication tool”, therefore not very exclusive. Ferrari, for example, does not use advertising to promote its brand. This choice enhances the exclusivity of the brand image. Very little and selected advertising is also used by the brand *Damiani*, which produces exclusive jewelries. Sometimes little use of advertising is explicitly maintained as a choice for concentrating on other substantial elements of the brand, such as the product’s quality. This is the case for the Italian biscuits *Doria*.

Since the last decades of the 19th century, brands have gained an increasing importance and have been defined as means through which experiences can be created. Brands are applied not only to goods, but also to services, public organizations (e.g. universities), soccer teams, and even to places (Dinnie, 2008; Kotler et al., 1993).

Brands have been advertised, criticized (Klein, 2001; Mortara, 2005), measured in terms of economic value or brand equity (Aaker, 1992; Farquhar, 1990; Keller, 1993; Keller, 2001), studied for their influence in consumer psychology and behavior (Kapferer, 2002; Kapferer and Thoenig, 1991) and they have become art objects. A brand not only communicates something about the product, the producer or the seller. In addition, it offers a set

of intangible values to which a consumer may connect and relate (Aaker, 1997).

1.2. Company profile

The first Lush branded product was sold in May 1995, but the company's history goes back to the 1970s, when Mark Constantine and his partners developed hair products with natural ingredients for The Body Shop. In 1988, Constantine and his team set up "Cosmetics to Go", in Poole, Dorset, but the company underwent economic difficulties and was sold. In 1994, the decision was taken to run a new cosmetics business together, without changing the original values that had inspired the work from the beginning.

The brand name "Lush" was the result of a competition which was called in the fledgling company's first handmade newsletter and catalogue. Mrs. Elizabeth Bennett from Edinburgh proposed "Lush". Curiously enough, at the same time the company team had independently chosen for the same name. That is how Lush became the corporate brand that, from 29 High Street, Poole, has become well-known all around the world. In fact, nowadays Lush has nearly 600 retail stores in 44 countries and e-commerce sites in 37 countries. Lush's vision and brand identity is summarized in the "We believe" statement published on the company's websites (www.lush.co.uk) and catalogue:

We believe in making effective products from fresh organic* fruit and vegetables, the finest essential oils and safe synthetics.*

We believe in happy people making happy soap, putting our faces on our products and making our mums proud.

We believe in long candlelit baths, sharing showers, massage, filling the world with perfume and in the right to make mistakes, lose everything and start again.

We believe in buying ingredients only from companies that do not commission tests on animals and in testing our products on humans.

We invent our own products and fragrances, we make them fresh by hand using little or no preservative or packaging, using only vegetarian ingredients and tell you when they were made.

We believe our products are good value, that we should make a profit and that the customer is always right.

** We also believe words like 'Fresh' and 'Organic' have an honest meaning beyond marketing.*

Lush's distinctive positioning is based on four key elements:

1. The use of fresh natural ingredients: Lush products are made from natural ingredients (fruit and vegetables). Preservatives are only used when strictly necessary. In all other cases, combinations of ingredients are used to stabilize the products so that they have a natural "shelf life" with a "best before" date clearly marked.
2. Concern for ethics: Lush supports environmental issues and is committed to a policy which precludes testing its products and ingredients on animals. Moreover, Lush has adopted a "supplier Specific Boycott Policy", i.e. it will not buy any ingredient from any supplier that tests any of its materials on animals. In order to become one of Lush's partners, a company must sign a declaration saying that none of their raw materials are tested on animals now and that they have no plans to do so in the future. As stated on their website, "if we want to buy glycerine which is not tested on animals but the company tests other materials on animals we will not buy from them. If the raw materials company tests glycerine for a food product, even though we want to use it in a cosmetics product, we still will not buy it from them" (www.lush.com.au). This is clearly a very firm position which expresses coherence between brand identity, managerial practices and brand image. For example, the recent acquisition of The Body Shop by L'Oreal in 2006 has caused great controversies among animal protection associations. In fact, since its foundation, The Body Shop had distinguished itself for the "no testing on animals" campaigns. This policy is still pursued by the company, but the fact of its now being part of a brand portfolio of a group in which Nestle holds 24% of L'Oreal shares has caused great disappointment by animal protectors.

3. Artisan dimension: Lush “makes” all the products it sells and does not produce for other companies (e.g. retailers). “Ballistics” (i.e. “bath bombs”) and bars are hand-molded one by one, bottles are hand-filled and soaps are poured into moulds and finally cut by hand.
4. Sensory, hedonic and experiential dimension: everything in Lush communication is carefully studied to convey this dimension, as will be discussed in the following paragraph.

Lush can be regarded as a vertical company, which means that each production stage, from product design to manufacturing, marketing activities, and even the construction of furniture, displays, and signage is carried out as an in-house activity. Lush has even started to buy flower fields in order to control the supply of its essential oils. Concepts and products are usually designed and tested in the UK before they are implemented in other regions.

Since everything is fresh and no preservatives are used, Lush also has a just-in-time approach to the market: there is no need for storage of products before selling. It takes more or less one week for products to be manufactured, shipped, and to be on the shelf ready for customers to buy.

Product development and innovation is another core element in the Lush strategy. For instance, in the summer of 2009 Lush introduced 25 new products, thus satisfying customers’ need for novelty and wide selection.

Lush communication tools respond to these key elements and try to convey an image coherent with the corporate policy.

In recent years, Lush has also extended its activities to related businesses. In September 2003 Lush developed an entirely new brand, B Never Too Busy to Be Beautiful, self-described as “an Aladdin’s cave of eclectic gorgeousness and wonderment specialising in colour cosmetics and fragrances (www.bnevertobusytobeautiful.com)”. Lush has also opened the Lush Spas, wellness centre called “Synaesthesia”, a brand name which emphasises a multi-sensory approach dedicated to relaxation. However, in this paper we will deal only with Lush’s core activity, i.e. cosmetics.

1.3. *Lush communication tools*

Lush is a corporate brand (i.e. it identifies both the company and its products). Product brand names include the corporate master brand (Lush) and a sub-brand (e.g. *Happy Hippy*). Specific brand names have been developed for certain product lines, such as “Ballistics”, “Bubble Bars”, “Emotibombs”. Within the same product line, items present different brand names: “Ballistics”, e.g., includes *Sex Bomb*, *Honey Bee*, *Big Blue* and many other product brand names etc. You can see some pictures from the catalogue for the various product classes: soap, balls, shampoo, cream, body lotion, conditioner, foot cream and so on, below, in fig. 1).

Lush and Lush product brand names are registered trademarks and the Lush products are subject to granted and pending patents around the world.

Product brand names are unconventional in the cosmetic industry and they are a means to express the Lush “way of life”.

Lush communication tools do not include advertising. The brand identity is conveyed mainly through the same product (i.e. packaging choices), the point of purchase, the website and the catalogue. The last three are part of Lush’s multichannel distribution strategy.

The use of fresh natural ingredients is communicated and emphasized by the use (or better, the lack) of packaging. In fact, more than 60% of the products, particularly soap bars, have no packaging at all and when a packaging is used, it is completely made of recycled materials and recyclable itself. Some products look like huge cakes cut and priced on weight. Soap bars are wrapped in greaseproof paper and they could easily be mistaken for edible products. Packaging could be eliminated also for products such as shampoos or bath creams: experiments have proved that by eliminating the water content, it is possible to produce solid products that need no preservatives and no packaging (Renstrom, 2008).

The deliberate lack of packaging also helps to convey a sensory experience and a hedonic dimension (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982): Lush products have brilliant colours and an intense perfume that stimulate the senses and

are perceivable a hundred meters before entering into the shop.

The label, which can be found on some products, not only displays the brand name and the ingredients, but also the name of the person who actually made the product. This strategy once again highlights the craftsmanship quality of Lush products.

The experiential dimension of the brand is best communicated through the point of purchase. Lush sells its products only through monobrand stores which are located in posh localities, next to stores that sell high-end items, or in well-renowned malls. The shops are designed in the form of old-fashioned delicatessen shops, where products are heaped up on wooden tables. As Mark Constantine admits, “I’ve always loved the way fruit and vegetables are displayed in a grocery store” (Ellis, 2009). Senses are stimulated by the simultaneous presence of bright colours and a perfume which, because of the lack of packaging, is even more intense. Moreover, salespersons use a consultant-based approach to selling, with means that they are supposed to give each customer at least five product demonstrations per visit. Products can be tested within the shop. This helps in the creation of a product experience already at the point of purchase (Bitner, 1992; Donovan and Rossiter, 1982). As Mark Wolverton, president of Lush North America, says: “We don’t want a store where customers come in and browse and then take their products to the salesperson behind the till. Our staff ask questions about skin and hair type and make a big fuss over each customer, so it is fun, and they have a great experience” (Ellis, 2009). The hedonic dimension is emphasized in all communication.

The catalogue is called Lush Times and it plays an important role in the creation of the Lush brand image. It is made of recycled paper and it is published two or three times a year (usually a Spring, Summer and Winter edition). As emphasized by its title, the catalogue is not a mere list of products, but an informative magazine about the company’s values, history and initiatives. Products are presented with recommendations for their optimal use, e.g. “we recommend that you use

your ballistics when they are fresh and new and don’t leave them lying around the bathroom. Keep them wrapped up and use them as quickly as possible after buying them for the fizziest, most fragrant effect”. But Lush goes beyond such a kind of advice: Lush suggests also the atmosphere in which to use its products, it tries to create an experience and to convey emotions.

The website has a similar function. Moreover, the website is a vehicle for communicating Lush’s ethical commitment. Apart from a constant no-testing-on-animals approach, Lush endorses many ethical themes and social issues, such as the protest against the Canadian seal hunt Lush has developed different websites for different markets.



Figure 1³

To conclude, according to the analysis of communication tools, Lush’s brand image seems to be in tune with the brand identity stated by the company.

2. A linguistic perspective

2.1. Linguistic strategies

Brand names are meant to arouse different associations in their recipients, i.e. consumers, albeit with varying degrees of clarity. The choice of the names for a product therefore takes place via different linguistic strategies, in order to meet different purposes.

Brand names work like most other proper names in that they have an identifying function. However, they are also meant to characterize the product so designated in a positive way, i.e. they must be motivated in order to persuade the potential customer.

The case-study presented here constitutes the analysis of the branding strategies adopted by the English cosmetic company “Lush” on the Italian market.

The intention is to show how marketing and linguistic strategies worked together in creating truly linguistically founded brand names for each of Lush’s cosmetic products. We analysed the corpus on five linguistic levels: phonetic, morphological and syntactic, lexical and semantic, in order to give an answer to the following questions:

1. How did Lush Italy “work” to present its products on the Italian market? What strategies can be shown to have been used?
2. What are the effects and from which linguistic levels does the message reach the consumers?

2.2. The corpus

We collected the current Italian products from the “special edition 2009” catalogue (*edizione speciale 1999-2009*) for Lush’s 10th anniversary, which we compared with the German and the English ones (the original products), because our purpose is to study the impact of such products on the Italian consumers. You can see some examples of advertisements from the catalogue below under fig. 2.

Our *corpus* consists of 251 product names: 168 Italian names, 59 English names, 18 other foreign names and 7 hybrid forms.

When we compared the German with the Italian or English catalogue, it was very interesting - but not surprising - to see that the

Italian product names are quite different from the German or the English ones: 75% of the Italian names are linguistically Italian, while 90% of the German names are linguistically “English” product names.

3. Linguistic analysis

3.1. Phonetic and/or graphemic level

The phonetic analysis is most relevant to the Italian material. A large number of puns was found which consist in the substitution of one or more letter(s)/sound(s) in the word.

They are allusions to slogans or to commonplace sentences. We also have Italian products which are marketed by Lush Italy under English names with similar characteristics, like the following examples:


- *Strawberry feels for ever* [Massage Bar] instead of the song title *Strawberry fields for ever*,
- *Viva Lush Vegas* [Gift Box] instead of *Viva Las Vegas*, with a self-celebration of the company’s own name *Lush*.

The Italian ones include:

- *Fuori di festa* [Gift Box] instead of *fuori di testa*, a idiomatic locution that means “crazy, out of”. In this variation it means “out of celebration/party”.
- The name of the famous classical singer from the 50’s, *Nilla Pizzi* is hidden in the product name *Vanilla Pizzi* [Dusting Powder], which in this way is a kind of mixed name, through the first English element for Italian *vaniglia*, as pun of *Nilla Pizzi*.
- Another “minimal pairs opposition” play is *Tortami via* [Shower Jelly] “cake me away”, instead of *Portami via* “take me away”, a joke used for a gel-soap with sherry-muffins fragrance.

An interesting case is presented by the name *Limongello* [Hair Gel], which comes originally from *Limoncello*, a famous Italian liqueur, but in its new form it points to “hair gel with lemon flavour”. The Italian result is a possible word, but not a meaningful word or compound.

Another pun is *Flutti di Bosco* [Bubble Bar], “forest waves”, instead of *frutti di bosco* “mixed berries (literally *forest fruit*)”.




La polverina profumata come una nuvoletta di zucchero a velo. Dentro c'è un'intera (vera!) bacca di vaniglia.

Vanilla Pizzi è uno spasso: tenete il barattolo in bagno e leggete ogni giorno il nome sull'etichetta, poi iniziate a divertirvi anche con il contenuto. Cospargetevi generosamente di deliziosa polverina su tutto il corpo: sarà come entrare in una nuvola di zucchero vanigliato e caramello polverizzato, e **rende la pelle morbida** al profumo di crema chantilly. Proprio come si fa in pasticceria, per aumentare l'aroma dentro ad ogni barattolo c'è un vero baccello di VANIGLIA.




Il sapone al limone per i sognatori e le persone che amano le cose semplici.

Un sapone semplice e delicato come un frutto. **Rinfresca e tonifica con la forza del limone**, che risveglia anche i sensi. La sua essenzialità ha dentro tutta la poesia di un albero: provatelo se siete in cerca d'ispirazione o se non siete in vena di pensare alle complicazioni della vita.



Il sapone-iceberg alla menta forte (ma proprio forte) che era glaciale e lo è ancora.

Tecnicamente gli iceberg sono di color ghiaccio - ma va! - e non blu elettrico. Ad ogni modo il brivido che pervaderà il vostro corpo usando questo sapone sarà pari a quello di un viaggio al circolo polare artico su una slitta trainata dagli husky, con sosta-spuntino in un igloo. **Profuma di menta, agghiacciante e penetrante**, ed è ricoperto da una crosticina di sale detergente. Avete mai provato a tuffarvi nella neve e poi sotto una doccia bollente? Allora provate questo.



La ballistica ad effetto esplosivo. Do you need altre spiegazioni?

Con il suo intenso **profumo afrodisiaco di gelsomino**, ylang ylang e muschio, Sex Bomb è la ballistica ammiccante e sexy da utilizzare (con cautela) quando hai voglia di esprimere **il massimo della tua sensualità**. Dopo un bagno così non resterà che armarsi di borsetta da combattimento, tacco ragionevolmente alto, scollatura più orientata sul "vedo" che sul "non vedo" e sgambettare via verso nuove mete e nuove conquiste nelle pazzesche notti di Londra, di Milano, di New York o di Casa Tua. Ci abbiamo messo anche un po' di salvia moscatella, perchè può essere utile a non perdere lucidità e chiarezza mentale nemmeno davanti a champagne, caviale, fiori, diamanti e Ferrari rosse decappottabili.

Figure 2
Some examples of advertisement from Lush's catalogue "edizione speciale 2009".

The phonetic analysis makes it possible to individuate a specific trend in the communication strategy of naming process. The olfactory dimension represents the main objective of these puns (see especially *Tortami via*, *Limon-gello*, *Flutti di Bosco*), which mainly encode the fragrance or flavour information in the name, through several linguistic tools (i.e. minimal pairs or pseudo-univerbation). The cultural reference is the channel by which the fruit/flower element is directly embedded in the name, in an unconventional way.

3.2. Morphological and syntactical level

The brand name may be an existing word from a language but also a proper name (e.g., a place name) or a neologism. As the relation between *signifiant* and *signifié* should not be completely arbitrary, different factors play a role in the brand names, in particular among the neologisms among them, factors through which motivation is to be created or augmented. Since the beginnings of the creation of Italian brand names, hybrid names have occurred, even if only in small numbers, which exhibiting different linguistic combinations as well as varying morphological and orthographic techniques.

By “hybrid” we mean those neologisms containing elements from different languages. In most of the cases from our collection this involves Italian and one foreign language. The examples are listed under 3.3.1.4.

The morphology of the names used in our corpus is extremely regular: we only found few new words and irregular word formations. The syntactical level is only represented by phrasal constructions.

- Existing Current words:

The *corpus* shows numerous imperative forms (*Baciami* [Lip Balm], *Mordimi* [Lip Balm], *Sfiorami* [Lip Balm]), diminutive names (*Angioletto* [Bath Bomb], *Diavoletto* [Bath Bomb]). Also, the adjective *piccolo* “little” often occurs in phrasal constructions. Most phrases are morphologically correct, including the compounds.

- New forms:

Massaggiami [Massage Bar]: phonetically this form allows for two interpretations: one is “ma assaggia-mi”, the other “massaggiami”; the graphical form points to the interpretation “ma assaggia-mi”, i.e. “taste me”, but the referential meaning would imply the interpretation “massaggiami”, i.e. “massage me”; however it is written <ma assaggia-mi>, which would mean “but taste me”.

Aromantica and *Aromantico* [Deodorants] are variations of Italian *aromatico* “aromatic”, but they suggest a romantic note! Morphologically, they constitute blends of two words: *aroma* and *romantic*.

Belli Capelli [Hair Treatment] is a rhyme, but a wrong Italian form; the correct phrase should be “bei capelli” with the adjective in attributive position (note, predicative position: “I capelli sono belli”).

3.3. Lexical level

One of the linguistic strategies used most often is the choice of the language of the brand names created.

The Italian corpora studied hitherto exhibit a clear tendency, illustrated by Figure xxx from Cotticelli 2007 and 2010 (see next page).

Until the 1980s, Italian was the language used most often by far; after the 1980s acceptance of foreign-language product names (particularly English) increased drastically. Alternation between different languages as a source of brand names during time may be divided into the following phases: French is used until World War II, English after World War II as international phenomena, in Italy in particular since the 1980s; the Classical languages are used in specialist terminology, German and Spanish occur very rarely.

Particularly for the corpus presented here, constituting the Italian edition of an English product range, seem to indicate the importance of the relation of the languages used. It should be mentioned that a look at the German and Spanish catalogues revealed that there a higher percentage of the brand names remained in the English original.

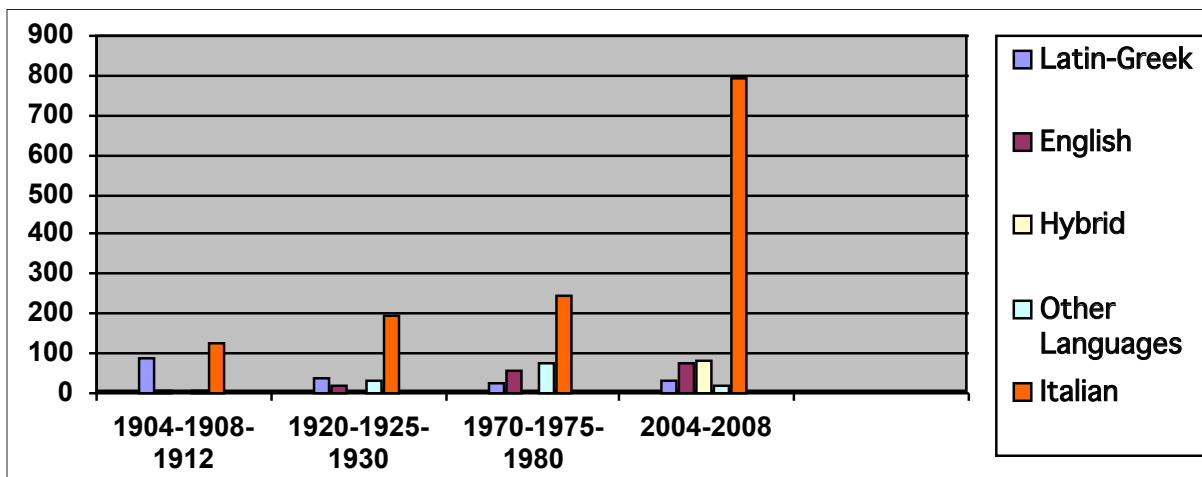


Figure 3

The use of foreign languages in Italian brand names, from Cotticelli 2007 and 2010.

3.3.1. Which languages are employed?

As we have said, among 251 product names we found 167 Italian ones, 7 mixed names (Hybrids), 59 English names, 4 Spanish, 3 Latin and 2 French ones and 9 from other languages. The statistics are shown in figure 4.

The use of the languages thus seems to correspond to the trend of the development shown in figure 3.

3.3.1.1. English

Among the 59 English names we find:

- **5 personal names:**
Trilly (the Italian, but intended (pseudo-) English name of Tinkerbell, the fairy from

“Peter Pan”) [Bubble Bath], *Candy Candy* [Soap], *Fred* [Soap], *Marilyn* [Hair Treatment], *Godiva* [Solid Shampoo];

- **1 geographical name:**
Malibu, “*Malibu: A Way of Life*”; “*Where the mountains meet the sea*” [Shower gel];
- **7 names from films and book titles**
Stardust [Bath Bomb], *Pretty Woman* [Bubble Bath], *Born to Run* [Shower Gel], *Blade Runner* [Shaving Cream], *Dorian Gray* [Liquid Shampoo], *Shining* [Conditioner], *My Fair Lady* [Hatbox].
- Most of these names are **compounds**, such as: *Sex Bomb* [Bath Bomb] with the variant *Sexxxx Bomb* [Bath Bomb], *Butterball* [Bath

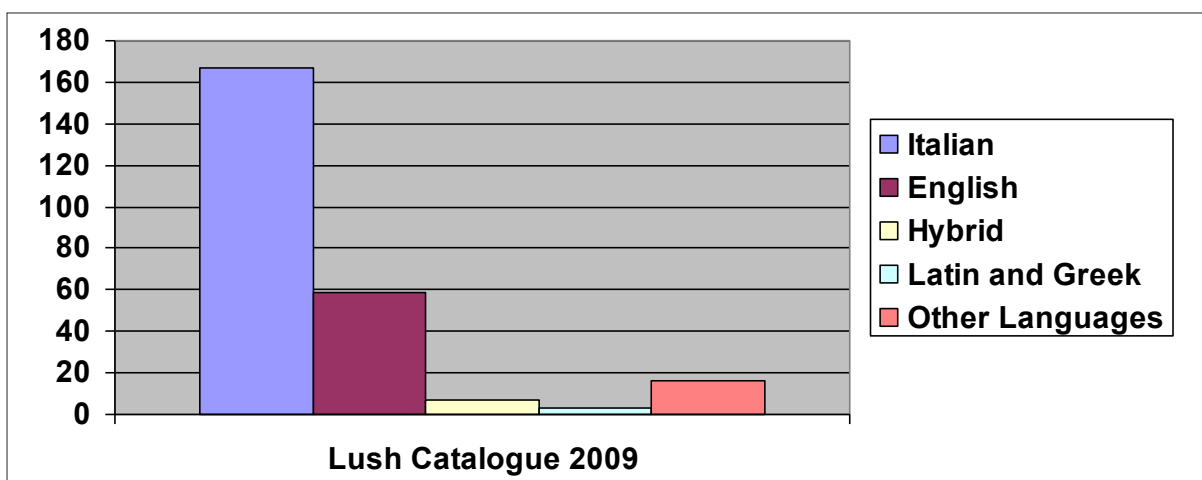


Figure 4

Diagramm of the employed languages for the Italian Lush products from the presented corpus.

Bomb], *Dream Time* [Bath Melt] (*twice*), *Bon Ton* [Soap], *Skin Drink* [Moisturiser], *Tea Tree* [Toner Tab], *Baby Face* [Cleanser], *Ocean Salt* [Cleanser], *Gin Tonic* [Solid Shampoo], *Energy Box* [Gift Box], *Rock Star* [Gift Box], *Shower Power* [Hatbox];

- but we also find **simple names or adjectives**, like

Milky [Soap], *Whoosh* [Shower Gel] (*twice*), *Celestial* [Face Cream], *Prince* [Face Cream], *Mirror Mirror* [Face Cream], *Big* [Liquid Shampoo], *Jungle New* [Conditioner], *Happy* [Gift Box], *Relax* [Gift Box], *Blondie* [Solid Shampoo], *Happy Hippy* [Shower Gel], *Peach and Love* [Massage Bar], *One Man One Cream* [Face Cream], *Black & White*;

- Nevertheless **we also find also adjectival phrases** like:

Green day [Bubble Bath], *French Kiss* [Bubble Bath], *Pink Lady* [Solid Shampoo], *Very berry* [Gift Box], *Cosmetic Warrior* [Face Mask], *Lush Legends* [Hatbox] (this could be also a compound);

- or **other adverbial phrases** such as:

Strawberry Feels for Ever [Massage Bar], *Cosmetic Warrior* [Face Mask], *Sympathy for the Skin* [Body Cream].

- or **short sentences**, like:

Thank God it's Friday [Bath Bomb], *Thank God it's Big* [Bath Bomb], *I Love Me* [Massage Bar], *Go Green* [Fragrance], *Think pink* [Bath Bomb] (*twice*).

3.3.1.2. Spanish and French

Among the Spanish names (4 occurrences) we have local names such as *Cocoloco* [Soap], or personal names such as *Lolita* [Massage Bar], *Copacabana* [Body Cream] and one sentence (*Besame mucho* [Massage Bar]), among the French names (2 occurrences) we have only a film title: *Chocolat* [Face Mask] and a geographical name, *Mont Blanc* [Bath Melt].

3.3.1.3. Latin

The three Latin names are *Dulcis in Fundo* [Body Cream], that is a typical, oft-used formulaic phrase meaning “finally”, and *Imperialis* [Moisturiser], *Supernova* [Bath Bomb], which shows how Latin is still employed in building specific technical words, which you

also find in Italian as special terminology for a type of star; this surely stresses the high class of the product.

In the following section we will elaborate the associations that are evoked by the particular use or the combination of certain words of the examples mentioned in the preceding section.

3.3.1.4. Hybrid, mixed names

There are only seven hybrid names, six of which are a mixture of the Italian and the English language and have the structure of adjectival phrases.

Fresh Farmacy [Cleanser], *Karma Kream* [Body Cream], *Toda la Noce* [Massage Bar], *Vellutata Dream* [Smoothie Shower Soap], *Vaporosa Candy* [Dusting Powder], *Macho Man* [Gift Box].

In the explanatory text to this product, the potential customer can read that *farmacy* is not a wrong form, but a new formation, because its meaning is not from the prop word *pharmacy*, i.e. from a medical product, but from an underlying form *farm*, meaning that this is a genuine product, a natural one. In this way, we have a new formation in an English phrase. *Karma Kream* exhibits a mixed character only on the graphical level, phonetically there is no difference to the English pronunciation.

For an Italian consumer, *Macho Man* [Gift Box] is a tautological name for a gift box for men. The box contains: *Born to Run* [Shower Gel], *Era Glaciale* (“Ice Age”) [Shower Gel]; *Finalmente Lei* (“Finally She”) [Shaving Cream]; *La Pillola della Felicità* (“Happiness Pill”) [Bath Bomb].

Toda la Noce [Massage Bar] is the only hybrid form which is a mixture between the Spanish and the Italian language. *Toda (la)* [“all”] is the Spanish part and the word *noce* [“walnut”], the pronunciation of which is identical to the Spanish word *noche* [“night”], is the Italian part, at least on the written level; on the phonetic level, it is ambiguous with regard to language attribution. In this way, the word conveys both the meaning of night, via Spanish: i.e., “(massage me) all night”, as well as the meaning of ‘walnut’, because the product itself smells of walnut.

3.3.1.5. Other languages

Most of the examples are from the Far East, from the Japanese, Chinese or Indian (*Karma* occurs 5 times) lexicon or refer to concepts generally from the Far East; among these names there are many geographical or famous personal names, such as:

- *Nirvana* [Face Cream],
- *Mata Hari* [Bubble Bar],
- *Geisha* [Cleanser],
- *Shangri La* [Face Cream],
- *Aisha* [Face Mask], an Arabic female proper name;
- *Gurugu* [Body Cream], a place in Ghana, where women make karite butter.
- *Sakura* [Bath Bomb],
- *Youki-bi* [Bath Bomb],

If names are assumed to be not very well known and semantically opaque, an explanation can be found in the product description, which corresponds to Lush's clear communication strategy. It is very useful for the consumer to read in the catalogue, for example, that:

- *Sakura* [Bath Bomb] is "a typical Japanese cherry fragrance of a geisha".⁴
- *Gurugu* [Body Cream], a place in Ghana, Africa, from which the karite butter comes.

The use of such East Asian languages seems to be a new element in branding.

3.4. Semantic level

From a semantic point of view, we intend to first show which **associations** are suggested by the Italian names with the help of which tools. As has been said before, a brand name normally matches denotative and connotative dimensions of meaning. The naming strategies of marketers aim at the creation of a brand which expresses the product category and in others also provide a network of associations related to their attributes, benefits and attitudes. According to the nature of this line of products, the aim of Lush is to suggest the desired or expected association by unique brand naming strategies of cosmetic products: shining beauty, clarity, positive feelings, relaxation, recreation, erotic atmosphere.

The chosen names embody social and cultural elements, which bring to mind some key attributes encoded by the advertisers. This aspect must be considered from the perspective of transferring brands across borders, in terms of loss of source meaning or acquisition of different connotations. The semantic content of the product name changes in relation to the cultural and behavioural differences between countries.

In Italy, the semantic areas Lush uses in the naming process are often from everyday mod-

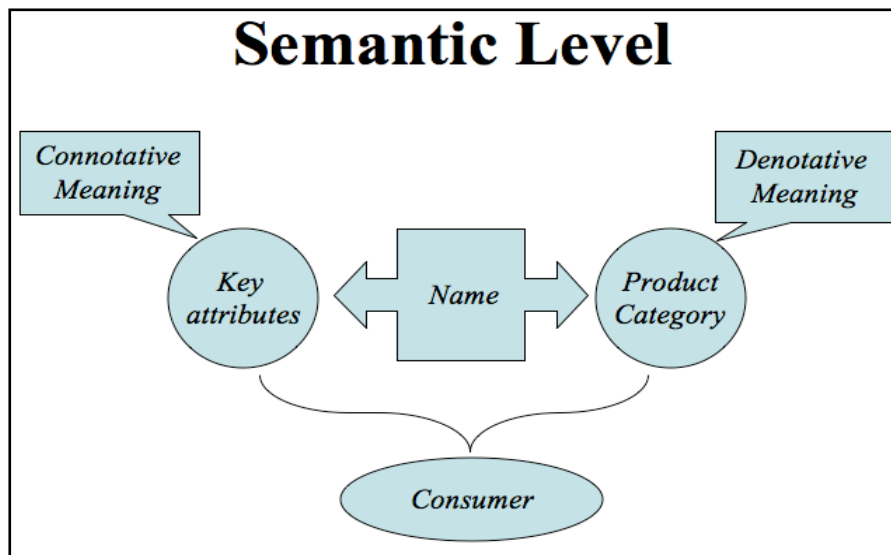


Figure 5

ern life and life styles. The main references are represented by the titles of famous movies and songs. In comparison to original English names, Italian solutions exhibit a completely different strategy of connotation.

For example, the ballistic *Waving not drowning* [Bath Bomb] in Italian becomes *Onda su Onda* “wave on wave”, which is the title of a famous song by Paolo Conte (1974).

Another example is *King of Skin* [Body Butter], which in Italian becomes *Parole di Burro* “butter words”, the title of a song by Carmen Consoli (2000).

The same strategy has been used for the examples that can be seen in the following table 3.

Non ti scordar di me is a good example showing how the lexicalization “*Nontiscordardime*” - the name of a flower - is a back-formation from the original sentence “don’t forget me”.

Differences in cultural references between Italian and English consumers can also be seen in the employment of “unusual” elements. In the English market, a lemon soap is called *Bohemian*, in reference to marginalised and impoverished artists or musicians, who could not afford a hot bath very often.⁵ In Italian that product becomes *Conosci la Terra Dove i Limoni Profumano?* “Do you know the land where the lemons blossom?”, referring to Goethe’s

words, which represent one of the most famous lines in German poetry as well as being an allusion to Italy (“Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühn?”).⁶

The scrubbing product originally called *You snap the Whip* [Body Butter] denotes a very strong skin, body and hair peeling. At the same time, it clearly recalls the sado-masochist dimension of sexual pleasure, the “pleasure/pain image”, where the skin is punished.

This sexual reference is totally lost in the Italian context, where the name chosen is *Magia Nera* “Black Magic”. In this case, what has been underlined is the “enchanted/magic” effect of this scrubbing product.

Another important fact is that Lush-Italy attempts to use different “English” elements on the Italian market, which only look like the original ones.

Comparing these names to England as well as to other countries with English-speaking competence, we found that the product names in most of the different countries did not change the strategies of naming, such as for the German or Spanish Lush products, but that this did happen in the case of the Italian products.

In the following list (table 1) we show how the “English” names of Italian products are different from the corresponding really English product names.

Table 1

Italian Name	Singer (Year)	Product	Original English Name
<i>Ricominciamo</i> “Start again!”	A. Pappalardo (1979)	[Massage Bar]	<i>Heavanilli</i> (Heaven + Vanilla)
<i>Splendido Splendente</i> “Splendid Shining”	D. Rettore (1979)	[Massage Bar]	<i>Shimmy Shimmy</i> (a class of belly dance)
<i>Ma che bontà! Ma che bontà!</i> “What a taste! What a taste!”	Mina (1977)	[Butter Cream]	<i>Heavenly bodies</i>
<i>Buonanotte Fiorellino</i> “Goodnight little flower!”	F. De Gregori (1975)	[Bubble Bar]	<i>Amandopondo</i> ⁷ (nonsense)

Lush-Italy also refers to movie titles in the naming process:

Table 2

Italian Name	Director (Year)	Product	Original English Name
Paradiso all’Improvviso “Paradise suddenly”	Pieraccioni (2003)	[Moisturiser]	<i>Paradise regained</i>
Ti spezio in due “I break you” from <i>Rocky IV</i>	Stallone (1985)	[Massage Bar]	<i>Wicky Magic Muscle</i>
La febbre del Sabato sera “Saturday Night Fever”	Badham (1977)	[Body Cream]	<i>Something wicked</i>
A qualcuno piace caldo “Some like it hot”	Wilder (1959)	[Soap]	<i>Spice curls Soap</i> ⁸
Atollo <i>13 < Apollo 13</i> “Apollo 13”	Howard (1995)	[Shower Gel]	<i>Rub Rub Rub!</i>
Il Signore dei Granelli < <i>Il Signore degli Anelli</i> “The Lord of the Ring”	Jackson (2002)	[Soap]	<i>Porridge Soap</i>
Era glaciale “Ice Age”	Cartoon Movie Wilson (2002)	[Soap]	<i>Ice Blue</i>

Table 3

English Names in Italy	Product	Original Names in England
<i>Peach and Love</i>	[Massage Bar]	<i>Each Peach</i>
<i>I love me</i>	[Massage Bar]	<i>Soft Coeur</i>
<i>Shining</i>	[Hair Conditioner]	<i>Veganese</i>
<i>Fred</i>	[Soap]	<i>Demon in the Dark</i>
<i>Dorian Gray</i>	[Liquid Shampoo]	<i>Daddyo</i>
<i>Thank God it’s Friday</i>	[Bath Bomb]	<i>Avobath</i>
<i>Thank God it’s Big</i>	[Bath Bomb]	<i>AvoBigBath</i>

4. Conclusions

From the case study presented, the grade of coherence between marketing communication tools and linguistic strategies seems to convey a consistent brand image. However, it would be important to test consumers' responses to brand names in terms of associations and see if the considerations that have emerged from the linguistic analysis correspond to consumers' perceptions.

From the linguistic point of view it may be said that the Italian product names were quite obviously developed or created for the Italian market, i.e. that Lush Italy acted with a clear awareness regarding the Italian consumers. Firstly, this is evidenced by the fact that the original English product names received a new Italian name, whereas, e.g., the Spanish Lush products kept their original English names.

The English name products are partly Italian creations (s. Table 3), partly easily perceptible personal names, songs or film titles, or simple words from the basic lexicon.

Other names were simply translated into Italian, as for them it is not the (foreign language), but rather the connotative or denotative content that is deciding for the advertising message.

The linguistic strategies used are based mainly on simple processes of letter substitution, creating new nominations that take the form of amusing puns. The world of associations evoked in the consumers by these puns seems to be that of entertainment, well-being, eroticism and nature. These associative domains are particularly suitable for cosmetic products, as they make the customer feel relaxed. Part of these associations is also determined or suggested by the connotative character of the product name: a face cream called *Nirvana* or *Karma Kream* (with graphical hypercharacterization of the word *Cream*) make the consumer feel better mentally, or they form a link with nature, as for the massage bar *Strawberry feels for ever*.

The highly denotative character of the product name, as for the bath foam *Pretty*

Woman, contains a direct message about the effects the use of the product will have.

Sometimes it is necessary to change brand names according to different markets, not only because the original associations may be lost in different languages, but also because of the different cultural circumstances in which brand names are used (for example, *Vanilla Pizzi* would hardly be understood outside Italy).

The indications resulting from the linguistic analysis of brand names (i.e. simplicity of language strategy, references to funny, pleasant activities such as movies, songs or common knowledge, the sensory experience suggested by the phonetic level, the dreamlike dimension conveyed by the semantic level) are all to be found at the other communication levels as well. For instance, the sensory dimension is evident in the point of purchase, the pleasant associations aroused by brand names are to be found also in the consistence, the smell and the shape of the products.

In this sense, we can maintain that the marketing strategies adopted in the communication mix are coherent with the choice of brand names. Brand names thus help to translate brand identity into a communication tool which reflects the company's values. Lush could be considered a "paradoxical company" that has managed to combine dimensions which are commonly considered as difficult to merge: in Lush a craftsmanship approach to production is pursued in an international dimension. Moreover, the hedonic dimension meets the ethic commitment without contradictions or incoherence.

Moreover, the contrastive analysis between the Italian and English brand names enables us to argue the role played by a specific set of socio-cultural references. For instance, the translation process of English brand name into Italian relies on a completely different context of associations and messages than the original names. These strategies, formulated and implemented at the different linguistic levels (lexical, morphological, phonetic one), combine with marketing mix in the pursuit of the communication of hedonic and sensorial dimensions.

Notes

- * This paper is the output of the joint work of the Authors. However, in the editing phase paragraphs 0.1., 2., 2.1., 2.2., 2.3., 3.1., 3.2., 3.3. were written by Paola Cotticelli Kurras, paragraph 3.4. by Alfredo Trovato and paragraphs 0.2., 1.1., 1.2. and 1.3. by Vania Vigolo. Paragraph 4 was written by all Authors.
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- ¹ Nielsen (1979) tried to demonstrate how the several dimensions of linguistic analysis (phonological, morphological, syntactical and semantic) could be used to deal with the elaboration of new brand names. Schloss (1981), e.g., in analysing the frequency of occurrences of some plosive sounds in the brand-naming context of 1974-1979, found that “the same three letters, P, C, K, consistently accounted for more than one-fourth of initial letters among the top 200 brands” (Schloss, 1981: 47).
- ² See Klink R.R. (2001).
- ³ All the pictures are downloaded from the official Company website (https://www.lush.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=frontpage&Itemid=1).
- ⁴ Maybe the word pond is hidden here; *Amanda* is also a very usual male proper name, so we had a small clause like: “Amanda in the pond, i.e. in the bath”, with an Italian -like ending in -o.
- ⁵ From J.W. Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, (1796/1796), III Book, Chap.1.
- ⁶ But it should formally be: “I love myself”. This is clearly a check in tongue reversion of ‘I love you’. The effect would be gone, if you would use the formally correct ‘I love myself’.
- ⁷ It could be a word game involving the girl group Spice Girls.

- ⁸ Another possible interpretation of this example is the association with the Bohemian style artists from the Bloomsbury Circle about Virginia Woolf.

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Names as Valuable Resources in the Music Market

Ilari Hongisto, Paula Sjöblom

Abstract

The rise of the commercial popular culture in the 20th century created many new name categories, and not least to the field of music. **However, there has not been systematic research on music related names.** The aim of this paper is to consider the questions related to this nomenclature, and to bring out the findings which correlate with the observations made about other commercial name categories. The main point of view is the genre of music, and how it appears in the names.

The music performers, individuals as well as groups, use *performer names*, which identify the performer and distinguish them from other performers. The recording of musical compositions started to increase in the 20th century. *Album name* sums the recorded compositions up under a title. *Composition name* refers to an abstract cultural product.

The world of music is a commercial one. The names of music are linked to a group of factors aiming at reaching the commercial objectives: **The name of music must be apt, unforgettable, compelling, informative, historyful, funny, and ambiguous.** The function of the names is to attract the consumers of popular music and art music.

Our approach to the music related names and their meanings are based on cognitive semantics. Their meaning is seen as a broad network connected to the surrounding context. The commercial functions of musical names are examined through separate, albeit interactional genres of music. Our focus is in form, meaning and function of the names. Even though the commercial product is music, the quality of which is ultimately valued by the general acceptance, one must not dismiss the significance of the names in the chain leading up to the purchase decision.

Introduction

The music industry is a major player in the global economy. In 2008 over 500 million music albums were sold in the United States alone, and in the same year the music industry contributed over 700 million Euros to Swedish exports (RIAA.COM, Year-end report 2008; YLE.fi, pop-news Jan 12 2006). The line between popular music and art music has blurred in many respects, and both cultural phenomena are often examined by social scientists through concepts like 'cultural capital' or 'the creative economy'. Over the past decades the relationship between culture and economy has

changed, and popular music as well as art music are nowadays seen as exploitable resources and as essential contributors to economic growth. Radical changes in the field of mass communication have forced most musical sectors to take the significance of publicity into account, one way or another. Meanwhile, the music industry has become increasingly interconnected with other industries: brands are built with the help of music, products are used to sell music, and artists are seen as brands. The alliance of music and economy shapes our common conception of music and the relationship between popular music and art music (Rautiainen-Keskustalo 2008). In the shaping

of these conceptions and values, names play an important role.

Inside the field of music, there is a myriad of different name classes: tours, instruments, concert halls and, for example, amplifiers can have proper names. However, music performer names, composition names and album names form rather clearly defined groups or categories, through which a nomenclature-based image of the field of music can be formed. Therefore, the focus of this paper is on these three name groups.

Performer names are used by individuals and groups to identify the musicians and distinguish them from the other performers. The performer name can be either the performer's own name or, more commonly, a stage name, with which an imaginary performer is created - an individual that has both commercial and non-commercial implications because of this performer name. **Although the naming traditions** have changed, performer names have appeared in art music long before popular music culture had raised to prominence.

When the recording of musical compositions started to increase in the 20th century, little by little the concept of *album name* was born. An **album name** comprises the recorded compositions and gives the entity a shared name. *Composition name* usually refers to a rather abstract cultural product, a musical piece, which may also exist as oral tradition only.

In this paper we will look at the aforementioned name categories and their relationship to commerce. The differences between names in popular music and art music and the appearance of the genre of music within the semantics of the names will be discussed. Finally, brief observations about the integration of musical nomenclature and commercial nomenclature will be presented. We consider classical music as one genre with several layers and sub-genres, and rock, heavy metal, blues, soul and techno as various genres of popular music.

The data are gathered from album review columns of two Finnish music magazines; *Rondo*, specialized in classical music, and *Soundi*, a popular music magazine. Both magazines have been published for decades, and they have authoritative positions in the Finnish music me-

dia: they are able to maintain genres as well as to create new ones. Besides names, references to the name holders' musical genres have been collected from the magazines. This way the name holders are linked to different genres by observing media's discussion on music. Consequently, the classification of genres is based on press discourse and not on the analysts' or name holders' values. The material is from the years 1996, 2007 and 2008, and it contains approximately 800 names.

Theoretical basis

The research of music related names benefits more from contemporary linguistic theory than from traditional onomastics. Functional and cognitive approaches provide fresh perspectives on the examination of names from the viewpoint of the language community on the one hand, and from the viewpoint of the name giving and name using individual on the other. These approaches are especially useful for the study of commercial names, whose creation and use might be affected by much more diverse, intentional and unintentional reasons than, for example, traditional place and personal names. Contemporary linguistic theory acknowledges that names also serve other functions than identification, and that names used for commercial purposes are being built and interpreted in a very complex manner for that reason.

Paula Sjöblom has approached the Finnish company name material from the systemic-functional viewpoint originally introduced by M.A.K. Halliday, as well as from the cognitive viewpoint based on Langacker and Lakoff (Sjöblom 2006). Both the appliance of the concept of three metafunctions (Halliday 1985: xii, xxxiv) to the names, and the way of examining the semantics of the names synchronically, which emphasises the metaphoricalness of language (Lakoff-Johnson 1980: 3-7) have proven to be very useful.

The basic cognitive linguistic concept of words and established compound words acting as a solid formal and semantic symbolical unit can be applied to names as well (Sjöblom

2008: 67-69). Names are a part of the semantic networks of language, partly separate, but still closely related to the rest of the expression arsenal of language. A purely cognitive outlook, however, only clarifies names from the other side of the coin: the part what happens in the human mind on a subjective as well as on an intersubjective level. Names, for the most part also commercial names, always also serve the use of language: meanings and interpretations take form when language is used, and the use determines the functions of the names.

From the systemic-functional viewpoint, names can be thought to have three metafunctions:

1. The textual function means that a name, unlike a common noun, which classifies referents as members of the same category identifies, identifies an individual out of the mass of referents.
2. The ideational function means how a name is situated in the semantic network, which meanings a name selects and to which cognitive domains the name connects its referent.
3. The interpersonal function refers to the functions the name has in daily use. In music related names, these interpersonal functions can, for example, be communication, creating communality, binding into a certain culture or genre, producing aesthetic experiences and humanizing the non-human (Sjöblom 2008: 69).

From the viewpoint of cognitive semantics, the meanings of names can be examined by whether the name has a meaning relation to the referent or not. If the name is in a meaning relation to the referent, it can say something about the referent directly (direct meaning relation, e.g. *The Vienna Philharmonic*), or indirectly (indirect meaning relation, e.g. *Ma Baker's Soul Factory*; *Metallica*) or it compresses multiple different meanings in a made-up word (compressed meaning relation, for instance *Satyricon*, *Manhole*). It is also possible that the name expresses nothing about its referent (interrupted meaning relation, e.g. *Asphyx*). Indirect meaning relations can be studied especially with the metaphor theory: one

can examine which source domains are used in describing the target domain (in this case performer, album or composition) (Sjöblom 2008: 77-79; on the concepts of *source domain* and *target domain* see Lakoff 1987:276, 288). For instance, *Ma Baker's Soul Factory* is a metaphorical name, which target domain is a performer group and which source domain is the manufacturer of concrete objects: THE GROUP IS AN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION PLANT. Names based on the indirect meaning relation can be metonymical, such as *Metallica* (THE PERFORMER REPRESENTS A GENRE OF MUSIC), or symbolical mirroring a wider set of values, ideology or culture (Sjöblom 2006: 216-218), such as *Suomen talvisota* ('The Finnish Winter War').

Genre tendencies of the nomenclature

A genre is a loose set of criteria for a certain cultural category. There are no fixed boundaries in a genre - it is formed by sets of conventions, and it is like a living cultural organism, transforming all the time. In the music business, a genre is a very efficient way to explain to a consumer what kind of music a band is playing. As mentioned before, the genres of popular music used in this research are rock, heavy, blues, soul and techno. Classical music is regarded as one genre. The three musical name categories, performer names, composition names and album names, are considered separately in relation to the different genres.

Performer names

Throughout the data, the names within the rock genre seem to be a kind of nomenclatural melting pot: performer names in this genre are very heterogenic. Among the names in the genre of rock, one can find some names based on the direct meaning relation, such as *The Band* or the Finnish group name *Timo Rautiainen & Trio Niskalaukaus* ('Timo Rautiainen & Trio Neckshot') which contains a direct reference to the group's front person and tells the number of other members in the group. However, a direct meaning relation to the referent

in rock performer names is rather uncommon. Instead, there is an abundance of names based on the indirect meaning relation. Some of these names are based on metonymy¹, like *The Guitar Slingers*. Many are based on metaphor, like *Corrosion of Conformity* (THE GROUP IS A CHEMICAL PHENOMENON). Some ostensibly meaningless names have been packed with hints: *Decoryah* (a reference to decorativeness and an interjection-like personal termination, cf. Mariah). A part of the names in the genre of rock is based on the interrupted meaning relation, like *Sküdüm* (an onomatopoeic interjection), in which the name as a word does not associate with the vocabulary of the language, but instead, gets its meaning merely based merely on the referent.²

Names in the genre of rock are more concrete in character, however, than the names used in heavy music, which are mostly based on an indirect meaning relation and which are metaphorical (*Rainbow*, *Nightwish*). Often the heavy names are symbolically related to myths, gods, fairy tales and religions (*Suburban Tribe*).

Blues and soul for their part are genres in which the performer names mostly refer to the artist. The culture of black music seems to be based on the individual artist (*Otis Grand*, *Buddy Guy*), since there are few band names in these two genres (*Little Car Blues*). The credibility is gained through the artist's own signature. A part of the credibility in the genres of soul and blues are the professional names used by the artists (*B. B. King*), which are often based on abbreviations or personal nicknames.

The names in techno music, on the other hand, are similar to those in the genre of rock, when it comes to the nature of meaning. However, the nomenclature in the genre of techno emphasises the way the music is created, the music itself, and the timeless experiences caused by the music (*The New Composers*, *Mind Over Rhythm*). Furthermore, since techno is instrumental music it is a link between popular music, which emphasises the lyrics, and classical music, which concentrates mainly on the music itself. This known fact is clearly visible in the composition names of both classical and techno music - the music itself emerges in the names of both genres.

The performer names in classical music differ almost completely from those in popular music. The connecting factor is that they both have many artist names. The artist in classical music is usually a singer, but also, for example, violinists' and conductors' personal names might get on display. Classical music orchestras are usually directly named after their towns of residence or after the music played. *London Symphonic Orchestra* and *Alban Berg Quartet* are examples of this kind of a direct meaning relation between the name and the referent. Names of orchestras based on an interrupted or indirect meaning relation are almost absent. However, a few examples are found, for example *Avanti!*, the name of a Finnish orchestra, which meaning is mainly based on metonymy. Names of choirs are more imaginative than the names of instrumental orchestras. A good example is *Mieskuoro Huutajat* ('Men's Choir The Shouters'), which banters with the customs of classical choir music through its performances, clothing and also through its name.

Playing with language is common in the names of music, particularly in performer names. This kind of names are linguistically motivated, which means that the reason for their existence is not a rich meaning content, but, for example, jokes based on phonetics and meanings of words that aim at humorous impressions. These kind of linguistic phenomena are, for example, rhymes (*Die Toten Hosen*), the symmetry of the parts of the names (*Dog Eat Dog*), homonymic names and homophones (*Nicepappi* which is a wordplay - *naispappi* is Finnish for a 'priestess'), palindromes and alterations of words (Finnish band names *Samma* 'Oral candidiasis'; *Rokkikasvot* 'Rock faces', that easily could be altered to *Kakkirosvot* 'Shit stealers').

Composition names

In popular music, composition names are, just like many album names, connected to the lyrics of the song. The same applies not only to popular music but also to vocal classical music. An example of a classical genre of this kind

is lied. Through the lyrics, the composition names' meanings are connected to daily matters and nature (for instance cars and places of nature), well-known scenes and their immediate surroundings (for instance wars and countries) as well as politics, comments and social criticism. However, powerful social criticism is less common in classical music than in popular music. Criticism towards society is probably the biggest thematic difference that separates the names in popular music from those in classical music. The most common theme in names and lyrics is love and relationships, both in popular and classical music. Also, descriptions of different emotions or emotional states are common in both fields. Furthermore, religion, mysticism, myths and fiction are possible themes. Metaphorical themes which meanings are left for the listener to decide are also common.

However, the composition names can also create other kinds of connections to the work itself than just the ones connected to the themes of the texts: the composition names can describe the music itself (Sibelius: *Water drops*³), in popular as well as in classical music. The composition name can also change the listener's point of view, for example, if the composition name is something totally different from the content of the text itself. This puts the listener into a situation where she or he has to re-evaluate the whole meaning and purpose of the composition. Therefore, the trigger for the interpretation is the unexpectedness, similarly to how unexpected performer names within a certain genre (e.g. *Kiss*) trigger a need to find an indirect interpretation for the name. In these cases, the whole thematic material, is lighted from a new point of view because of the name (Vaughan Williams: *London-symphony*⁴).

Names of compositions can also be labels that are neither related to the text nor to the music. Names of this kind may, for example, refer to the time when the work was composed or to the state of international affairs. Consequently, these names can be regarded metonymical, based on an indirect meaning relation, such as, for instance, Messiaen's *String quartet for the end of times*. However, composi-

tion names do not always have to make sense (Rush: *YZ*). They can also be entirely absurd, or, for example, just ordinal numbers (Finnish band *Apulanta* 'fertilizer': 1, 2, 3, etc.). In classical music, it is not rare to use generic numbers, when the meaning of the name is based on a direct meaning relation (*Fourth string quartet/Fifth symphony*). It is far more common to have names that are somehow connected to the music itself in classical music than in popular music, in which the text is usually co-operating with the name of the song - one way or another.

Album names

Album names are often linked to composition names. The fact that album names are labels for a totality including many individual names, deviates them from composition names, which is common especially in popular music, but also in art music. The same applies to the composition series names in classical music (Grieg: *Peer Gynt series*). In contrast to composition names, an album name also has a concrete reference to the album itself that contains photos or, for example, the history of the band in the covers.

Album names in popular music basically differ from album names used in classical music. In popular music, the names of albums are often connected to the themes of the songs, but in classical music, the album names most likely refer to the artist, the orchestra, the conductor, the songs, or the composer. It can be said, that album names in popular music are mostly based on an indirect meaning relation, whereas in classical music, the album names are based on a direct meaning relation (*Fourth string quartet and Fifth symphony*). Compared to popular music, there are only a few album names based on an indirect, compressed or interrupted meaning relation in classical music. Commerciality, though, produces more and more such classical album names as *Duets for the Restless Souls*.

A common way to name an album in popular music is to use the name of a song for the album. In that case, the name of one composition corresponds to the name of the album

(AC/DC: *Highway to Hell*). A fragment of the text of one particular song/composition can also be the name of the album (Kaamos: *Deeds and Talks*⁵). It is also common to name an album after the band's recording history (Toto: *IV*). Furthermore, it is possible to self-title the album, which means that there is no album name at all (*Led Zeppelin*). This kind of an album usually becomes nicknamed by the consumers. For instance, the fourth album by Led Zeppelin is without a name; the public calls it the *Number four of Led Zeppelin*. All the aforementioned album name examples represent direct naming. In these cases, the meaning of the album name has more or less to do with the contents of the album through a direct meaning relation.

In popular music, however, album names which form their meanings indirectly, mostly metaphorically, are often used as well. One example is the album *Appetite for Destruction* by the group Guns n' Roses, which serves as an independent headline to the compositions forming its meaning metaphorically referring to both the group's dangerous image and to the thematic world of the songs on the album (MUSIC IS FOOD). This kind of names can occasionally even get features of a symbolic name, like the latest album by Guns n' Roses, *Chinese Democracy*.

Functions of the names

The names in music have different functions. All the names have a general proper name function, which is an identifying function. They separate the individual from the common. As for the interpersonal functions, the performer names, album names and composition names can have different other functions: informative, practical, integrative, social, aesthetic, personifying, and - last but not least - persuasive, i.e. commercial, functions.

First of all, the names in music may have an informative function. An informative name is, for instance, *Metallica*, which informs on the genre and the metallic sound of the music performed. A musician can also advise his fellow musician to put more *metallica* into his

guitar sound. **Typical informative composition names** are names used in classical music, which provide a person familiar with classical music with, for example, information on the texture, tempo or style of a piece of music, or informs on the number of compositions of a certain kind by a certain composer (*The fifth symphony*).

Secondly, the name has a clear practical function when it is short, simple and easy to remember. Shortness is aspired at especially in many popular music performer names. A name formed in a way that the graphemes can easily be used to form an attractive visual logo (for example *Abba*, *Mew*) has practical function as well. At the same time, this kind of an imposing visual name serves the aesthetic function. An aesthetic name contains, for instance, beautiful-sounding phonological combinations, or in some other ways, tries to produce pleasant experiences (*Eminem*).

Performer names have an integrative and a social function in classical as well as in popular music. A performer name that refers to a band (*The Band*) binds the band members together under a single headline which unites them. The name creates a social feeling of togetherness and, therefore, performs the social function of the name. Names also integrate: through the name, the performer, compositions and albums merge with their own genre as well as with wider cultural contexts and ideologies (*Napalm Death*).

Finally, a performer name has always a personifying function. A band consists of separate human individuals, but the name in a way makes the band a person of its own with its own identity. **When it comes to the commercial value of the name**, personality is important. It is well known, that the identity and personality of a product or company are essential factors when the marketing machinery is creating a brand. The same goes for music. There are examples of classical music names being commercial, but it is much more common in popular music names. Commercialism invades nomenclature (*Backstreet Boys*). The name in pop has to be pithy, impressive, even funny, but - above all - selling.

Different types of commercialism

Naturally, the relationship between musical nomenclature and commercialism varies. Basically, music is produced for human and cultural needs, which are entirely other than commercial reasons. In today's world, however, culture has been made into a product: composers, lyricists and performers must sell their works and make a living, which requires a production and marketing machinery. This conflict between non-commercialism and commercialism causes that, with respect to commercialism, musical nomenclature can be classified into at least three groups: 1) commercially motivated names, 2) originally non-commercial brand names, 3) names of the so-called commercialized rebellion and 4) uncommercial names. The last-mentioned can easily move into group 2 or 3.

Some music related names are clearly commercially motivated. They have been made easy to remember, simple, punchy, non-irritating, and curry favouring with the target consumer group. Examples of such names include the unforgettable and punchy group names *Jane* and *Indx* created in Finland by the TV format *Popstars*, or the internationally well-known *Boyzone* and *Backstreet Boys*. Commercially motivated names must not push the consumers away or frighten them. This can be seen in album names and as well as in composition names. Thus, the albums especially directed at children and youngsters are named so that the parents who buy the albums will not be irritated (for example *Tik-Tak: Frenedit 'Friends'*).

Often, the naming models of commercially motivated names are searched for among successful predecessors: in classical music, for example *Turun kaupunginorkesteri* ('Turku City Orchestra') changed its name into *Turun filharmoninen orkesteri* ('Turku Philharmonic Orchestra') according to the name model from orchestras elsewhere in the world. In classical music, the common way of naming pieces according to the standard, generic name models of classical music can be considered commercially motivated or at least status-raising: through a work named a *symphony* or

a *string quartet* the composer joins the canon of art music, becomes one of the composers who can do the same, becomes a name among the names. A respected type of piece is named according to a customary model, when the composer's value rises. A similar array of values through naming is not built up in popular music, even though a composition name can include a generic reference to the genre, for example *ballad*.

Some of the musical names created from non-commercial bases have later become commercially motivated. **Names of old orchestras** such as the *Vienna Philharmonic*, and groups such as *The Beatles* or *Queen* have been turned into brands and are product protected purely for commercial reasons, even though the performers had originally started off from the ideal of art. These performer names are completely comparable with company names that have become valuable brands (*Nokia*, *Microsoft*). Very close to the companies' visual trademarks are also the typographically petrified band logos, which have found their way from decades-old album covers into all the group's fan merchandise, even the rear bumpers of the products of a collaborating passenger car company (for instance The Rolling Stones' collaboration with the Volkswagen car company in the 1990s).

Even the rebelliousness once connected with the rock culture has been commercialized. The supposed unorthodox naming appealing to the rebellious youth is now meant to create a positive purchase decision. Vocabulary that relates to drugs, sex, guns and blood connects the meanings of the names into a world seen as rebellious in the minds of the youth willing to buy. A good example of such a name is, for instance, *My Chemical Romance*. Classical music operates in accordance with the same rules, albeit in a bit more conventional way. It mostly rebels against its own tradition. In the world of classical music, naming a string quartet *Meta4* is extremely rebellious, imaginative, eye-catching and, without a doubt, tempting to make a purchase decision. However, there is a long way to go before a string quartet playing, for example, Joseph Haydn's music, will name itself *Cradle of Filth*.

When creating non-commercial names, the name-givers have not thought of music as a product, and their goal has not been to sell music. In the background of this kind of a name, there might have been artistic, ideological, political or social aspirations, but no commercial motivation. For example, the name of a piece by Pekka Pohjola, *Nytkivä keskustelu tuntemattoman kanssa* ('A twitching conversation with a stranger') feels completely uncommercial and seems not to be aiming at any external success. Some of the contents of music names are so harsh that they cannot be commercially motivated, when it comes to the mainstream audience. However, as representatives of their own genre, they might be orthodox, credible and thus selling anyway, although this has not been the intention. Examples of such names include the group names *Nussivat nunnat* ('Humping nuns') and *Rotting Christ*. The way towards names of commercialized rebellion is short. A skilful name-giver who knows the culture can seal the gap between disdain and acceptance to commercial success.

Conclusion

According to the material, the names in popular music seem to be far more subtle and richer in meaning than in classical music. This applies not only to performer names and composition names but also to album names. This can be explained by the strong emphasis on the meaning of the text in popular music. In classical music, it is the music that is most likely to be in the focus in the names; therefore, the naming process is often kept unnoticeable to allow the musical work to be in the centre.

Based on preliminary observations, it is possible to perceive the identities of the different fields in music through nomenclature. Popular music tells stories, takes stands and uses imagination. Classical music, for its part, concentrates on the real sounds and voices, and on its producers, composers and performers with their own personal and orchestra's names. However, this does not exclude that it would be possible to take stands also in the

names of classical music, rather on the contrary. When stands are taken in classical music, the opinion is made clear and it has much emphasis due to the genre's common concentration on the music itself, not on the culture surrounding the music.

On the whole, the music related names, especially performer names, and to some extent also album names, have an increasingly important commercial function. How selling the music related name is, is a complex phenomenon: it is influenced by linguistic, especially semantic and sociolinguistic, factors, genre as well as expectations of the target group, and ultimately, of course - the music itself.

Notes

- ¹ The difference between metonymy and direct meaning relation sometimes can be wafer-thin. On the other hand, the line between metaphor and metonymy is also blurry.
- ² However, the phonological form might evoke certain, for instance humoristic or sound-based, images.
- ³ The work is composed for pizzicato strings, which sound like dripping water drops.
- ⁴ The name emphasizes Williams' nationalism and, on the other hand, the fact that a composer, who usually portrays the countryside, makes an exception and portrays London, a metropolis - the same is reverberated in the occasional haste of the music.
- ⁵ The song *Strife* on the album *Deeds and Talks* by the Finnish group *Kaamos* ('Polar darkness'): "Deeds and talks are different things, average guys and ruling kings".

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Rebranding in Russian Ergonymy as a Matter of Sociolinguistics

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Abstract

This paper devoted to the analysis of the motives for rebranding and the means of ergonyms' creation in the Russian language. According to the collected data (400 Russian companies, which changed their names), all the motives for rebranding come under two groups, which are almost equally represented in modern Russian: economical (the expansion of a company's business scope, the consolidation of companies) and sociolinguistic (political and ideological changes, the influence of language policy, changes in linguistic fashion). Each of these reasons coheres with a certain type of rebranding. If economic motives prevail, then full rebranding takes place in most cases; when sociolinguistic motives are more important, a company usually turns to partial rebranding.

Introduction

Compared to companies in the rest of the world, the majority of Russian companies is relatively young. However, today many brands that were established more than 10 years ago, no longer match either the present scale and scope of the company's business nor the contemporary linguistic situation in Russia. This fact has led to many cases of rebranding. This phenomenon of rebranding is an interesting object of study for both marketing experts and sociolinguists. In this paper I present an analysis of data of contemporary Russian ergonyms or "company names". My objective is to identify how the linguistic means for rebranding are affected by a) the motives of the actors involved in this process and b) the societal circumstances in which it takes place.

Terminology

By *ergonym* (from Greek *εργον* "enterprise" and *ονομα* "name") we mean a proper name referring to any business alliance of people

(organizations, societies, political parties, commercial enterprises etc.): *Sberbank*, *Inturist*, *Yedinaya Rossiya*, *Radezh* and so on. This term was introduced by N.V. Podolskaya in *The Dictionary of Russian onomastic terms*, published in 1988. From that time it has been used frequently in various works of Russian researchers. Nevertheless, its scope and the role of ergonyms in the system of proper names is still discussed upon. I will not put too much attention to this problem, but at the same time I would like to state, that this term is easy to use, as it is relatively short but informative. Moreover, it is well integrated in contemporary onomastic terminology. The use of a term as ergonymy is also possible - it stands for the whole number of ergonyms of a certain language.

Ergonyms can be regarded as a separate body within the onymic lexis. In spite of the variability of the semantic structures and different denotative references of these names, they have much in common. First of all, they belong to one conceptual field and denote the objects subjected to advertisement. Secondly, they are alike in their pragmatic orientation

and their possible impact on the addressee is taken into account at the stage of invention. Thirdly, they denote an individual object's symbol, which comprises verbal as well as non-verbal components (Kryukova 2004).

One of the main distinctive features of the advertising name, setting it apart from other classes of proper names and common nouns, is its rapid adaptation to contemporary language. As a result of several social mechanisms it appears in regular speech and gets fixed in the native speaker's mind in a few months after it was invented, supposing that the advertised item was promoted as quickly as possible (Kryukova 2008: 734). In other words branding and rebranding involves language change that is evidently guided by social and commercial interests. This is exactly why branding and rebranding are such interesting topics for sociolinguistic research.

According to the definitions given by economists *rebranding* is the process by which a product or service developed with a particular brand, company or product line affiliation is promoted or distributed with a different identity. This may involve radical changes to the brand's logo, brand name, image, marketing strategy, and advertising themes. These changes are typically aimed at the repositioning of the brand or the company, usually in an attempt to distance itself from certain negative connotations of the previous branding, or to move the brand up market. Rebranding can be applied to new products, mature products, or even products still in development. The process can occur intentionally through a deliberate change in strategy or occur unintentionally from unplanned, emergent situations, such as a corporate restructuring (Wikipedia; Sinclair 1999: 13).

Even though the subject of the present analysis is corporate rebranding, it is noteworthy that not all the stages of this process are examined, but the variation of the brand's verbal part only. Or to put it otherwise, I have not included restyling (the change of a logo and other visual brand components) in the object of my study. The correlation between verbal and non-verbal parts of the ergonym can serve as the subject for a separate study.

Data

I have analyzed the motives of the executives of more than 400 Russian companies to proceed with rebranding. Their spheres of business interest vary a lot; there are banks, investment companies, airlines, light industry enterprises and food companies in the list. But all of them - for different reasons - changed their names at the end of the 20th or at the beginning of the 21st century. The information has been taken from official corporate websites and popular business oriented magazines and newspapers, like *Kommersant*, *Delovoy Vestnik*, *Delovoy Peterburg*, *Finansovye Izvestiya* etc. Also the relevant articles of Russian law were used to examine the way language policy affects rebranding.

Reasons for rebranding and the means to create ergonyms

The reasons for rebranding can be divided into two main groups, which are almost equally represented in contemporary Russia. They are:

- Economical reasons (consolidation of enterprises, change or expansion of the company's business scope).
- Sociolinguistic reasons (gradual erasure of ideologically marked names, contemporary linguistic fashion and the influence of language policy).

Each of these reasons coheres with certain linguistic means to create ergonyms. Some of them characterize full name change, others modify names only partially.

Economical reasons for rebranding are actually universal for all economically developed countries. In this group two types can be distinguished:

- The expansion of a company's business scope, including international expansion.
- The consolidation of companies.

In Russia the expansion of a company's business scope dominates among the reasons for rebranding. This reason leads to a full name change or to a loss or change of geographical components of the name. According to the collected data, a change of such a geographical component is most frequent. As a rule, the new name is usually based on a toponym which refers to a larger territory.

A striking example is the renaming of *Bashkreditbank* (an abbreviation for "The Credit Bank of Bashkiria") to *Uralo-Sibirskiy Bank* or - if contracted - *Uralsib* ("Ural-Siberian Bank"): *Bashkreditbank* was founded as a loan office to satisfy the needs of Bashkirian local residents. Eventually it had overgrown its regional level and turned into one of the largest banking enterprises in Russia. Soon its regional network started to develop, as well as its customer base. But the name of the bank was still forming the image of a provincial company. It vividly demonstrated the conflict between its name and the scale of its business. On the 1st of January 2002 *Bashkreditbank* became *Uralsib*. The new ergonym has several advantages over the old one:

- The regions of the bank's primary business interest are Urals and Siberia. Exactly in these regions the majority of the national industrial capacity is situated. Most of *Uralsib* offices are also located in these areas.
- The new name expands the image of the company's business: Urals to the west, Siberia to the east. In a certain way it interprets Russia's centuries-old Eurasian geopolitical idea.
- According to some analysts, the name reminds of the most popular Russian oil brands - *Urals* and *Siberian Light*. This feature makes the name easy to understand for foreign investors. What is more, they might like the assonance of the *Uralsib* brand with one of the most prominent Russian natural resources (СЫБЛИКА).
- The new name is alluded to older Russian bank brands - those of the pre-revolutionary period (up to 1917) in which the elite of the empire's banking business was represented by enterprises such as *Russko-Aziatskiy Bank* (*Russian-Asian Bank*), *Volgo-*

Kamskiy Bank (*Volga-Kama Bank*), *Azovsko-Donskoy Bank* (*Azov-Don Bank*). Hence, the full variant of *Uralsib* was formed according to the principles that dominated ergonymy more than 100 years ago.

If an airline company goes to the federal level and gets rebranded for this reason, the first letter of the previous name is usually maintained. For instance, when *Tyumenaviatrans* (from the name of its native city - Tyumen) opened international routes it was renamed to *UTair*. In similar circumstances *Sibir Airlines* (from Siberia) turned into *S7*.

Many companies exclude the component of geographical reference from their new names. As a result the new ergonym often bears a mere symbolic character. It may, for instance, underline the role of the enterprise in the newly formed circumstances. One of the most remarkable examples, in this respect, is the renaming of *Sibirskiy Alyuminiy* (*Aluminum of Siberia*) into *Bazoviy Element* (*Base Element*). Sometimes the media also call it *Bazel* [baze l] - in a western way. In this case the name *Sibirskiy Alyuminiy* is determined by the company's business interest and mentions the territory where its major facilities are based. As soon as the business' scope was widened and international expansion started, the need for rebranding occurred. The new ergonym *Bazoviy Element* is not connected with the sphere of the company's business interest; the accent is moved to the role of the company in business. Now *Bazel* is perceived as one of the basic and the most prominent companies. With *Bazoviy Element* the addressee may refer to any sort of business - disregarding the industry it belongs to.

This full change of a toponymically developed name into a symbolic one is a very complicated and expensive process; it often represents the result of teamwork, performed by highly qualified experts. A perfume and cosmetics production enterprise *Uralskiye Samotsvety* (*Gems of Ural*) was the first Russian company to use the advantages of this type of rebranding. In 1999, when its business reached further than the borders of Ural, the company announced a tv contest for the best new name. The jury received over 100.000 variants, ex-

cluded variants that did not meet the rules of the contest. Submissions were judged by experts in psycholinguistics and phonosemantics and a specially designed computer program evaluated the effect all these names could have on people's minds. The computer selected 100 names which could be unconsciously associated with such notions as *light, kind, splendid, powerful*. After that the members of the contest committee checked these names for their compliance with the matter and whether they did not infringe on existing trademarks. The winner word was *Kalina* (the fruit of a snowball-tree or Viburnum) which was independently suggested by 106 contestants. In a year the newly named company could expand its market share from 9% to 15%.

In the case of a consolidation the identifying function of the ergonym is maintained and only partial rebranding is used. Word-formation by means of compounding is frequently used to create new ergonyms. My analysis shows that these linguistic means are usually chosen when two equally large companies consolidate. An interesting case took place at the end of 2002 when two large survey research firms consolidated, *ROMIR* and *Monitoring.ru*. The name of their amalgamated business was *ROMIR Monitoring*. If the stocks of the consolidating companies are not equal, compounding is often accompanied with transliteration of name parts into the alphabet used by the larger and more powerful party. For instance, the shipyard *Океан* (*Okean*, from Russian "ocean") was purchased by the world-famous group *Wadan Yards*. Right after that it was renamed to *Wadan Yards Okean*. A different means to create a new brand in the case of a companies' consolidation is the loss of the old name together with the addition of some index number or combination of letters. For example, *Guta-Bank* was taken over by *Vneshtorgbank* and given the new name *Vneshtorgbank 24*.

Sociolinguistic reasons for rebranding are more characteristic for rebranding in Russia due to the social and political developments in the past two decades. According the rank of their

frequency in contemporary Russian ergonymy the following sociolinguistic reasons for rebranding can be distinguished:

- political and ideological changes observed in modern Russian society
- the influence of language policy
- changes in linguistic fashion

The fall of the Soviet Union and the subsequent political and ideological changes have led to the replacement of most of the ideologically marked ergonyms, like names of businesses with personal reference to the name of a political leader (for example, many hundreds of Soviet factories bore the name of *Lenin*), or names with ideologically connotated words and word-collocations (e.g.: *Krasnaya Zarya, Barrikady, Serp I Molot*).

It is noteworthy that rebranding is practically not applied to ideologically marked ergonyms which were created many years ago, and which have already gained general notoriety in Russia and abroad. They have lost their ideological function and at the present moment the well-known name just guarantees the quality of the produced goods. Widely known names of Moscow-based enterprises, like the clothes factory *Bolshevichka* (from Russian "female-Bolshevik") or the confectionery plant *Krasniy Oktyabr* (from Russian *Red October*), are vivid examples of this phenomenon. On the regional level an opposite trend is observed. Apart from simple name reduction (e.g.: *Volgogradskiy Traktorniy Zavod imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskogo* - a Volgograd tractor plant named after one of the revolutionary leaders - turned into *Volgogradskiy Traktorniy Zavod*) more creative word-forming methods are used as well.

A Volgograd confectionery plant may serve as a proper example of partial rebranding. It used to bear a common descriptive name with a personal dedication of ideological character - *Konditerskaya fabrika imeni Lenina* ("Confectionery plant named after Lenin"). This ergonym is rather typical of the Soviet period of Russian history. In 1999 the plant was renamed to *Konfil JSC*. The new name acts as the successor of the old one. Nevertheless, the outer form of this new name and the old one

are substantially different. It is also an example of a creative means to form a new ergonym: new abbreviated ergonyms made up from the old ideologically marked names. It is evident, that the original, abbreviated name is not supposed to be used anymore. The new name is freed from the unwanted ideological allusions with Lenin. Besides that, has some other advantages:

- it is original and authentic; homonymy is hardly possible, because the new name is actually an abbreviated form of the old one;
- it is short and sonorous; it is easily transcribed and transliterated, which is an evident plus, taking into consideration the companies plans for international expansion;
- it favorably alludes to such well known words as, for example, philatelist or bibliophile; therefore it leads to a new supposed meaning - “candy fan”;
- finally, its grammatical form corresponds to a Russian noun of masculine gender in nominative case; it can be declined (*Konfil*, *Konfilu*, *Konfilom*) and even serve as a stem for word-forming. A new sort of candies produced by the plant was named *Konfilochka*.

The enterprise actively uses its new name in advertising campaigns and its sale-level gradually increases.

The same model was used by *Lenkom* theater in Moscow. It used to bear a complicated ideologically marked name - *Teatr imeni Leninskogo Komsomola* (from Russian “the theater named after Lenin Communist Youth League”). In the early 1990’s the theater’s name was changed to *Lenkom* and thus evaded unwanted connotations. At the same time, it maintained a recognizable and linguistically easy-to-use name.

There are also other ways to free ergonyms from unwanted ideological connotations. The names which large industrial enterprises used to bear in pre-revolutionary periods have, for instance, been re-established. *Imperatorskiy Farforoviy Zavod* (Imperial porcelain plant) had been on the market since 1744, but in 1925 it was renamed to *Leningradskiy Farforoviy Zavod imeni Lomonosova* (Leningrad porce-

lain plant named after Lomonosov). In 2005 the original name was used again. *Obukhovskiy Staleliteyniy Zavod* (Obukhov’s steel works) has a similar history. It was founded in 1798 and named after one of its founders. Later on - in 1922 - it was named *Bolshevik*. In 1992 the historical name has been re-introduced.

Russian rebranding is also affected by language policy. Linguistic policy as a sociolinguistic phenomenon may be referred to as a part of state policy, namely as a complex of ideological principles and practical measures aimed at solving linguistic problems at the social and state level (LES: 616). Language policy has different forms of expression of which language laws are the most important. Considering that ergonyms are recognized as a special type of property, which means that they are legally fixed and protected, every interpretation of a law on industry can eventually lead to rebranding. For example, the amendments to the Civil Code which were put into effect in January 2008, set the standard for ergonyms at a higher level. There are three provisions of this law which primarily concern the rebranding in Russian ergonymy:

1. According to Article 1473 of the Russian Civil Code, a company name cannot be limited with a direct indication of the company’s line of business. In practice, it means that starting from 2008 registry authorities refuse to register companies with names like *Travel Agency JSC* or *Guided Tours Inc.*
2. According to this law, the use of official state country names is prohibited; it concerns the word *Russia* and all the names of other countries and their derivatives. The amendment says that only those companies which have at least a 75% of state share can indicate their coherence to Russia in the name. Under such conditions only the most popular and valuable brands can have the word *Rossiya* in their titles. Among them there are *Sberbank Rossii* (from Russian “Savings Bank of the Russian Federation”) or *Aeroflot - Rossiyskiye Avialinii* (from Russian “Aeroflot - Russian Airlines”). According to expert opinion, the expenses for

rebranding these companies would reach a total of approximately 20 million dollars. Less powerful business ventures have to raise money for rebranding.

3. Two companies that work in the same business line, should not have the same or similar names. At the present moment there are about 100 enterprises in every federal region whose names do not meet the case of civil law. This serves as one of the reasons of numerous renaming cases. In this instance rebranding is performed in correspondence with local acts and decrees. For example, some local authorities (in Arkhangelsk, Tula, Saratov and some other cities) legally recommend companies under rebranding to use some reference to historical and geographical features of the region in their new names. Recently *Lakomka* confectionary plant (15 similar ventures all across Russia bear the same name) based in Tula has been renamed to *Staraya Tula* (from Russian “Old Tula”) in concordance to such a decree.

Rebranding in Russia is especially affected by linguistic fashion. In this particular case we judge from the statement that the notion of fashion as an element of social normative basis can be applied to a number of various objects, namely - clothes, foods, alcoholic beverages, tobacco goods, musical compositions, works of fine arts and literature, architectural models, lifestyles, sports and words. Actually, when it comes to words, we deal with linguistic fashion.

We consider that modern Russian lexis is quite indicative this way. By linguistic fashion we mean the bundle of psychological, ideological, economic and other preferences of a social group, which concerns language and its use in a certain society at a certain time. It is easily drawn from this definition that any phenomenon can be referred to as an object of linguistic fashion only in a certain state of language, which has been formed in a certain society and in a certain period of time. Sociologists have been examining this feature of any fashion object for quite a long time (cf. the survey on such researches in the article of Sproles G. B. (1982). Besides, sociologists

acknowledge that some things and behavioral modes are subject to fashions more often than others (Gofman 2004). Nevertheless, linguistic fashion was not in any case an object of attention of sociologists.

Contemporary Russian ergonyms are strongly affected by linguistic fashion and therefore stick to fashion trends. For instance, when the trend for foreign names began to decline many ergonyms made up of English words started to look odd and out of date, particularly when it concerned domestic market ventures. Some of them managed to realize that in time and performed all the necessary rebranding procedures. In 1998 one of the major Russian alcohol beverages traders - *Alfa Spirits Group* - changed its name for *Russkaya Vино-Vodochnaya Kompaniya* (“Russian Wine and Vodka Company”). The same motives result in partial rebranding; many ergonyms were transliterated from Latin to Cyrillic. For example, there was a Russian food company in the 1990’s which had a non-motivated name *Wimm-Bill-Dann*. It was made up in accordance with the fashion for foreign names - a popular trend at that time. When the linguistic fashion changed and consumers started to prefer native products the company’s name transliterated to Cyrillic letters - *ВИММ-БИЛЛ-ДАНН*.

Conclusion

To summarize, I would like to mention that from the point of view of linguistics two rebranding methods can be regarded:

- the full switch of an old language sign to a new one, which is not associated with the old one - either structurally nor semantically (called *full rebranding*);
- the forming of a new ergonym on the basis of the old one by means of abbreviation, contraction, stem-compounding, transliteration (called *partial rebranding*).

If economic motives prevail, then full rebranding takes place in most cases; when sociolinguistic reasons are more important, a company usually turns to partial rebranding.

If past experience is any guide, the biggest part of the above mentioned Russian companies managed to achieve the goals of rebranding, and their new names became symbols of success in business. The fore-going analysis of the present situation involving Russian corporate brands enables us to assume, that within 2 or 3 years we will witness mass rebranding, that will apparently affect the ventures of all the business lines in Russia. This fact determines the perspectives of this research project and makes it applicable not only to renaming practice but to linguistic theory as well, for it could cast light upon many onomastic and sociolinguistic matters, such as onomastic style and fashion, fusion lexical processes and lexical globalization, modern genesis of linguistic creative process etc.

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From Backmans Blommor to Hairstyle by Lena: The Use of Personal Names in the Names of Small Companies in Sweden

Katharina Leibring

Abstract

This paper discusses the use of personal names in the names of small enterprises in Sweden during the last 75 years. The main questions are: if and how the general informalization of the Swedish society is reflected in these company names through an increasing use of first names, and if there is a gender-related difference in the usage of first names. In all company types, the use of first names, both male and female, in the company names has become more common since the 1930's. Male first names are more likely to be related to the owner's name, while female first names can be chosen from the general onomasticon as well.

o. Introduction

Company names remain somewhat unexplored in onomastic studies of commercial names. To quote Kremer & Ronneberger-Sibold (2007:17): “we may still speak of rather limited interest in this [company names] subject area ... [but] corporate names yield most interesting data to scholars interested in name sociology and name pragmatics”. Company names can tell us many things about our present society, but they can also illustrate changes in the economic and social structures that have taken place during the last century. In this paper, my aim is to examine the use of personal names in the names of small enterprises in Sweden during the twentieth century, thus combining my interests in personal names and commercial names.

This paper is part of a larger diachronic investigation about the development of names of small enterprises (Leibring forthcoming). Objective of this research project is to explore if and how these developments reflect the ‘informalization’ of Swedish society over the past decades. Of special interest to study is when the custom of using the owner's first name becomes

common, and correlating this to the general informalization in Sweden which is clearly visible in today's overall use of the first name and the pronoun *du* (second person singular) in almost all situations: between strangers, between persons in different social positions or different ages, even from pupils to teachers (Löfgren 1988:174ff.). Nowadays, a person's occupational title is very rarely used when someone is addressed, either in oral or written communication. Even in much official correspondence, from e.g. social services or local administration, the *du*-pronoun is used, and language planners recommend this as the rule (Svenska skrivregler 2008:42). This *du*-process began in the 1960's and has been successful ever since, though there is an ongoing backlash; younger people in the service sector sometimes use the pronoun *Ni* (second person plural and the older, more polite form¹) to customers (Språkriktighetsboken 2005:127-130), which may annoy older persons. In my broader study I am investigating the geographical, sociological and gender aspects of the relationship between owners and names of companies. In the present paper I will mainly focus on the gender aspects. The following questions will be discussed:

- Are male and female personal names in company names used in different ways, and if so - is there a relationship between the different use and the gender of the owners of these enterprises?
- Is it more common for company names to be derived (exclusively) from female first names or from male first names?
- Is there a larger readiness to use the names of female 'icons' in company names, than to use male 'icons'? With 'icons', I mean well-known persons, real or fictitious, historic or now living, whose names are familiar to many people in the local or national society.
- If more female icon names are used, does this reflect different attitudes to the use of male or female names in general or are there other, more business-related reasons to be found?

I will answer these questions using name examples collected from company names of several company types in five cities in Sweden during the last 75 years.

1. Research material

My material comes from company names listed under chosen headings in the classified directory parts in the Swedish telephone directories from five different company types from five sample years in five cities: Jönköping, Karlstad, Malmö, Sundsvall and Uppsala. The cities are distributed over a large part of Sweden and vary in size and socio-economic struc-

ture with either an industrial or an educational focus. In the telephone directories, in most cases, the name of the proprietor is also listed, which helped in classifying naming motives. In some instances, concerning recent names, I have also checked with the owners about the background of certain names, but as this study focuses on the use of personal names, in most cases the correlation of the company name and the name of the owner was sufficient for my analysis.

The five sample years are 1935, 1950, 1970, 1990 and 2008/09.² 1935 may look like a late starting-point, but Sweden was for long a predominantly rural country, and towns were quite small until well into the 1900's. The non-agricultural population, for instance, did not reach over 60% until in the 1930's (Historisk statistik för Sverige tab. 23). During the 1930's, the industrial expansion increased, many new companies were founded and many new services started to flourish as more people had more money to spend (Schön 2000:354-357).

The company types which are examined here, are all given in the classified directories, and they all belong to the broad service sector in industrial society: cafés³, car repair works, flower shops, hair-dressers and plumbers. All these businesses can be identified as small local enterprises, which do not require long formal education to run. Regarding gender, car repairs and plumbing are traditional male professions, while ladies' hairdressing has been a more female-owned business since it first became common in the 1920's (Forsberg 2007:34f.). Gentlemen's hairdressing started

Table 1: Number of companies each year in each city

	1935	1950	1970	1990	2009	Total
Jönköping	101	145	319	249	232	1046
Karlstad	69	156	209	182	149	765
Malmö	417	602	1038	NA	420	2477
Sundsvall	104	186	316	243	179	1028
Uppsala	128	143	241	272	260	1044
Total	819	1232	2123	946	1240	6360

NA, value not available

as a male domain (barbers), but, at least since 1970, more women than men are active in that profession. Owning a café or a flower shop is more gender-equal.⁴

Table 1 shows the number of companies for each sample year in each city. In total, there are about 6300 registrations. Of course, several companies are registered in more than one year, as some companies are long-lived, but by doing this all-inclusive collection, one gets a better overview of the name stock for each year. Malmö has by far the largest number of companies, as Malmö is Sweden's third biggest city. Jönköping, Sundsvall and Uppsala are of roughly the same size, with Karlstad trailing behind (Harlén 2003).

As can be seen from Table 2, the largest enterprise type is formed by the hairdressers, which up until 1970 was divided into ladies' and gentlemen's businesses in the telephone directories. Cafés and car repairs are the second and third largest types, while flower shops and plumbers are the smallest.

2. Types of company names

I will devote my paper to those names that contain personal names, but first I will make some more theoretical observations about the total name stock in my name material. According to the Swedish Firmalag (Company Law) from 1974, a company name is not discernible

if it consists of only a place name or a company-specifying description, but the proprietor's family name can always be used as a 'firm sign'. The stock of company names can be divided into several name types: a) informative proper names, b) associative proper names, c) meaningless proper names (Sjöblom 2005:270). The oldest form of company names are those in group a, whereas group c is a more recent phenomenon. The company names in group a can have personal names in them, place-names (usually as some kind of identifier), enterprise-typical elements and combinations of these, sometimes coupled with information about the company's economic or legal structure (Ltd, Ges., AB). Most of the company names in my material belong to the group of informative proper names, but especially the younger names show examples from both group b and group c. Among these younger names one finds names that combine puns and jokes with some of the trades' common epithets and nonsense names, for example, cafés *Nyfiket*, *Kaffe & Kackel*, car repair firm *Need for Speed Malmö*, hairdressers *Salong Vild & Vacker*, *clip.art*, *Pajazzzo*, plumbers *KVF AB*, *Tass AB*.

3. Language origins of the company names

Although most of the collected company names are monolingual and only consisting of words from the Swedish language, among the hairdressers' names influences from oth-

Table 2: Number of enterprises per company type

	1935	1950	1970	1990	2009	Total
Car repair shops	66	118	405	217	249	1055
Flower shops	78	135	220	68	125	626
Hairdressers						
- Ladies'	240	414	665	NA	NA	(1319)
- Men's	82	136	290	NA	NA	(508)
- Total	322	550	955	441	544	2812
Cafés	305	328	330	69	117	1149
Plumbers	48	101	213	151	205	718
NA, value not available						

er languages can be identified, particularly in the later years. English is the most common source for these names, however some French elements also occur. Some examples of names containing English elements are: *Need for Speed Malmö* (car repair firm), *Art of Flowers* (flower shop), *Wild at Heart* (hairdresser), *Hairstyle By Lena* (hairdresser) and *Café Next Door* (café), all from Malmö 2009. A few examples containing French words are: *Salong Petit* and *Salong Petite*, *Salong Vanité*, *Le Café*, *La Femme*, *Salon La France*, *Salong Chez Moi*, *Mon Plaisir*. All except *Le Café* and *Mon Plaisir* denote hairdressers, from 1970 and 1990. One can notice the different spelling of the French loanword *Salon* (Swedish: *Salong*) in some of these names. The company type that is most exclusively Swedish in its names are the plumbing firms of which only very few names contain English words: *Eco Therm*, *ControTech AB*, *Indupipe AB*, *Power Heat Consult Sverige AB*, all from 2008.

4. First names in company names - masculine vs. feminine company types

The rest of this paper will be devoted to Swedish company names that contain personal names, and first names in particular. I will discuss what kind of gender differences can be identified in different company types, and over time.

4.1. Overall structure

Personal names in company names can be divided into three formal groups: family names,

first names or nicknames or full names (first name and family name). The names do not have to be related to the owner's name - which I will discuss below. According to the figures, the use of personal names in company names has become less frequent over the years.

Table 3 shows that in 1935, 1950 and 1970 the majority of company names contained some kind of personal name. This matches Paula Sjöblom's results from late 19th century Finland where the oldest and most common type of company names is the one containing personal names (Sjöblom 2005:271). The frequency of personal names in company names did not only change over time, it also differs between different company types. The names of (male) hairdressers and plumbers are most likely to contain personal names while personal names are used least by flower shops and cafés.

These figures show there has been a decrease in the use of personal names for all types, most pronounced among the hairdressers and plumbers, which both started on a very high level. Today, car repair firms are most likely to have personal names in their names.

4.2. Different company types and the use of first names only

As stated before, one of the central aims in this project is to examine if, and how, the informalization of Swedish society is mirrored in company names. This process of informalization is for example reflected in the use of first names only (FNO) in the formation of company names. The percentage of company names consisting

Table 3: Percentage of company names containing personal names

Year	Percentage of company names containing personal names
1935	66%
1950	68%
1970	58%
1990	44%
2009	33%
Total	54%

of a first name only (*Birgits Damfrisering, Kafé Göta*) rises from 2% in 1935 to 6% in 1950, 13% in 1970 and 19% in 1990. In 2009 the percentage of FNO company names is 17%.

There is an evident gender difference in the usage of FNO. Of all the company names

containing any type of female name, no less than 45% has a first name only, either related to the proprietor's name or to a female name of any other kind. Among company names containing male names, only 20% consist of a first name only. The remaining 80% of these

Table 4: Number of company names with personal names in them, per company type and year.

	1935	1950	1970	1990	2009	1935-2009*
Car repair shops	70%	69%	56%	44%	44%	53%
Flower shops	42%	40%	37%	40%	23%	36%
Hairdressers						
- Ladies'	82%	79%	62%	NA	NA	
- Men's	96%	96%	84%	NA	NA	
- Total	86%	83%	69%	43%	31%	62%
Cafés	48%	49%	40%	35%	26%	43%
Plumbers	79%	75%	61%	54%	35%	55%

* Weighted average

NA, value not available

Table 5: Number of companies with first names only (FNO) in their names.

		1935	1950	1970	1990	2009	Total
Car repair shops	male names	0	1	23	23	27	74
	female names	0	0	1	0	0	1
Flower shops	male names	0	0	4	4	3	11
	female names	1	2	10	5	10	28
Hairdressers:							
- Ladies'	male names	1	2	7	NA	NA	(10)
	female names	5	47	184	NA	NA	(236)
-Men's	male names	0	0	13	NA	NA	(13)
	female names	0	0	0	NA	NA	(0)
- Total	male names	(1)	(2)	(20)	29	31	83
	female names	(5)	(47)	(184)	99	101	436
	male and female names*	(0)	(0)	(0)	3	2	5
Cafés	male names	5	10	20	6	11	52
	female names	5	13	14	4	7	43
	male and female names	0	0	0	0	1	1
Plumbers	male names	0	0	1	4	14	19
	female names	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		17	75	277	177	207	753
		2%	6%	13%	19%	17%	12%

* e.g. the hairdresser Per och Lisa

NA, value not available

company names containing male names show a first name coupled to a family name. The usage of female FNO also occurs earlier than the use of male FNO, with the exception of names of cafés and a single hairdresser, which occur already in 1935, as table 5 shows.

As table 5 shows, there are quite large differences between the different types of companies regarding the use of first names. An overwhelming majority of FNO-companies are hairdresser shops. 70% of the FNO company names denote hairdresser's shops, of which 80% contain a female first name. Nevertheless, hairdresser's shops are also the most likely to carry an FNO name, followed a good way behind by cafés, flower shops, car repair shops and plumbers respectively (Table 6).

4.2.1. Male domains

Although they are less likely to carry a FNO name, there is an increasing use of male first names in the names of car repair shops and plumbing firms. In 2009, we actually find 14 plumbers advertising their services with only their first name in the genitive form and some type of identifying word as qualifier. Some examples are: *Jens Rör i Huskvarna* ['Jens's pipes in Huskvarna' (a town)], *Mårtens vvs*, *Runes Rör*.

The defining words for recognition of this type of company seem to be *vvs*, which is the established Swedish acronym for 'heat, water, sanitary works', and *rör* 'pipe, piping'.

Already in 1950 we find the first example of a car repair firm's name with only the proprietor's first name, actually his nickname, in it:

Wallis Mekaniska ['Mechanics'] from Uppsala. The owner's first name is *Walter* or *Waldemar*. The use of a nickname or hypochorism in names of car repair firms increases, and of the 74 first name only-companies we have at least ten company names using the owner's nickname (e.g. *Bosse* from *Bo*, *Pålle* from the surname *Paulsson*, *Hasse* from *Hans*, *Becke* from *Bengt*, *Leffe* from *Leif*). This may imply a personal relation between the customer and the car repairer, possibly due to the fact that cars are rather personal to many of us. Most of the names of the car repair firms contain one or two words from a small selection of typical defining words: *Bil* 'car', *Auto*, *Service*, *Motor*, *Verkstad* 'repair garage' with the most frequent combination *Bilservice* 'car service'. The phenomenon with nicknames is not as common among the plumbers' companies, but also within this category some examples can be found (*Pe-Ges rör*, *Benkes Rörservice*).

In neither of these two company types do we find any personal names not related to the proprietor. There is, for example, no **Niki Lauda Autoservice*, nor any **Elvis Cars*; the relationship between company name and owner is never in doubt.

4.2.2. Gender-neutral companies - cafés and flower shops

Flower shop names show a similar, though limited, tendency to an increase in the use of FNO. Most of these names are related to the name of the proprietor. As female first names and the names of flowers are sometimes identical in Swedish, it is interesting to notice sev-

Table 6: FNO company names as a percentage of the company names containing a personal name (PN) and as a percentage of the total number of companies (N), 1935-2009

	FNO as a percentage of PN	FNO as a percentage of N	PN as a percentage of N
Car repair shops	13%	7%	53%
Flower shops	17%	6%	36%
Hairdresser's shops	30%	19%	62%
Cafés	19%	8%	43%
Plumbers	5%	3%	55%

eral flower shop names that can refer to both women and flowers, e.g. *Linnéa* and *Iris*. In a couple of cases these names indicate the owner's name, in other cases these names appear to be chosen more arbitrarily as a trade-related name. Most of the flower shop names containing first names are constructed of a personal name in the genitive and a word related to the trade, most often *Blomsterhandel* 'flower shop' or *Blommor* 'flowers' as in *Runes* (male first name) *Blommor*.

Among cafés, there is a more stable distribution of first names only over time. Both male and female names are used. Some nicknames of the owner are used, e.g. *Fojes Konditori* (>*Georg*) and *Neas* (>*Linnea*) *Kondis*. Even though a large majority of the names refers to the proprietor, we find some 'icon' names, e.g. *Café William* (alluding to William Booth, the café run by the Salvation Army) and *Konditori Napoleon* (which can also be a pun on the popular Swedish fancy cake called Napoleon).

4.2.3. Hairdressing salons - male vs female structures

Hairdressing salons are the most likely to have a company name containing a personal name. Two papers on names on hairdressing salons in Sweden have shown that names of hairdressers are very varied, contain much word play and use associative elements and meaningless words (Byrman 1999 and Forsberg 2007). This is true for recent years, but until 1970, personal names dominated. There are some striking differences, though, between the names ladies' and gentlemen's hairdressers have applied to their firms over the years. In the first years, the gentlemen's hairdressers names are in most cases the same as the proprietor's name, e.g. *Erik Barklund*, while in 1935 there are already ladies' salons with names like *Damfrisersalongen Märtha* (The ladies' hairdressing salon Märtha) side-by-side with *Asta Olsson* and *Schleins Damfrisersalong* (family name).⁵ We even have a *Stigs Damfrisering* in Uppsala, i.e. a male first name only, which is unheard of among the gentlemen's hairdressing companies until 1970, when there are 13 examples of this type. This figure can be compared to the fact that we have

184 (ca. 28%) female first names only in the names of ladies' hairdressers that year. This is the absolute top figure for this kind of names, that had decreased by 1990 and was less than 20% in 2009. The first names in 1970 are usually combined with some company-related word. Some common combinations are *Salong NN*, *NN-Salongen* and *NN's Damfrisering*. The male first names are combined with the words *Herrfrisering* or *Herrsalong*. In 1990 and 2009, there is more variation among the company-related words as we find examples like *Hairstyle by Lena*, *hedwig hårvård*, *Malins Klippereri*, *Maries Hairdesign*, *Paul's Hårstudio* etc.

5. Different backgrounds to first names in company names

A first name in a company name can be chosen for several reasons. In many cases, the owner's first name is used, but there are many names that do not directly relate to the owner's name. In this section, I will discuss why some different types of first names are used. Three categories can be identified - the name is referring to the owner of a particular company, it refers to an 'icon', or it is chosen from the onomastic due to its fashionable connotations.

Many names have a direct reference to the proprietor, e.g. *Ainasalongen*, owned by Aina Larm in Jönköping 1970, and *Yvettes Damfrisering*, whose proprietor is Yvette Bergquist. But there are also names that do not show a relationship with the proprietor's name: *Salong Angélique*, *Babs*, *Corinne*, *Lilette*, *Suzette*, *Lizette*, *Desirée*, *Diba* and *Nefertiti* etc. from 1970. Some of these names can be associated to well-known characters, either timeless (Nefertiti) or popular in a specific period (the popular singer Lill-Babs, the Swedish princess Desirée, the empress of Iran Farah Diba), people who have been categorized as 'icons', which would put them in the second category. In this group, however, some names have, to Swedish ears, just a more exotic and fashionable general flair, not the least due to the French name-forms (*Lilette*, *Lizette*, *Suzette*), which made them at the time seen suitable as names for hairdresser's shops.

In 1990 and 2009, these more exotic ‘icon’ or arbitrary names have become a bit less common, though they still exist (*Cleopatra*, *Nikita*, *Cybill*). A novelty are the names of male icons among the hairdressers’ names - *Herkules*, *Alexander*, *Amadeus* and *Elvis*. We also find more nicknames or hypochorisms of both female and male proprietors used in the company names: the female *Bibbi*, *Cissi*, *Kattis*, *Nette*, and the male *Affe* and *Janne*.

This informal trend goes hand-in-hand with the increasing use of more nonsense names among hairdressers’, with word puns on names like *Roger Hår* (associated to the actor Roger Moore) and *Saxess* (a combination of the English word *success* and the Swedish word *sax* ‘scissors’). There is also some play with English words in names like *Get Cut*, *B’Cut*, and *Atmosphair*.

6. Conclusions

In conclusion, the four questions that have been posed in the introduction to this paper, will be looked upon and the outcome of the analysis of the collected material will be outlined here.

As we have seen, there are more female first names only in company name, but there has been an increase of male first names during the last decades in male-dominated areas as well. It seems to have become more common for female owners to use their first name only than for male owners, who sometimes use arbitrary or ‘icon’ female first names in their company name, especially among hairdressers. Therefore, a relationship between the use of male and female personal names in small company names and the sex of the owner of these companies can be indicated.

In total, we found that of all names in which a female name was mentioned, the names with first names only were 45% of the names, compared to only 20% where a male name is included. Hence, it appears to be more common to use female first names only than to use male first names only in company names.

Probably, there is a larger readiness to use the names of female ‘icons’ in company names,

than to use male ‘icons’, as we have seen many more examples of female names not related to the proprietor. If a male personal name is found in a company name, it will in most cases be based on or related to the name of the owner, but a female name is quite often chosen on other grounds. There are differences between company types, though, as there are some male ‘icons’ in the hairdressing business, but none among the car repairs or plumbers.

Does this more arbitrary use of female names reflect different attitudes to the use of male or female names in general or are there other, more business-specific reasons to be found? To be able to answer this question, several factors should be taken into consideration. Is there, for example, a close or a more distant relationship between customer and enterprise, what type of service is offered within a certain shop, do customers return frequently or seldom, etc.

Another aspect that has to be taken into account is the long-established custom of referring to women, even well known women, with their first names, and to men with their surnames (Milles 2008:19), a habit which may influence the name giving of companies. Both business-specific factors and the general attitude of how people of different sexes are or have been named in public seems to play a role in how companies are named.

A word of caution is perhaps in place: those company types that have been studied within the range of this paper may be atypical for other categories. It is probably unusual to find such clear-cut gender differences as among the older hairdressing firms. It would be interesting to examine some company types that have been established more recently like computer firms or sun-tanning salons, and to study the company names of some of the skilled professions, like lawyer firms or accountants.

The informalization of Swedish society is indeed mirrored in the company names of small enterprises. Nowadays first names only are found in all the investigated company types. There has also been an increase in the use of male nicknames and first names in male dominated industries, which fades the difference between the use of male and female

names and seems to go hand-in-hand with the developing of a more equal workplace for men and women.

Notes

- ¹ One should bear in mind, though, that the use of this pronoun was never as accepted and as universal as the *vous* or *Sie* on the Continent. Quite often, people during the 1940's and 1950's used passive-forms of verbs to avoid having to choose between *du* or *Ni*, when addressing strangers.
- ² Due to non-complete holdings, I had to use the Uppsala directory from 1936 and 1948. The directories from 1990 are only preserved on microfilm at the National Library, and because of the bad quality of this microfilm I had to exclude the Malmö names.
- ³ A café in Sweden is a place where non-alcoholic beverages, sandwiches and patisseries are sold and consumed.
- ⁴ For a more detailed analysis of ownership and gender proportions, see Leibring forthcoming.
- ⁵ Elin Forsberg (2007:20,31), who has investigated hairdressing names in Uppsala in 1925, notes that in none of the ladies' salons there is any personal name combined with any company-related word, so there has been a change in name pattern between 1925 and 1935.

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A Sociolinguistic Inquiry into Chinese Brand Naming Behaviors: Moral Dilemmas, Constraining Hieroglyphs and Economic Aspirations

Fengru Li

Abstract

In this paper I will explore brand naming behaviors from a culture-specific perspective, yet in a universal context, namely Chinese brand naming in its transitional economy within the universal principles of sociolinguistics. I will elaborate on the social and economic power imbedded and conveyed in brand names by concentrating on moral dilemmas, constraining hieroglyphs and economic aspirations involved in Chinese brand naming.

Brand names used as economic power have been the target in advertising as well as other marketing strategies. Existing studies of brand naming have concentrated on linguistic attributes, corporate identity, memory recall, and sociolinguistic interpretations. The Internet Age seems to provide a short-cut for obtaining a meaningful brand name. Typing the keywords “naming a brand” in Google as of the day this paper is being written generates 353,000 results, which include literature, discussions, and specialized consulting firms that offer naming services. As an emerging market and the world’s third largest advertising economy, China promises great potential for multinational corporations. The *Wall Street Journal* reported in 2006 that China tied Germany and the United Kingdom as the world’s third largest advertising economy, behind the US and Japan (Fowler 2006). While China’s formal entry into the WTO in 2001 loosened restrictions on advertising and signaled the emergence of a Chinese market more open to competition from multinational corporations (MNC), these corporations are prone to challenges from sophisticated market economies such as the US (Li & Nader 2007).

Exacerbating the challenges is a philosophical, as well as a practical question: “Should

the naming practice be guided by universal linguistic principles or be deferential to cultural specifics in the globalized economy?” Theodore Levitt, the legendary US economist and marketing scholar who has been widely credited with coining the term globalization through an article entitled “Globalization of Markets”, began to advocate global homogenization 25 years ago. In his own words:

Different cultural preferences, national tastes and standards, and business institutions are vestiges of the past. Some inheritances die gradually; others prosper and expand into mainstream global preferences. So-called ethnic markets are a good example. Chinese food, pita bread, country and western music, pizza and jazz are everywhere. They are market segments that exist in worldwide proportions. They don’t deny or contradict global homogenization but confirm it (Levitt 1983: 98).

Whereas, Geert Hofstede, the renowned Dutch psychologist, is adamant about adhering to cultural differences in a globalized economy. He says: “Culture is more often a source of conflict than of synergy. Cultural differences are a nuisance at best and often a disaster.”¹

Moral Dilemmas in Brand Naming

What is it about a name that can affect consumers so profoundly? Take for example the recent controversy over the naming of the new Giants and Jets stadium in the Meadowlands, New Jersey. Richard Sandomir of the *New York Times* revealed that a finalist to get naming rights, German insurer Allianz, had been closely related to the Nazis in World War II. The company had insured the Auschwitz death camp and had a chief executive serving in Hitler's cabinet. Despite the fact that Allianz, an employer of 11,000 people in the United States, would reportedly pay \$20 to \$30 million per year for the naming rights of the \$1.3 billion stadium, the Giants and Jets ended their talks with it on September 12, 2008 because of public outrage (Cherner & Weir 2008).

My first argument is *that brand naming, from the view point of the sociolinguistics, should be recognized as a linguistic realization of the natives' expectations and rules pertaining to proper social beliefs and behaviors, despite turbulent changes in a transitional market, such as China.*

William Downes, British sociolinguist, defines sociolinguistics as "those properties of language and languages which *require* reference to social, including contextual, factors in explanation" (Downes 1998: 3). Names, both for persons and brands, arguably are symbolic forms transcending tangible concepts and values. China is undergoing the most turbulent, even violent, moral transition in history as it pursues a free market economy while abandoning its traditional state-controlled economy based on communist ideology. To quote from China's most respected TV news anchor, Mr. Bai, Yansong, "China is becoming the most restless and impatient market in the world, more so than any of the Western economies."²

One moral dilemma in brand naming is whether ethnic history and culture should be honored in the globalized economy dominated by the West. A case in point is China's effort to translate all of its time-honored brands into English in 2008. The awarded (\$50,000 prize) transliteration of *Goubuli* into "Go Believe" had drawn criticism and praises at once

from the Chinese public, which illustrates the moral dilemma that an emerging market faces: to embrace global homogenization or to sustain local traditions.

Goubuli Steamed Dumplings or *Tianjin Dumplings* are a hundred-year old specialty of my hometown Tianjin, the third largest city in China. The brand "Goubuli" literally means "Doggy Ignores Me." According to a popular local legend, "Doggy" referred to the master chef who first made the Tianjin Dumplings. In part of Northern China, it was customary to give a new-born boy an unseemly nickname, hoping the God of Death would resent the name so much that it would spare his life; for a boy would not only grow into a bread earner of his family but also a guarantee of its blood line. And the word dog in the Chinese culture was as good as swine in the West. The legend goes that "Doggy," or "Gouzi" in Chinese, eventually made his steamed dumplings unparalleled in the region. His business prospering, he had no time to attend to his customers. They had to leave the money and help themselves to the dumplings. "Gouzi buli wo" or "Doggy ignores me," they often good-humoredly complained. By and by, people began to call his business and product "Goubuli," and it became a time-honored brand. Even today it attracts long lines of dumpling aficionados from Tianjin and people who visit it. *Goubuli* branches first appeared in Tokyo in the 1980's and later in New York and San Francisco (Li & Shooshtari 2003).

Proponents of the brand name "Go Believe" may like its sloganistic flavor and its closeness in sound to *Goubuli*, but opponents argue that it ignores the entire history and hence the culture behind the Chinese origin. Traditionally Chinese attach great importance to name giving. Knowledge of this tradition is conducive to cultural understanding of their brand naming practices. Pan and Schmitt (1996) summarize the following rationale or criteria by which Chinese choose given names for their children:

1. A name expresses the essence of a thing, be it a person, object, product, or a company. For example: gold and silver stand for fortune; iron and steel for toughness; moun-

tains, oceans, and pine trees for broad-mindedness.

2. A name reveals the name-giver's socio-economic status and level of education.
3. A name reveals the bearer's appreciation for fine arts such as a work of calligraphy.
4. A name expresses the name-giver's moral orientation.
5. A name is the name-giver's augury for the future of the child.

The sociolinguistic perspective provides us with a multi-leveled approach to brand naming, one that ranges from biologically-endowed language ability to situated, specific, and even nationalist responses. As if such complexity were not enough, the Chinese situation offers an additional, very daunting, element: the ideographic or hieroglyphic script of the Chinese language known as *hanzi* or Chinese characters. Unlike Western alphabets, they are not based on a correspondence with linguistic sounds, but rooted in the picturing of words and concepts. Such imagistic roots, through elaborate systems of combination and stylization, are used to communicate very specific ideas or statements. Without a proper mastery of the implications that shimmer throughout the Chinese script, one can easily stumble over a brand name. In the next section, I will give a glimpse of the subtleties characterizing Chinese writing.

Constraining Chinese Hieroglyphs

My second argument is that while the ideographical nature of the Chinese script has shaped certain appropriate rules for brand naming, it may also limit the diffusion of socially proper names to the Latin language system. For that reason, names with strong regional or ethnic backgrounds may hinder local brands from going global.

Written Chinese contrasts starkly with the Latin system. An ideogram is a character that represents an idea or an object through its graphic symbol rather than its phonetic coding or pronunciation. Because it is based on picturing words, rather than translating them through a phonetic code, the sheer volume of

characters to be learned can be overwhelming. An average educated Chinese adult has a mastery of at least 3,500 frequently used single-syllable characters plus another 8,000 multiple-syllable compound words formed by those characters. Over and above the large numbers of Chinese characters to be mastered, those who use this system must also contend with the variations in meaning that are affected through combination and placement. Nevertheless, this complex language is used by one-fifth of the world population including most Koreans, Japanese and Singaporeans (Yuan 2006: 13).

Businesses that advertise in China using Chinese characters must pay special attention to the Chinese reception of their ideographic codes. Scholars studying the effect of different languages on commercial ads, such as Tavassoli (1999) and Pan & Schmitt (1996) maintain that consumers who use ideographic languages evaluate brand names more in terms of visual features while speakers of alphabetic languages view brand names with respect to their phonological codes.

Let's begin with some relatively simple examples where the use of Chinese ideograms is concerned. To English speakers, brand names like BMW, Mercedes Benz, Nike, and Coca Cola all bear distinct features of phonetic appeals defined in the principles of linguistic obstruents and sonorants. Chinese consumers have learned to associate the sounds with the quality of the products behind the brands. Visual factors of these brand names in English, however, do not play as much of a role to the English speakers as they do to Chinese consumers. The same brand names, when translated into Chinese phonetically as closely as possible to the original pronunciations, often acquire other meanings commonly associated with the sounds.

The Chinese transliterations of "Mercedes Benz" as "*Ben chi*" and "BMW" as "*Bao ma*" are two of the best examples that are not only phonologically close to the original sound of a non-Chinese brand name, but also are visually appealing to the Chinese consumer, eliciting the image of the horse, a metaphor for the automobile. "*Ben chi*," the Chinese

transliteration of “Benz,” is represented by a double syllable Chinese ideographic word 奔驰. (Double syllable words or various grammatical relations are the norm in contemporary Chinese lexicon.) 奔 (ben) and 驰 (chi) are synonyms, both meaning (of a steed) “runs fast.” Since the radical, or root, of the second character 驰 is 马 (the simplified form) or 馬 (the traditional form), which means “horse,” the double-syllable word “*ben chi*” is naturally understood as “gallop.” The connection is thus made between the brand name in Chinese, i.e. the metaphorical horse and the product, i.e. the car. The beauty of a horse represented by the ideogram 馬 (horse) - with its mane flowing rightwards on the top and four hooves flying in front of the long tail underneath - can be easily transferred to the object it symbolizes.

The transliteration of “BMW” into 宝马 (traditionally, 寶馬) achieves exactly the same effect. The character 寶, pronounced as “*bao*,” means “treasured” or “valuable.” Like the character 馬, (horse), 寶 (treasure) reveals the ideographic nature of the Chinese language. It has three sections from top to bottom. The part on the top is a roof that symbolizes a house. Right under the roof there is a jar of jade. Beneath it is a seashell, a form of currency before coins came into existence. The word 寶, a house full of valuables, lends luxurious quality to a BMW: “a treasured horse.” Even its simplified form 宝, “a house full of jade,” does not diminish its value at all.

Apparently it’s quite a challenge to find the appropriate Chinese character or word combinations to convey contextual semantic information meaningful enough to promote a particular product without making a mistake. Ideograms automatically group symbolic meanings of Chinese characters and make it possible for Chinese-speakers to differentiate their status and degrees of significance. Given the subtle yet powerful differences that a small mark or specific combination can make in Chinese writing, we can easily imagine that Chinese readers are more attuned to the visual representations in ads, particularly in print, than are Western readers.

Names as Economic Aspirations

Naming a brand that is suitable for a non-Chinese market is an initial but important step toward the realization of China’s global branding aspiration. Paradoxically, China’s cherished traditional values, its complex ideographic script, and independent visual culture pose challenges and even threats to China’s ability to communicate accurately and effectively to her overseas consumers. Studies by Sociolinguists Joshua Fishman and William Downes on the nature of “ethno-culture language loyalty” may shed some light on such naming paradox. “Ethno-culture language loyalty” means that (a) language is a vehicle for a historical, cultural, ethnic or ‘national’ identity; (b) the ethno-cultural group values its language as the vehicle of a highly prized culture or way of life or a rooted identity; and (c) a group’s positive attitudes toward its language engender loyalty to its social meanings. Downes’s definition of “ethnicity” connotes homeland, or nationalism. In his words, ethnicity “is a shared socio-historical construct based on a putative historical experience which is the genealogy of a ‘people.’ Internally, it acts as a focus for ‘we-feeling’ and solidarity. Externally, the ethnic identity of a group can be stereotyped by other groups. ... It can lead to paranoid ethnicity (we are victims) or conversely, supremacist ethnicity” (Downes 1998; see also Fishman 1989: 45 & 1991: 76).

My third argument is that “*ethno-culture language loyalty*” embedded in the sociolinguistics had a negative impact on China’s economic aspiration to execute its global branding, particularly brand naming.

I will use two celebrated Chinese brands aspiring to go global to support how using names with strong ethno-culture loyalty can be a blunder. The first brand is *Jin San Yan Ba Zhu Lian* in Chinese, meaning “*Three Golden Essentials Baked Pig Face*.”

Beijing, China, home to 55 McDonald’s restaurants and 30 Kentucky Fried Chicken outlets, welcomed a rising star in the firmament of Chinese fast food franchises - *Three Golden Essentials Baked Pig*. The brand has attracted Chinese consumers of different generations. Some have readily re-identified themselves with this

specific product after it was dormant for two decades. The Chinese brand name proves to be so popular that 5,000 baked pig heads are consumed each month, and the owner, Mr. Shen, is ready to franchise his restaurant. As reported by Johnson in his article “*Please give me a pig face to go, and hold the Mao*” (*Wall Street Journal*), Mr. Shen was featured in more than 50 Chinese domestic newspapers and a half dozen television programs, all heralding the birth of “China’s first patented dish and a response to Western fast food chains” in the country. Mr. Shen sees himself as “the leader of a new movement in Chinese food: the march toward ubiquitous fast-food outlets that can compete with the world’s giants,” as *WSJ* reported. Shen’s flagship product is trademarked with the logo of a smiling pig face, the same that would be used for markets in Paris and New York. Would this brand name translate its glamour across the cultural divide to Europe, North America or any other markets whose consumers do not share the Chinese cultural beliefs or myths about using herbal ingredients to cut fat and getting smarter by consuming animal heads and brains?

Another example is the fast-food brand *Hong Gao Liang*. Starting in 1995, the franchise rapidly expanded in China, targeting the country’s baby-boomers. It serves largely traditional Chinese food such as noodles and steamed buns in a fast-food style, emphasizing simple, wholesome food combined with speedy and convenient service. The brand name *Hong Gao Liang* literally means “red sorghum,” a grain that evokes the memory of the baby boomers who were late Communist Party Chairman Mao’s “Red Guards” in the late 1960’s. After becoming too violent during the Cultural Revolution, they were sent en masse to the poverty-striven countryside in their teens and early twenties as part of Mao’s professed re-education programs. In a planned-economy, the hard to digest but high-yielding sorghum was often the staple food that local governments forced farmers to grow. Now that life is tremendously improved after China’s three decades of opening and economic reform, those baby boomers have developed certain nostalgia for the

simple, rustic life they experienced. The once unseemly grain has also become a symbol of idealism they no longer feel and experience in a money-worshiping market economy. Many of that generation are now affluent entrepreneurs or high-ranking officials.

Hong Gao Liang is also the title of an internationally acclaimed movie of the late 1980s directed by famed Zhang Yimou, the mastermind of the grandiose 2008 Beijing Olympic Game’s opening ceremony. *Hong Gao Liang* was the first Chinese-produced movie to garner wide praise outside China, giving a lot of pride to the Chinese. For that reason, the name *Hong Gao Liang* evokes both nostalgic sentimentality and patriotic pride among a large section of the Chinese population that represents a significant consumer market. The *Hong Gao Liang* franchise told the Chinese newspaper *Marketing Daily* that it was to “tailgate” McDonalds’ openings in China and “erect restaurants near those of the foreign invader.”³ The brand name, thus, offers a patriotic counterpoint to the proliferation of foreign franchises like McDonald’s and Kentucky Fried Chicken, which are widely viewed in China as a form of economic imperialism.

The above two brands aspiring to global expansion represent strong sentiments about imposition by the West and an on-and-off lukewarm relationship with the US. Both names have successfully appealed to the moral orientation of the general public, particularly the Chinese baby boomers. The names are linguistic expressions and realization of the name-givers’ moral beliefs that China can say “No” to foreign influence or even domination. Chinese brand naming practices support the observation made by Marvin Harris, an American anthropologist, that “It is impossible to celebrate one [linguistic competence] without celebrating the other [culture]” (Harris 1989: 66).

Notes

¹ <http://www.geert-hofstede.com/>

² Tianjin Daily, *Interview with Bai Yansong*. May 21, 2009

³ *Marketing Daily* (October 13, 1998)

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Croque McDo, CBO and Donut zucchero **A Contrastive Analysis of Product Names Offered by Fast Food Restaurants in European Countries**

Erhard Lick, Holger Wochele

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to reveal which linguistic strategies, from both a semantic and lexical perspective, internationally operating fast-food chains, and in particular *McDonald's* and *Burger King*, apply when selecting their dish names. For this qualitative research the websites of these two fast food chains have been analyzed, with special emphasis on their websites in European Romance countries.

One of the findings is that whereas *Burger King* usually does not translate its dish names into the language of the host country, *McDonald's* often translates its dish names for salads, side dishes, and partly desserts, into the relevant language. An exception are the two multilingual countries Switzerland and Belgium, where mainly standardized English dish names are used. Moreover, the four upgrading strategies found by Lavric (forthcoming) are applied in the corpus. First, dish names use the country-of-origin effect by suggesting, e.g. a French or Italian origin of the product, second they point to their exclusiveness by mentioning, for instance, the lexeme 'royal', third they respond to the increased health consciousness in terms of their brand names and ingredients, and fourth, they stress their uniqueness, for example, with the help of hybridisation, i.e. the combination of lexemes from different languages.

1. Introduction

In a world that has become more and more globalised, internationally operating companies have to address different target groups, both culturally and linguistically. This requires the use of different means in catering to the various target groups. At the same time, there is the need to make use of synergy effects due to financial restrictions. Therefore, companies have to cope with the trade-off between keeping their product names all over the world unchanged, or to alter them according to the different countries. The first approach is referred to as standardization, whereas the second one is generally defined as adaptation, which we use as an umbrella term for the various linguistic strategies of adaptation applied. In our empirical analysis we investigate to

which extent, and how, these two approaches are used by fast food chains, particularly by *McDonald's* and *Burger King*, especially in European countries.

First, this paper examines the status of dish names and the different strategies for developing brand names for, on the one hand, high-end, and, on the other hand, low-end restaurants. Second, it points out the general methods of linguistic adaptation of product names. Third, it presents our corpus consisting of the product names of *McDonald's* and *Burger King*, which are then analyzed from a contrastive perspective. Finally, after summing up the most important findings of our analysis, we give directions for further research.

2. Status of dish names

Dish names, such as in our case dish names of fast foods restaurants, can be qualified as product names and, hence, fall into the field of study of product onomastics which is a subdiscipline of onomastics. However, the onymic status of dish names is not unproblematic:

1. Product names can be considered both proper and generic names, as the object of reference is not a single object (like the city of Amsterdam; Koß 2002: 73-91). However, it refers to a multitude of identical objects. This double function of product names has been confirmed by Koß 1976, Gläser 1985, Koß (1996: 1642), Bauer 1996, Platen (1997: 29-33), Petit 2006, and in particular, Ronneberger-Sibold (2004: 557-558). For a general and comprehensive overview of the various definitions of the elusive term “proper name”, see the work of Vaxelaire 2005, who puts this “either - or” attitude (that is, either proper or generic name) into a larger perspective.
2. There are also cases where proper names have become generic names, such as in German *Tixo* (used in Austria) or *Tesa* (used in Germany), which refer to any adhesive tape. This is a process which is generally named *genericization*. The same holds true for its English equivalent *Scotch* tape, or *Kärcher*, a high pressure cleaner which has become a generic name for any type of high pressure cleaner in France¹. Referring to the latter, Nicolas Sarkozy, at the time when he was the Minister of the Interior, increased the awareness of the word *Kärcher* as a generic name (“Des mots et débats” 2007 (electronic source)).
3. The status of dish names as product names is not always clear. Take the example of the dish name *Big Mac*TM offered by McDonald’s. *Big Mac*TM identifies a particular product of McDonald’s, protected by law, i.e. a sandwich with beef, lettuce, special sauces etc. In contrast, the name *mixed salad* is a generic term for a dish which consists of various types of salad, and which

you can eat in most restaurants, and not only at McDonald’s. The same holds true for the product name *hamburger*, a traditional North-American dish, which is also a generic name. In contrast, the reasons for considering *Big Mac*TM as a proper name are threefold: First, it has not only a denotative but also an advertising function, second, it is a registered trademark, and third it is part of ‘gastronomastics’, a term coined by Lavric (forthcoming).

3. Translating proper names? *Standardisation versus adaptation*

Especially in international advertising the question arises whether proper names should be, or even can be translated when advertising in different countries, or language areas. Generally, from a promotional perspective, for internationally operating fast-food chains, like *McDonald’s* or *Burger King*, there is a trade-off between adaptation and standardisation of their menus. Standardisation is important to ensure brand awareness and brand loyalty across language areas, which has become particularly important in a globalised world. In other words, consumers should recognize product names and show loyalty towards products, regardless of the country in which these products are sold. Moreover, standardisation is also a cost-saving factor, since there is no need to develop new brand names or to design new advertising campaigns.

On the other hand, to increase market responsiveness, product names also have to be adapted to the local environment. The reason is that countries differ in terms of their eating habits and languages. For example, the typically German “Rührei” has been chosen as a productname by *McDonald’s* in Luxemburg. This name would not go down well with Austrians, because in Austria this term may either not be understood correctly, or may be associated with a German dish. In Austria this dish would be referred to as “Eierspeise”. However, there are product names which are selected with the intention to evoke positive associa-

tions on the part of the customer. This is referred to as country-of-origin effect, which we will point out below.

Hence, as we have seen in the paragraph above, you can choose different brand names for completely identical products in different countries or regions: in anglophone Canada McDonald's offers *White Meat CHICKEN McNUGGETS*®, whereas in Quebec the same dish has been named *Poulet McCroquettes MD de viande blanche* (Lick and Wochele, forthcoming). On the other hand, one can adapt one's product range by offering country specific products - which, of course, also requires the development of a new brand name. Hollensen (2007: 16) gives some examples of this "dual" adaptation which he has found on McDonald's menus in various countries. For example, in Japan the menu includes a *Teriyaki McBurger*, in India a *Maharaja Mac*, and in New Zealand even a *Kiwiburger*. Along the same lines, McDonald's also offers different types of soup in Portugal, for instance *Sopa à Lavrador*, *Sopa de Ervilhas*, etc.

Nevertheless, the adaptation of product names can be quite counter-productive if the product name has not been selected carefully, and any possible ambiguous meanings have been ruled out. These dangers can be subsumed under the expression 'blunders in international advertising', a term which has become very popular since marketers have become increasingly aware of wrongly chosen brand names in foreign countries. In Mexico, for example, *Ford* had been using the brand name *Caliente* for its new car model until it found out that in Mexican slang this word means 'prostitute'. In addition, *American Motors Corp.* eventually discovered that the brand name *Matador* was not the best choice for their new car in Puerto Rico. The reason was that in Puerto Rico, where there is no bullfighting like in Spain, *Matador* refers to a killer in Puerto Rican slang.

In general, from a linguistic point of view, Botton and Cegarra (1996:196-197) distinguish between four different branding strategies in international business (Zilg 2006: 64, Platen 1997: 149):

- **Standardisation:** the same product name appears in all language areas (*Coca Cola*, *Sprite*, *M&Ms*, *Oreo*, *Ralph Lauren*, etc.)
- **Transposition (translation):** for example, in relation to the specific bilingual situation in Canada, some brand names have been simply translated. Whereas in anglophone Canada the name for a detergent is *Mr. Proper*, and for a cream cheese *The laughing cow*, the equivalent names are *Mr. Net* and *La vache qui rit* in francophone Canada.
- **Adaptation:** different culturally-determined lexical items express the same concept or arouse similar associations. A typical example is the one of the *Entremont* group, which uses for its cheese *Les juniors* in France, while in Arabic speaking countries they use a brand name that can be translated as "young lions", which evokes the same concept as the original brand name in France.
- **Differentiation:** one develops completely different and unrelated names, e.g. *Unilever* has chosen different brand names for its ice-cream in different countries: *Eskimo* in Austria, *Langnese* in Germany, *Algida* in Italy and Hungary, *Lusso* in Switzerland, and *Ola* in the Netherlands.

Apart from the promotional and linguistic considerations for choosing one of the strategies mentioned above, in certain cases there are also legal factors which determine the selection of one of these strategies. An example would be the particular situation in bilingual Canada, where the *Charter of the French Language* (last amendment 2002) prescribes the use of French in a commercial context:

"Every inscription on a product, on its container or on its wrapping, or on a document or object supplied with it, including the directions for use and the warranty certificates, must be drafted in French. This rule applies also to menus and wine lists (emphasis added). The French inscription may be accompanied with a translation or translations, but no inscription in another language may be given greater prominence than that in French".

Consequently, in Quebec there is a tendency towards finding French counterparts for English brand names on fast food menus (Lick and Wochele, 2008).

Generally, in onomastics the problem of translatability and adaptation is not only limited to product names, but also involves place names and personal names. For a political and historical discussion of this aspect refer to, for instance, a special issue of the journal *Meta* 2006 edited by Grass/Humbley/Vaxelaire or to Back (2002).

4. Corpus Analysis

4.1. *Methods and Materials*

The question we would like to raise is how dish names of internationally operating fast-food restaurants vary from one European country to the other. Moreover, we want to find out which linguistic means are applied to create country-specific product names. To put it differently, we want to reveal how, and to which extent, the strategies of transposition, adaptation, and differentiation are used by fast-food restaurants when developing their dish names.

The materials analysed have been found on the internet sites of *McDonald's* for Portugal, France, Luxemburg, Belgium, Italian and French speaking Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, and Romania. In addition, also the websites of *Burger King* in Portugal, Italian speaking Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, and Romania have been taken into consideration². Hence, the focus for selecting the countries has been put on European Romance countries. Nevertheless, for contrastive purposes also the offerings of *McDonald's* and *Burger King*, especially in Hungary, but also in Austria, Germany, and Estonia, have been used for our qualitative analysis. Finally, we would like to mention that we did not take into account any cold beverages and sauces on these menus.

4.2. *Upgrading strategies for dish names*

Our analysis is based on the particular upgrading strategies for dish names suggested by Lavric (forthcoming). One of her findings

with respect to German, Spanish, and French high-end restaurants is that dish names are usually characterised by a noun phrase syntax and not a sentence syntax; i.e. verbs appear in the form of participles pointing to the preparation method of a particular dish, such as “Gebratene steirische Poulardenbrust in Dijon-Senf, Kräutersauce mit Erdäpfel-Gratin und Frühlingsgemüse”. This noun phrase structure can be also found on fast-food restaurant menus. For instance on the McDonald's menu in France you read *McFlurry® Kit Kat Ball nappage Chocolat*.

First, according to Lavric, product names can benefit from the country-of-origin effect in the sense that product names can draw the prospective customers' attention to a particular country. The product name makes the reader associate the product with what the country is famous for, for example, in most countries Italy or France are famous for their cuisine, which expresses their unique *savoir-vivre*. Second, a typical upgrading strategy is to arouse imperial, royal, or generally luxurious connotations. An example of this strategy, mentioned by Lavric, is *Kaisersemmel* ('bread roll'). Third, dish names can be upgraded by employing lexical elements expressing the 'health, nature, and slenderness' ideology which we will point out later on. And fourth, she states that restaurants claim the uniqueness of their products, and, therefore, on a linguistic level, choose creative brand names. After having shown these four principal strategies, we will elaborate on the general aspects involved and will give a detailed analysis of our corpus in the following.

4.3. *General Aspects*

First of all, we would like to draw your attention to the fact that in most of the countries McDonald's uses the advertising slogan “I'm lovin' it”, while in Luxemburg and Germany the slogan is “Ich liebe es”, and in France “C'est tout ce que j'aime”. Therefore, the large linguistic communities of Europe have adapted the slogan, but not all the countries where German and French are spoken have automatically adopted the non-English slogan, such as Belgium, Switzerland, and Austria.

When analysing the different websites we cannot help mentioning that the orthography of the Romanian website of McDonald's has been treated in a rather sloppy way. Diacritic signs have been either omitted at all, or their usage is not systematic. For example you read "bauturi" [sic] ('beverages') instead of "băuturi", or "prajiti" [sic] (*Cartofi prăjiți* 'French fries') instead of "prăjiți". But all of a sudden one reads "Un Royal Deluxe, o porție medie de cartofi, o băutură răcoritoare de 400 ml la alegere (Cola, Fanta, Sprite, Lipton Ice Tea)" (emphasis added), which is orthographically correct. Although McDonald's Romania is generally able to use diacritic signs, it simply lacks accuracy, which is not the case in France, Portugal, or Hungary, where the diacritic signs are used correctly and systematically.

When comparing the different menus, one can state that, generally, McDonald's uses the language spoken in the host country, and not English, for salads, side dishes, and partly also desserts, whereas Burger King shows a tendency towards keeping the English names for these dishes untranslated. Consider the various product names on the McDonald's menus:

- Portugal: *Salada Oceânica, Salada Pequena, Batatas Fritas*
- Italy: *Crostini, Grissini, Patatine piccole, medie, grande*
- France: *Mousse au chocolat, ananas à croquer, Frappé Saveur Caramel et éclats aux noisettes.*
- Romania: *Cartofi prajiti* [sic], *placinta mere* [sic], *placinta* [sic] *vișine, Salata Mini Cruditati* [sic]

Nevertheless, in Belgium you find on the French and Dutch menu of McDonald's the following English names:

- *Tuna Salad, Cheese Salad, Mixed Salad, and Caesar Salad*

The same applies to Switzerland:

- *Mixed Salad, Caesar Salad, Crispy Chicken Caesar Salad, and Grilled Chicken Caesar Salad*

The same holds true for desserts in Switzerland. There you find the English word *apple pie* on the menus in the German, Italian and French part of the country. In contrast, in Portugal the word *Tarte de maçã*, in Luxemburg and Germany *Apfeltasche*, in Hungary *forró almástáska*, and in Romania *placinta mere* [sic] appear on the menus.

The reason for this tendency towards using this strategy of standardization in Switzerland and Belgium may be to avoid ambiguities and to ensure comprehensibility, or, to put it differently, to make sure that French, German and Italian speaking Swiss think of the same product when placing their order. Another reason for this strategy may be to refrain from giving a preference to one of the official languages of Switzerland or Belgium by using English as the lingua franca in these multilingual countries.

Another point that is worth mentioning is that on the French McDonald's menu for Belgium you find *sodas* as an umbrella term for all types of soft drinks, and surprisingly also for ice tea. The reason for which McDonald's employs this term may be to copy the use of the term *soda* in American English. However, this term could not be used in German speaking countries, since consumers would receive it as the German word *Soda*, which is actually *club soda* in American English. Along the same lines, also the French term *soda* normally does not cover ice tea and beverages, such as *Coca Cola, Fanta, and Sprite*, but denominates either "boisson gazeuse aromatisée" or "eau gazéifiée, eau de Seltz" (*Le Petit Robert 2008, s.v. soda*). Therefore, McDonald's France uses the umbrella term "boissons froides" for any type of cold beverage.

4.4. Contrastive analysis

In the following contrastive analysis we will focus on semantic and lexical aspects of dish names, and we will not deal with their phonetic, graphic, morphological, or syntactic structures (for instance, the Portuguese *hambúrguer* is a graphic adaptation of the English *hamburger* and whose orthography is in accordance with the Portuguese orthographic norms; see Aurélio Buarque 1986, s.v. *hambúr-*

guer). For the semantic analysis we will base our research on the categories presented by Lavric mentioned above.

First, we would like to refer to the country-of-origin effect. McDonald's Luxemburg and Germany allude to the Italian cuisine with its product name *Chicken Napoli*. The same holds true for France, which refers with its *Trio de Mini Viennoiseries* to the popularity of Austrian pastry, with *viennoiserie* being a term frequently used for a certain type of French pastry (Rainer 2007, particularly 475-478). McDonald's Italy, in turn, uses the country-of-origin effect by choosing the French *pain au chocolat* and *brioche au chocolat*. Moreover, also McDonald's Hungary and Romania include allusions to France and Italy:

- Hungary: *Provanszi* ('Provençal') *rácsos burgonya* ('French fries in the shape of a grid')
- Romania: *Salata Midi Parisienne*, *Salata Midi Mediteraneana* [sic]

Referring to the second strategy, i.e. upgrading of dishes by giving them an imperial and luxurious touch, the Austrian name *Kaisersemmel* (which is a combination of the German lexemes for 'emperor' and 'bread roll') evidently stems from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In contrast, in Luxemburg, France, Belgium, Hungary, and today's Austria, the 'ennoblement' of McDonald's products is limited to a lower level of nobility expressed by the adjective *royal*. In this context *royal* means that the product is "above the usual or normal in standing, size, quality, etc." (Collins English Dictionary 1991, s.v. *royal*). Refer to the following examples:

- Luxemburg/Germany: *Hamburger Royal mit Käse*, *Hamburger Royal TS*, *Hamburger Royal Bacon*
- France: *Royal-O-Fish*, *Royal Bacon*, *Royal Cheese*
- Belgium: *Royal Crispy Bacon*, *Royal de Luxe*, *Royal Cheese*
- Hungary: *Sajtos McRoyalTM*, *Dupla Sajtos McRoyalTM*

Third, as we live in a time where a large part of the population is in danger of getting overweight, the awareness of healthy food has recently increased considerably. This health-consciousness is reflected by the health, nature, and slenderness ideology, which has even reached fast-food chains. One way of responding to this new development is to offer healthy products and to clearly point to the healthy ingredients when choosing the product name. Refer to the following examples:

- Switzerland: *Vegi Mac* (which was also offered in Germany some years ago)
- Luxemburg: *Kellogg's Special K*, *Biomilch*, *Chicken Fresh Wrap*, *Biomilch Schärddinger*
- France: *Big Mac au pain complet*, *P'tit Wrap*, *Tomate fines herbes*

In accordance with this health, nature, and slenderness ideology, there is also a tendency towards offering fresh fruit and vegetables, such as in France: *Ananas à croquer*, *P'tites tomates*, or in Portugal: *Fatias de Maçã*. Nevertheless, since these product names are simple generic names, it would not be viable to take a closer look at these offers.

But what is more interesting, from a critical discourse analytical perspective, there are examples where upgrading has been realised in a linguistically more subtle way. In these cases the consumer is not able to empirically prove the health claim due to the semantic vagueness of the linguistic upgrading markers. For example, in France you find the brand name *So GrilledTM - Gourmand et équilibré* (emphasis added).

Similarly, we have noticed an interesting phenomenon in Switzerland, where McDonald's offers French fries and potatoes wedges in the three sizes "mini", "small", and "medium" (in Italian, French, and German), instead of "small", "medium", and "large". The target of this strategy is evidently to avoid the term "large" in order to convey the message that even if you eat the largest portion, you will still lead a weight-conscious and balanced lifestyle. In contrast, in other countries, like France, Italy, Luxemburg, Austria, and Ger-

many the sizes “small”, “medium” and “large” appear on the McDonald’s menus.

The opposite strategy is to avoid the term “small” at all, which expresses the “big is beautiful” ideology. For example, on the Burger King menus in Portugal you find *batatas fritas* (‘French fries’) in the sizes “medium”, “large” and “king”, or in Italy you can buy *onion rings* in the sizes “medium”, “large” and “king”.

Fourth, there is the general approach of applying creativity when choosing a new brand name with the goal to achieve uniqueness. Obviously, this approach is not confined to dish names. A particularly creative product name is used in France, which is *Croque McDo*. Its first constituent is identical with the French dish “croque-monsieur”³, and the second one is the French colloquial expression for *McDonald’s*. What’s more, the name *CBO Burger* (Belgium), an abbreviation for “Chicken Bacon Onions”, may have been chosen in order to phonetically remind the consumer of the abbreviation “CEO” (Chief Executive Officer), which is the president, or managing director, of a company. This may not be too far fetched, since McDonald’s Belgium has evidently an affinity to American terms, as we could see with the word *soda*. We would like to give you some more examples of outstandingly creative dish names in the following.

- **Belgium:** *Le M de McDonald’s, P’tit Chicken Wrap*, an orthographic representation of spoken French, where the [], the *e muet*, is frequently omitted.
- **Belgium and Hungary:** in these two countries McDonald’s has created an umbrella term for breakfast menus, i.e. *McMorningTM* in Belgium, and *McReggeliTM* (*reggeli* - ‘breakfast’) in Hungary. In contrast, the generic name for ‘breakfast’ has been maintained in other countries (for instance in France *petit déjeuner*). Moreover, in accordance with our observation that McDonald’s Belgium often uses English as a lingua franca, *McMorningTM* has been chosen.
- **France:** *Salade So Nice*, which is not only an allusion to the famous *Salade niçoise*, but also a homograph: *nice* ‘beautiful’ and *Nice*

which refers to the well-known city on the French Riviera.

- **Hungary:** *McBuriTM* derives from *burgonya* ‘potato’. It is an excellent product name, as it makes use of the typical colloquial word formation mechanism, especially popular with teenagers, where diminutives are created by reducing the radical and employing the suffix *-i*. It is also innovative, since *buri* was coined by McDonald’s and had not been part of the Hungarian vocabulary before.
- **Romania:** *McPuisorTM* [sic; *puișor* ‘chick’] which is an innovative Romanian dish name designating a sandwich with grilled minced chicken meat. This name has been built by analogy with *McChicken*.

Finally, we will deal with the use of mixed names, i.e. with hybridisation. We have to mention that we use the term of *hybridity* in a broader sense, namely the combination of lexical items from two or more different languages within the same product name. Normally, in morphological research, you use hybridisation only for compound nouns, that is for one “word”, i.e. an expression between two blanks.

Examples:

- **France:** *Double Latte* (French / English + Italian), *Cake⁺ au citron* (English + French), *Crumble Pom’Pêche Noix de Macademia* (English + French), *Sundae Saison Crumble et Marrons* (English + French)
- **Luxemburg:** *Double Latte* (French/English + Italian)
- **Romania:** *Cartofi Wedges* (Romanian + English)

In Luxemburg McDonald’s has even drawn upon three different languages when developing the name *Ciabatta Senf Deluxe* (Italian + German + French / English).

With reference to the syntactic structure of hybrid noun phrases, the construction pattern of blended dish names can be in most cases expressed in the following general terms:

<Determinant> +
 <Standardized Product Name>
 or
 <Standardized Product Name> +
 <Determinant>

Note that the standardized product name is generally English, whereas the determinant is expressed in one of the languages of the host country. The following examples, of which the determinants have been highlighted, illustrate this construction pattern:

- Belgium: *Crumble aux pommes*, *Brownie aux noix de pécan*
- Italy: *Doppio Cheeseburger*
- Hungary: *Tojásos McMuffin*TM ('with egg'), *Sajtos McRoyal*TM ('with cheese'), *Dupla Sajtos McRoyal*TM
- Romania: *Cheeseburger dublu*

But sometimes even the determinants remain untranslated, i.e. in English. So in Portugal you find *Mc Royal Cheese*TM and *Doublecheese*. On the other hand, in Hungary and Estonia, we have found examples of hybridisation in a narrow, i.e. a morphologic sense. They use for 'cheeseburger' in Hungary *Sajtburger* (*sajt* 'cheese' + *-burger*) and in Estonia *Juustuburger* (*juust* 'cheese' + *-burger*), and *Kabekordne Juustuburger* ('Double Cheeseburger').

5. Conclusion

To sum up, the most important results of our analysis, we would like to mention the usage of English as a lingua franca in the two multilingual countries Switzerland and Belgium. The reason for this phenomenon may be the intention to ensure comprehensibility and to standardise the offers within the boundaries of the same country. In addition, despite the fact that McDonald's is an American fast food chain, we have found numerous examples of dish names making use of the country-of-origin effect by claiming a French, Italian, Parisian or Mediterranean origin. The strategy of giving a luxurious touch to the dish names has been realised by employing particularly

the lexeme *royal*. Furthermore, in response to the increased health consciousness in our societies, we have observed that McDonald's has adapted its dishes in terms of both their brand names and ingredients. Nevertheless, McDonald's continues to be an object of harsh criticism because of the supposedly bad nutritional value of its products (*Super Size Me*, a documentary film by Morgan Spurlock, released in 2004). On the other hand, Burger King still gives evidence of the opposite approach, namely the 'Big-is-beautiful'-approach. Finally, besides of various original and country-specific name creations, hybridisation seems to characterize many dish names, in which lexical items from two or more different languages are joined together. This hybridisation appears to follow certain construction patterns.

In general, although McDonald's is one of the prime examples of globalisation, which implies a uniform appearance in many respects and its claim of universalism, we have found that there are also many products and product names which show country specific features.

For further linguistic research, one could examine if the extent to which English elements are used in product names corresponds to the degree of acceptance of foreign words within a given linguistic community. It goes without saying that this question rather deals with phenomena of so-called 'purism'. To answer this question would require applying a sociolinguistic approach.

Another starting point for further linguistic research is the fact that our research is based only on the McDonald's menus shown on the Internet. What we could not examine is the actual use of these dish names, i.e. the pragmatic dimension of these creations. For instance, two years ago McDonald's decided to standardize the denomination for *Filet-O-Fish* in German speaking countries, where up to then the term *Fish Mäc* had existed. Nowadays, although it is called *Filet-o-Fish*, many consumers, and even sales people, continue to refer to it as *Fish Mäc* - which disregards the new official name, but, nevertheless, does not distort communication at all.

Notes

- 1 See *Le Petit Robert 2008*, s.v. *karcher*: “nettoyeur qui projette de l’eau sous forte pression”
- 2 We would like to thank Maria Bedlan and Verena Mann, two students of the Vienna University of Economics and Business, for giving us the permission to use their corpus of product names of McDonald’s and Burger King in Italy, France, Switzerland, and Hungary. They have compiled the corpus for the *Seminario d’Italiano* at the department of Romance Languages in the summer term 2009.
- 3 *Petit Robert* (s.v. *Croque-monsieur*): “Sandwich chaud fait de pain de mie grillé, avec du jambon et du fromage”
- 4 *Petit Robert 2008* lists the anglicism *cake*.

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A Gender-based Study of Product Names in the Cosmetic Sector

Antonia Montes Fernández

Abstract

This paper aims to include into the study of commercial names the perspective of gender. Through product names of fragrances and cosmetic articles gender-specific attitudes and values are examined. It can be assumed that the names for beauty products contribute to the construction of concepts of femininity and masculinity, as global advertising campaigns propagate different appeals according to beauty standards for women and men.

Introduction

Since the 1990s - with the rise of the metrosexual man - beauty products no longer belong exclusively to the domain of female coquetry. Big cosmetic enterprises like *L'Oréal*, *Biotherm* or *Lancôme* have drawn their attention to the male consumer type and launched numerous fragrances and products for skin care, as men's physical appearance and grooming has become a decisive factor for their professional and personal success. (Salzman/Matathia/O'Reilly 2005, Kreinkamp 2007).

Beauty standards, based on sexual attractiveness and seduction transmitted by fragrances¹, and the promise of skin care products in reaching a healthy and young appearance avoiding aging signs and proclaiming eternal youth, are propagated in the similar way for women and for men by international advertising campaigns.

Over sixty new fragrance brands are launched each year, according to Amy-Chinn (2001:168), and the cosmetic sector is very productive in creating new product names. Names of fragrances and cosmetic articles have a considerable semantic loading and they transmit a range of values with regard to gender roles, although these are changing according to Markham/Cangelosi (1999), especially

with the introduction to the market of unisex and same-name fragrances.

This article aims to examine how attitudes and values concerning beauty through product names are shaped differently for women and men. By applying a qualitative approach, a corpus of product names for fragrances and cosmetic articles for men and women is analyzed in order to explore the dissimilarities in the way they appeal to beauty values for both genders. A gender-based study of product names might be revealing, since fragrance names underline differences in male and female attitudes and hence reinforce concepts of femininity and masculinity. They also express the struggle of seductive conquest between the genders.

2. Global cosmetic brands

A few multinationals, the most powerful are *L'Oréal*, *Procter & Gamble*, and *Louis Vuitton* hold the most famous fragrance and cosmetic brands. *L'Oréal* holds brands like *Biotherm*, *Lancôme*, but also brands like *Helena Rubinstein*, *Ralph Lauren* or *Giorgio Armani*. *Procter & Gamble* holds fragrance brands like *Gucci*, *Boss* or *Dolce & Gabbana*. *Louis Vuitton* holds the French brands *Dior*, *Givenchy*, *Guerlain*,

etc. The brand value of these companies is huge. According to the ranking list of the best global brands², *Louis Vuitton*, 16th on the ranking of the best global brands, has a brand value of \$21,120,000. Similar, *L'Oréal* a brand value of \$7,748,000 with a growth of 3% compared to the previous year. These enormous brand values are the best evidence that the cosmetic industry is an important player in the global economy. To give an impression, these brand values exceed the Gross Domestic Product of countries like Iceland, Bolivia or Ghana.

Through these global brands, promoted within international advertising campaigns throughout various countries, preserving the same strategic principles - positioning and promotion worldwide - certain values are expressed that go far beyond the product, and that appeal to feelings and emotions, such as for example, happiness, prestige, beauty, success, etc. Marketing experts believe that these associated, symbolic values constitute universal appeals desired by a majority of people independently of their cultural origin. Consequently, global brands create a unified world in which consumers are fascinated by the message and the lifestyle they disseminate:

The majority of consumers avidly desire, and therefore try to acquire and display, goods and services that are valued for non-utilitarian reasons such as status seeking, envy provocation and novelty seeking” (Usunier 2000: 145)

A global consumer culture has emerged based on mainly Anglo-American values. This can easily be proved by analyzing the origin of the 100 most successful global brands. On the diagram can be observed that 51 of them are from

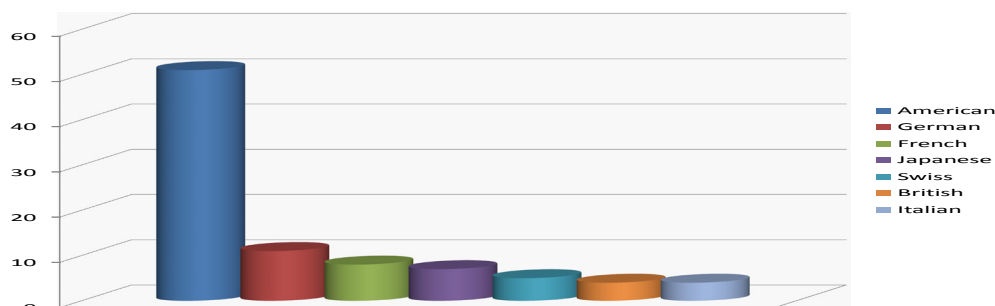
the United States, far behind are German (10), French (8) or Japanese (7), etc. brands.

Logically, a cultural appropriation takes place, where millions of consumers all over the world buy American global brands, that refer not only to specific cultural values and mentalities but also shape decisively the values of a global modern culture, where Anglo-American values and lifestyle dominate.

3. Product names for Fragrances

By many, fragrances are considered to be an affordable piece of luxury. Besides, by consumers they are regarded as an expression of personality. Fragrances have been aimed, at the first place, to satisfy women’s desire to smell good. The massive appearance of male fragrances and perfumes is a relatively new trend as some decades ago it was exclusively reserved to women to use aromatic toiletries³.

Fragrance names⁴, without a doubt, speak the language of seduction, evoking a world of magic, love and eroticism. They also express the struggle of seductive conquest between the genders. Although Markham/Cangelosi (1999: 400) state a change in the women’s purchase attitude of fragrances, as they do not buy fragrances any more for the sake of sexual allure. Values like self-indulgence, smartness and conforming to a particular image have become important factors for the purchase of a fragrance. Unisex and same-name fragrance brands are designed for use by both sexes. These brands are intended to appeal younger people who reject traditional gender roles and lifestyles. As these authors (1999: 401) point



out, younger women are expected to reject the 'you need a man appeal', the main purchase reason in the past.

Being traditionally a gift from men to women, it was with the launch of Estee Lauder's Youth Dew in 1952 that women were encouraged to regard perfume as an accessible luxury, they might buy for themselves (Amy-Chinn, 2001: 168). Still 40 per cent of female fragrances are bought by men as presents. In my opinion, men choose often the fragrance based on the semantic load of the fragrance names.

Perfume marketers know that men need to be guided and reassured on brand choice. And research has indicated that men claim to be almost twice as likely as women to make their purchase decision on the basis of image and advertising. (Amy-Chinn, 2001: 169)

The discussion of the results presented in the coming sections are based on a corpus of 120 fragrance names⁵, revealing different appeals in the naming strategies for female and male fragrances.

3.1 Female fragrance names

Names like *Femme*, *Elle*, *Boss Essence du Femme*, *Boss Woman*, *Aquawoman*, represent the feminine soul. It can be reinforced by an intensifier, for example in names like *Individuelle Femme*, *Elle intense*; a clear and defined concept of femininity is expressed. A name like *Diva* transforms the woman wearing the fragrance into a goddess.

Women are portrayed as adorable and lovable in names like *Beautiful*, *Angel innocent*, *Magnifique*, *Fragile*, *Innocent*, *Pretty*. Fragrance names can also emphasize feminine attitudes: *Lacoste Elegance*, *Allure*, *Glamourous*, *Boss Intense Shimmer*. In other names the female spirit is compared to the gentleness of flowers or fruits: *Sunflowers*, *rose the one*, *Narcisse*, *Boss Orange*.

Fragrance names also refer to mythological figures: *Lolita Lempicka* of which the flacon is an apple. In this case two myths are transmitted. The first one is the Lolita myth, about the girly, but at the same time, sensual and provocative woman and the second one is the biblical myth of the forbidden apple of temptation. In

fact, the biblical myth is quite present in the naming of fragrances: *Eden*, *beyond Paradise*. Also, the good and the bad evil in heaven and on earth can be found: *Ange ou Démon*.

Quite a lot of names stress the tendency women have for dreaming and romanticism: *L'Air du Temps*, *Miracle*, *Miracle forever*, *Pleasures*, *Poème*, *Romance*, *Sentiments*, *Chance*, *Parfum des Maraveilles*, *Premier Jour*, *Sensations*, *L'Instant Magique*. Some names highlight the noble feelings women have towards love: *Amor Amor*, *Prada Tendre*, *Promesse*, *Tender Touch*. There are also names that express important values in love and life: *Liberté*, *Eternity*, *Truth*. Some fragrance names emphasize the female personality with an erotic touch: *Sensuous*, *Magnifique*. The name *be delicious* is an advice to support a more sensual aspect of the female personality. *Incredible me* is a name that encloses a requirement towards female personality and the liberation of all social and moral ties.

Women are presented as passionate by names expressing the fascination a woman creates over a man: *Ralph Hot*, *Very Irresistible*, *212 sexy*, *Provocative Woman*. Fragrance names also refer to feelings that come within reach of erotic passion: *Mystère Rochas*, *Euphoria*, *Magnetism*, *Attraction*, *Désir*. Some names transmit the sensations, even despair, the conquest of the other sex might provoke: *Addict*, *Envy*, *Contradiction*, *Hypnôse*, *Opium*, *Secret Obsession*, *Midnight Poison*.

There are names that enclose an unambiguous message for the opposite sex, the fragrances with such a name acquire the voice of the woman wearing it: *Desire me* expresses undoubtedly the sexual impact a woman wants to have on a man. The name *Wanted* is an ellipsis of 'I want you' or 'I am wanted by you'. In a similar sense, the fragrance name *The One* clearly states that the woman wearing this fragrance wants to convey the message either 'you are the one for me' or, expressed in the same way, *I am the one for you*. In the new spot⁶ (2009), one of the last sentences is "you know when it is the one". The 'it' does not necessarily refer to a man, it can also refer to a circumstance in life. The 'it' turns the fragrance name *the one* in ambiguous.

Female nudity causes arousal, but the response of men and women is different. Whereas men are energized by female nudity, women react tense and fatigued (Latour, 1990: 78).

Bearing in mind that men display a strong positive attitude to a naked female body toward the ad and the brand (Latour/Henthorne, 1993: 26), some fragrances choose a name with that characteristic: *Nu*, *Youth Dew*, *Amber Nude*.

It can be observed that many of the fragrance names, praise the feminine soul and personality on the one hand, and make reference to the opposed but complementing dialogue constructed between men and women on the other. They even relate the (fatal) erotic and sexual attraction between men and women.

3.2 Male fragrance names

Names for male fragrances, instead, do not emphasize this sort of female and male rivalry; in fact, they do not refer to women hardly. Male fragrances stress masculinity and typical male characters like strongness and virility, on the one hand, and the preferences and tastes men possess and like on the other.

Many of the 75 names of male fragrances analyzed, have the same name as their female correspondent with the indication ‘men’ in English or ‘homme’ in French: *Acqua di Gio pour homme*, *Allure homme*, *Light Blue pour homme*, *Gucci pour Homme*, *Miracle Homme*, *Lui Rochas*; *Diamonds for men*, *Contradiction for men*, *Escape for men*, *Eternity for men*, *Obsession for Men*, *Truth for men*, *The One for men*. The marketing intention could lie in the fact that many women buy fragrances for their husbands and lovers. By doing so, they project their own desires and longings on the male fragrance. However, some combinations are very unlikely, like “Angel for men” or “Lolita Lempicka for men”, as they refer to a female image.

Pure masculinity is reinforced by names like *Pour Monsieur*, *L’Nuit de l’homme*, *Gentleman*, *Pour un Homme de Caron*, *A men*, *Now Men*. Masculine attributes can be found in *Only the Brave*, *Eau Sauvage*. Masculine egoism and the masculine desire to be a bad boy

generate names like: *Platinum Egoïste*, *le Male*, *Fleur du Male*.

There are some names related to sports: *Allure Homme Sport*, *Dior Homme Sport*, *Polo*. Also names with reference to ‘movement’ or ‘energy’ are popular: *Higher Energy*, *Boss in Motion*, *Hugo Energize*, *Adventure*, *Polo Explorer*. At the end of the competition waits the ‘*Trophée*’. Men are portrayed not only as sportsmen but also as players in fragrance names like: *Cool Play*, *1 Million*, *Style in Play*. There are just a few names that stress the more passionate part of male personality: *Dunhill Pursuit*, *Crave*.

Colors, in general, are popular names for fragrances. While female fragrances employ light colors like *Boss Orange*, *Light Blue*, *White Elle*, *into the blue*, *Touch of Pink*, we also find the color red as symbol for passion: *Deep Red*, *Red Delicious*. For male fragrances the outstanding color is black symbolizing the mystery of the night: *Black Code*, *Dunhill Black*, *Black XS*, *Silver Black*.

An interesting case is formed by the fragrances named after a city. Whereas names referring to ‘industrious’ cities like London (*Dunhill London*) and Tokyo (*Tokyo by Kenzo*) represent in a way the masculine personality, it seems that references to ‘romantic’ cities like *Paris*, *Love in Paris*, *Roma* reinforce the female essence. The cited cities evoke certain associations. Although London and Tokyo could be as a romantic city as Paris, these cities are more likely to be associated with business and finance in particular. Based on this observation, one can also predict that e.g. Chicago or New York would be a good name for a men’s fragrance. New Orleans and Amsterdam (sin cities) would probably do well for unisex fragrances.

Male fragrances have names from the Latin and Greek mythology or just invented names that sound Greek: *Antaeus*, *Kouros*, *Xeryus Rouge*. It seems that names in the two classical languages possess something masculine. Instead, female fragrances choose seductive female names in the French language: *LouLou*, *AnaisAnais*. Also fragrance names referring to flowers are quite popular for female fragrances, especially for summer fragrances like *Flower*, *Narcisse*, *Rock’n Roses*.

4. Product names for Anti-Aging care

In the previous section gender differences in the naming of fragrances have been examined. Another interesting field for a gender-based analysis are the names of cosmetics, especially those of anti-aging products. This study is based on a corpus of 110 product names for female and 80 product names for male anti-aging skin care.

It is obvious that men and women perceive and experience the process of aging in a different way. For men, society considers it as a process of physically getting mature and more interesting. For women, however, it means losing their youthful appearance and their physical attraction. In a society where youth is a factor of status and success, female aging is considered a drawback. The cosmetic industry promises through different techniques, procedures and miracle substances a sort of 'cheating the system'. Put differently, aging is portrayed like a negative state in a woman's life that can be prevented by the cosmetic industry. For women, the anti-aging cosmetic care is differentiated in stages named *First signs treatment*, *Wrinkle corrections*, *firmness correction* and finally *super restorative care*. Cosmetic companies advice women ideally to begin with the anti-aging treatments as early as their late 20s. Practically, women are threatened by aging and its negative consequences their whole adult life.

Cosmetic names for female anti-aging products consist of two parts: the name of the cosmetic line - companies develop different treatments under the same name (day and night cream, cream for the eyes, Serum, etc.) - and a more informative appendix that informs about the effects of the products: *wrinkle restoring*, *intensive recovery*, *ultra firming*, *wrinkle correction*, etc. This results in names like, for example, *Rénergie Refill Yeux Intense Reinforcing Anti-Wrinkle Eye Cream*, *Resilience Lift Extreme Ultra Firming Cream*.]

The male anti-aging products are not divided into such categories. Comparing the product names for the two sexes, the message they transmit is totally different. Female product

names for anti-aging care convey, in general, a feeling of fear. The loss of youthful beauty, a natural process like getting wrinkles under the eyes, around the mouth and on other parts of the face is regarded as a threat since it does not conform to the established beauty standards.

Analyzing female product names for anti-aging care, what strikes most is that the miraculous outcomes of the treatments are mostly expressed by names preceded by a superlative adjective:

advanced: *Advanced Night Repair*; extra: *Extra-Firming*, *Advanced Extra Firming*; high: *High Definition*, *High Resolution*; multi: *Multi-Active*, *Multi-Perfection*; perfect: *Future Perfect*, *Perfectionist*, *Multi-Perfection*; super: *Super Restorative*, *Superdefense*, *Super Rescue*; total: *Capture Totale*; ultra: *Ultra Correction*

Many products propose a lifting of the skin, that is why the word 'lift' can be found in the names: *Repairwear lift*, *Rénergie Morpholift*. Names containing 'age' express a resistance but also a certain resignation against aging: *Age Fitness Power*, *Revelation Age-Resisting*, *Sublimage*. As the promise of 'youth' is not very credible, only a few names relate to it: *Youth surge*, *Genefique Youth*. Quite a lot of names contain the prefix 're-', that suggests bringing a negative state into a more satisfying one: *Repairwear lift*, *Reminere Intensive*, *Rénergie Refill* (in which *Rénergie* is an invented word).

Numerically, there are much less cosmetic products for anti-aging aimed for men than for women. As has been mentioned above the aging process is sold differently to men than to women. In general, product names for men's skin care are much more euphemistic than the names for female anti-aging products. First of all, aging is not considered as a negative state but as a transitional one, being referred as 'fatigue': *Anti-Fatigue*, *Fatigue Fighter*. In all moments, the use of the product offers a positive sensation for the male skin: *Revitalizing*, *Rehydrating Moisturiser*, *Night Recovery Lotion*. The maximum comfort is the most important quality of a male cosmetic product: *Maximum Hydrator*, *Max Comfort*, *Extreme Comfort*, *Comfort*

Max Moisturiser. Health is also an important factor to bear in mind: *Healthy Look Moisturiser*, *Vita Lift*. Action, control and force, highly masculine attributes, are employed to combat the expression lines, as men do not have wrinkles: *Force Supreme*, *Multi Action*, *Line Control*. Other names regard the process of aging as a fight a man has to win and is going to win: *Age Fight*, *Age Rescue*, *Age Defense Hydrator*.

5. Conclusion

In the present article I have examined the product names for fragrances and cosmetic products for anti-aging skin care from a gender perspective. The differences in appealing both sexes reveal how gender-specific attitudes and values are transmitted by product names. Female addressed product names clearly imply a reference to the opposite sex by stressing the attraction a woman feels towards a man and the desire to please him. Aging is considered a threat to the endeavor of being beautiful and being regarded attractive. Female names for anti-aging skin care transmit fear. Male addressed products by the beauty-industry emphasize male characteristics as strongness and bravery. Aging is never considered a negative process.

Notes

- ¹ Although Markham/Cangelosi (1999: 400) in their article “An international study of unisex and ‘same-name’ fragrance brands” state that women do not buy fragrance any more for the sake of sexual allure. Values like self-indulgence, smartness and conforming to a particular image have become important factors for the purchase of a fragrance.
- ² http://www.interbrand.com/best_global_brands.aspx [27th February 2010]
- ³ Although men did use aftershave, but it has not been commercialized in the way it is now. Besides, it had not the impact in the daily care as it has nowadays.
- ⁴ It must be pointed out that fragrance names appear more evocative together with an

image and a slogan in an advertisement as analyzed separately from these persuasive elements.

- ⁵ The corpus is not very extensive as we just included product names that express gender attitudes. Fragrance names based on the name of the designer, as *Dolce & Gabbana*, *Jean Paul Gaultier*, *Carolina Herrera*, etc. have been left out, since they do not transmit a gender attitude. They pass on the excellent reputation of the designer to the fragrance. On the other hand, they can also be considered as signature brands.
- ⁶ In the new spot (2009), featuring Scarlett Johansson, looking at the mirror to herself, she says: “I am looking / I don’t know what I’m looking for / maybe everything, mabe nothing / but I know when I find it / you know when it is the one / that’s the one - Dolce & Gabbana the one.

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Speakability of Trademarks

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Abstract

This article deals with the spoken realization of trademarks. The speakability of trademarks has a major impact on the purchase decision in the market. Consequently, the speakability depends on those who use a trademark; this fact, in turn, has a repercussion upon trademark creation and upon legal trademark procedures.

Thus, consumers build the decisive body concerning the speakability, for the trademark has to be in their language, because a non-speakable trademark cannot promote a product. Furthermore, in legal procedures the dominance of the spoken form of the trademark is clearly ahead of the written form. Moreover, - from an onomastic viewpoint - the speakability creates a pragmatic link between proper names and trademarks.

1. Introduction

Trademarks possess primarily a communicative function, in other words, they are intended to express something about the labeled product (Kutter 2004: 85). This expressive nature of trademarks does not seem particular as any linguistic sign is usually there for communicative purposes. In this respect, the conversational functioning of language signs is due to social convention regarding the meaning-reference relations (Eco 1988). Unlike ordinary language signs, the communicative function of trademarks is primarily predicated on connotative features, leaving ordinary semantically motivated relations between meaning and reference aside (Teutsch 2007: 130 et seqq.). The meaning of the concrete product,¹ for which the trademark is intended, clearly determines the reference. Consequently, the 'new' meaning of the product (conveyed through the trademark) has to be created in such a manner that it finds easily its way to the consumer (bypassing the existing denotative meaning of the concrete product). For this reason, the trade-

mark has to express associations, emotions and personal feelings, since those connotations pave sustainably the way into the consumer's mind (Collins 1977). This generates two major perspectives to look at trademarks, namely from the perspective of those who use a trademark and from the point of view of the trademark creators.

In order to be expressive as a product name, the spoken or articulated form of the trademark plays a significant role (Usunier/Shaner 2002: 214). Thus, it is of enormous importance whether the expressiveness is generated via an oral, vocalized channel or via a written, depicted one (Ineichen 2003: 199; Usunier/Shaner 2002: 213).

Moreover, trademarks are no abstract utterances but rather they fulfill a particular economic, legal and communicative function. This leads to the assumption that trademarks can only be understood out of an interdisciplinary position. Thus trademarks differ from ordinary language signs (at least on the level of linguistic pragmatics), because they are not only linguistic object of study but they are subject matter

in economic and legal sciences as well. Their communicative function is the common denominator of an essential interdisciplinary approach. Based on this assumption, there will in the following be a closer look at the communicative interaction between the uttered trademark and the consumers, and at the impact of the speakability on trademark creation.

2. The nature of the trademark

Trademarks clearly differ from the ordinary stock of words. In the setting of pure linguistics, trademarks represent an idiosyncratic part of speech. Regarding their building structure, they do after all not follow the rules of word formation, grammar and language tradition. Furthermore, recent neurolinguistic studies on lexical categorizations say to have revealed that ‘trademarks’ (as lexical units) show the same structural representation in the brain as generic terms, because ‘trademark-processing’ allegedly deviates from the cerebral location of ‘proper-name-processing’ (Müller/Kutas 1997: 147 et seqq.). For this reason, the study concludes that trademarks cannot be considered being proper names. Such studies lack a holistic definition of the phenomenon ‘trademark’ and are merely predicated on a general assumption about what trademarks are.

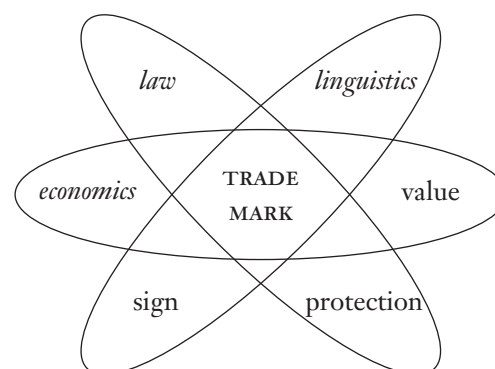
From the outlook of onomastic theory, product names primarily have to be assigned to the group of proper names. They contain generally the basic characteristics of proper names, namely, ‘monoreferentiality’ which is the ability to individualize one entity of items out of a class of similar items, and ‘secondary naming’ which is the function of giving another or a new name to a generally denominated item - the so-called labeling (Teutsch 2007: 134 et seqq.).

Yet, there is a tendency to change to generic product denominations, though, only after a certain time and under special conditions (Teutsch 2008: 297). Therefore, they possess a dynamic nature as crossbreeds between proper names and general terms.

An open definition considering the whole of the entity ‘trademark’ would have to take

into account that a final categorization is not feasible; e.g., terms like the French ‘poubelle’ or ‘bottin’, are - at least at their origins - proper names, but are nowadays understood as generic terms. There are plenty of examples showing that proper names and generic terms are only the extreme poles of a dynamic continuum (Gutknecht/Wehking 1985: 80).

The communicative function of product names - which is subject to each of the trademark constituting disciplines (linguistics, law and economy) - is accountable for the dynamism of this continuum. In this context, each discipline contributes its principle purpose to the constitution of trademarks, which is not necessarily compatible to the purposes of the other involved disciplines. Thus, a separate look at each discipline regarding trademarks seems necessary. The following illustration (Teutsch 2007: 48) aims to show the correlation of the disciplines and wants to make clear that the trademark can only occur as a result in their intersection:



- The economic approach towards product names longs for the best possible communication of trademarks in order to engrave the sign into the brain of the consumers (Collins 1977: 340 et passim) and, in consequence, influences the value of the trademark.
- The legal approach has to guarantee a balance between the trademarks owners’ rights of protection and the public interest of using trademarks as a part of the stock of words within a language (Teutsch 2008: 296).
- Linguistic considerations are based on both structural (i.e. trademarks as lexical units) and functional (i.e. trademarks in discourse

and language) approaches (see e.g. Kremer/Ronneberger-Sibold 2008).

As it is common in contemporary onomastic studies, the functional approach, which is the present sociolinguistic aspect of trademarks, will here stand in the foreground. This is the only viewpoint that enables combining all three constituting disciplines of trademarks.

3. The key functions of the trademark

Some linguists reduce the social functionality of trademarks merely to an economic and legal field, and question with this linguistic interest at all (see e.g. Gläser 1973: 220 et seqq.). Others create a link between the communicative function of the trademark and onomastic theory, concluding that trademarks belong mainly to the group of proper names (see e.g. Schippan 1989: 48). Those two positions are not contradictory; they are merely born of different perspectives. The first one, focusing on an economic and legal environment, examines trademarks rather from a multidisciplinary point of view in order to fully integrate the trademark as a social phenomenon, emphasizing on its communicative function. The other position, linking product names to onomastics and stressing their proper-name characteristics, emphasizes on the individualizing function or the ‘function of distinctiveness’, as this is the common legal term. In the following, the aforementioned two positions will be combined and related to marketing strategies.

3.1 *The communicative function with regard to trademark typology*

Communicative interaction in society constitutes one major aspect of sociolinguistics (Schlieben-Lange 1973: 18; Löffler 2005: 21). Different varieties of a language can create a source to contribute to this communicative stock (Schlieben-Lange 1973: 99). Commercial language, marketing creations etc. can be a variety of speech in everyday discourse (Löffler 2005: 22). For this reason, the sociolinguistic integration of the trademark demands above all that trademarks can be spoken. Con-

sequently, it is assumed that the spoken representation predominates over visual aspects of trademarks. This creates a repercussion upon the involved disciplines taking aspects of ‘speakability’ into account that, in turn, are foremost socio-linguistically (partly even structurally) based approaches.

In order to articulate something one has to be able to speak it, which is why I introduce the neologism ‘speakability’ here. This term contains the basic ‘social’ condition of a trademark, namely, the ability to be spoken and its phonetic realization taking into account the individual language competence of the speakers during the act of pronouncing trademarks. ‘Speakability’ concerns also the sound of product names that is dominating their visual (written) embodiment. These aspects of speakability concern any uttered product name. There are numerous types of trademarks (Grabrucker 2001), e.g.:

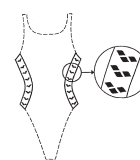
- three-dimensional trademarks:²



- jingles [sound of a typical Swiss post horn]:³



- positional trademarks:⁴



- trademarks consisting of a combination of figurative and verbal elements:⁵



The largest group of trademark types, however, consists of word marks. In order not to go too far beyond the scope of this paper, it can be assumed that the communicative intention of trademarks is always manifested within discourse (such as sales talk, commercials, marketing strategies etc.). Both the facts that most of the trademarks are word marks and that even non-verbal marks have to be communicated, must be sufficient as a proof for trademarks being an object of communicative social interaction.

3.2 *The function of distinctiveness and its onomastic impact*

Adjacent to the communicative function there is another key function, namely the function of distinctiveness. According to the legal definition, those signs are suitable to be trademarks that are able to discern the products of one company from those products of another company.

The legal term 'distinctiveness' has two meanings in the field of trademark law (Marbach 1996: 3, 4). On the one hand, a trademark has to be distinctive in order to be recognized as a trademark, which means that it has to be distinctive compared to the generic meaning of the labeled product. On the other hand, a trademark has to be sufficiently distinctive from other trademarks, namely those of the competitor, in order to avoid infringements. The articulated representation of the trademark plays a predominant role, no matter in which of the both ways the term distinctiveness is understood.

3.3 *Marketing strategies*

The functions of communication and distinctiveness represent a basic requirement for trademarks at all. Regarding those requirements to be fulfilled, a look at the very starting point of the life cycle of the trademark seems useful. The 'birth' of a trademark is the idea or the demand to create a name for a certain product or even for a whole range of products, which has to be different to the generic denomination of a product. As already mentioned in the introduction, trademarks are no abstract utterances but rather they denote

concrete products.⁶ Concerning their linguistic awareness, they represent a significant part of our stock of words (Samland 2006: 7; Teutsch 2008: 294), which makes them an important contribution to communication.⁷ Being artificial word creations, trademarks are issued by a small group of people, namely by creative directors and their team. Consequently, trademarks are closely bound to marketing affairs. In fact, they ensue from marketing strategies. Thus, it is marketing that decides over a trademark, its intention, its target market and last but not least its looks. Loosely based on Philip Kotler's and Gary Armstrong's *Principles of Marketing* (2001), a couple of significant criteria for trademark creation can be defined, namely:

- informative value with regard to a product (i.e. trademarks have to be transparent and emotive)
- simple to communicate (i.e. trademarks have to be plain and easy to articulate)
- nonconformity towards usual language pattern (i.e. trademarks have to stand out from the ordinary stock of words)
- internationally applicable (i.e. language selection according to target market)
- legally protectable (i.e. a trademark must not be descriptive or deceptive)

Those criteria, although each fully justified, lead to a couple of contradictions during their implementation: A trademark ought to be transparent but not descriptive, it has to be plain and outstanding at the same time, and it must consider both regional and international requirements. This does not make trademark creation impossible but it points out to the difficulty to create a 'good' trademark. Nevertheless, the major precondition for a 'good' trademark regards its speakability.

4. *The speakability of trademarks*

The question about the speakability of trademarks gains preponderance combining the above mentioned marketing criteria with the two key functions of the trademark (communication and distinctiveness), and asking:

- Who has to (be able to) speak a trademark?
- How can trademark creation consider the aspect of speakability?
- How far does speakability overlap the visual / written form and what are the consequences?

4.1 *The 'trademark users'*

The first question deals with those who use a trademark, namely the average consumers, the competitors in the market and the specialists in the field of a product. This breakdown of 'trademark users' into three groups results from the users' different perception of the concrete product labeled with a trademark.

Neither jurisdiction nor marketing are clear about the definition of all relevant consumers. Although the *Court of Justice of the European Communities* speaks about the "average consumer, who is reasonably well informed and reasonably observant and circumspect" (see e.g. case: C-218/01)⁸, this explanation creates only a legal concept and has to be applied case by case according to the grade of the consumers' advertency. Details about this advertency grading remain, however, undefined. The 'well informed and circumspect' consumers can consequently be professionals, intermediaries and average consumers. This is the reason why I suggest classifying the 'trademark users' into the above mentioned three groups, fully aware that the groups overlap.

The average consumers build the largest group containing all people interested in using a certain good or service. They only have to know how to use a product, but not how a product works. For example, I can use a piece of soap without knowing anything about its chemical compound or a physician can use an ultrasonic device without knowing anything about its technical inner life.

In contrast to the average consumers, the competitors and specialists are much better informed about the technical specifications of a product. They do, however, not build one group. The reason for a distinction between the competitors and the specialists lies in their intention: whereas the specialist has knowledge about a product in order to inform about its use, the competitor's intention lies in

benchmarking or even copycatting the product or its name. As a rule, members of those groups understand a trademark better than the average consumer does. For example, the product name 'PERSIL' (for washing powder) is composed of the first syllable of the sodium compounds 'perborate' (a bleaching agent) and 'silicate' (a detergent). Average consumers of washing powder will not see a chemical compound in the product name, whereas competitors will, and they might use this knowledge during benchmarking; the group of specialists has to know more about the chemical consistence of the product in order to supply relevant information to the consumers. Specialists can be shop assistants, wholesalers, company controllers, and so on.

There is one aspect about the group of consumers and about the group of specialists that puts these two groups in the very focus of the whole market and separates them from the group of competitors: it is their purchasing power. Those two groups have to be able to speak a trademark.

Certainly, the groups overlap, e.g. surgeons can belong to all three groups regarding the awareness of trademarks for suture materials: They can use this material in the exercise of their job, they can inform about it as specialist and consequently, influence the purchase decision of wholesalers, and they can work as researchers for a company and use the material during benchmarking or even for ambush marketing reasons (Hilty/von der Crone/Weber 2006: 705, 706). Nevertheless, the same surgeons can merely belong to the group of consumers for sewing materials: They might use needle and thread to attach a button on their white coat but they are no specialists for sewing materials or rather they do not consider their profession legitimizing a statement about thread twirling, yarn spacing etc.

The following chart summarizes the different perceptions of those who use a trademark:

‘trademark users’	genuine product use	technical knowledge	purchase power
average consumers	x		x
product specialist		x	x
competitors		x	

The creation of the trademark has to be closely related to the probable consumers and considerations about the weakest link in the chain of consumers are very important. A product field in which it is unusual to use e.g. foreign languages should avoid trademarks in foreign languages. Hence, the crucial point lies in the ability to create a speakable trademark, for this is the communicative key. From that point of view, the relevance of the competitors is low and of the average consumers high, because that is where the purchase power lies.

4.2 Trademark creation and speakability

Once the potential consumers are defined, there are structural (linguistically motivated) considerations that have to be made during trademark creation. Nevertheless, it is not easy to find the ‘right’ language.

In this respect, the German linguist Christophe Platen reports a demonstrative example in his work *Ökonomie* (1997: 17). The story is about the perfume ‘GIO’ from *Armani*: In a purely German speaking environment, a consumer demands the perfume ‘[g^hi:’o]’, the shop assistant - belonging to the group of specialists - tries to help and corrects the pronunciation, stating that the customer probably meant the perfume ‘[ʃ i’o]’ which, of course, does not match with Italian pronunciation as well, which should be ‘[dʒ ɔ :]’.

The function of the ‘i’ in this cluster is to make the ‘g’ a voiced palato-alveolar affricate, namely the Italian phoneme ‘[dʒ]’, followed in this case by the open back-rounded long vowel ‘[ɔ :]’. Such a phoneme combination does not exist in German; one can casually find the unvoiced version of this phoneme in foreign borrowings, but as a rule, ‘g’ and ‘i’ do not build one phoneme in German. The initial ‘g’ is rather an aspirated voiced velar plosive, fol-

lowed by a long stressed ‘i’ as the vowel ‘o’ extends the ‘i’. Moreover, a long open vowel (and a back-round one to boot) at the end of a syllable does not match with German pronunciation rules. Thus, a legitimate pronunciation of the trademark ‘[dʒ ɔ :]’ in a German speaking environment is ‘[g^hi:’o]’.

In this respect, the behavior of the specialist (in this case the shop assistant) is particularly interesting: The shop assistant wants to demonstrate more knowledge about the product and demonstrates a higher advertence regarding the product, as it is a product of an Italian company; the shop-assistant uses the unvoiced palato-alveolar affricate, typical for foreign borrowings in German.

Besides these difficulties regarding the pronunciation in the different markets, the before mentioned Italian trademark implies a certain product style communicating typical, desirable Italian connotations (fashion etc.).

In the following, I propose a number of linguistic considerations about the right language.

4.2.1 Unpronounceable trademarks

The marketing experts from the University of Lausanne, Jean-Claude Usunier and Janet Shaner, warn from using ‘xenophonic’ letter clustering in an international trademark environment (2002: 218). Certain letter sequences that are perfectly common to speakers of a particular language can be perceived as almost unpronounceable for speakers of another language. Sequences of consonants should be avoided: e.g. in German ‘rztpr’ as in ‘Arztpraxis’ (surgery) or in Czech ‘vlk’ (wolf). The same applies for vowel clustering like in nasalized triphthongs or combinations of mute letters building homophones as one finds in French: e.g. ‘vieilli’ [vjeji] (old-fashioned), or

‘eaux’ (waters) / ‘aulx’ (sorts of garlic), both pronounced [o:]. This is why Usunier/Shaner consider French as being “a poor language for global brands” (2002: 218).⁹ Yet, they confine this linguistic restriction only to letter clustering and its involved pronunciation difficulties.

4.2.2 Trademarks as regional indicators

Furthermore, a trademark can consciously be used to indicate a regional connection of a product. Examples of trademarks in Swiss German¹⁰ show the explicit restriction to a confined area, e.g. the Swiss German trademark ‘HERBSCHTWAREMÄSS’^{11,12} (autumn trade fair) is indicating a Swiss product fair in Basle (but not in the neighboring regions Alsace or Black Forest). Even within Swiss German or French patois in Switzerland, there are vernacular variations that are reflected in trademark creation, e.g. the term ‘TRIIBILRYPF’¹³ (triibil = grapes, rypf = ripening) which has become an ambiguous word combination in the Valais vernacular meaning both ‘grape ripening’ and ‘praying mantis’, for the insects come when the grapes are ripe. This is why the trademark owner chose to have a praying mantis as a logo to go with the vernacular expression ‘triibilrypf’:



The pun will only be understood by the speakers of the Valais vernacular, because both ‘grape ripening’ and ‘praying mantis’ are different in other Swiss German variations. Moreover, the word contains a typical sound feature that identifies the Valais vernacular, namely the clustering of i-vowel-sounds. The same applies for the French speaking part of Switzerland, e.g. the trademark ‘L’ARMAILLI’^{14,15} (the alpine herdsman) in the Fribourg vernacular; the sound of the word, starting with a repetition of the dark vowel ‘a’ and ending with a

palatalized ‘i’ fits typically into the sound-pattern of the Fribourg vernacular.

4.2.3 Trademarks and sound symbolism

These considerations refer to another decisive point of language choice, namely the impact of sound symbolism on trademark creation. In their work *Sound Symbolism*, Hinton/Nichols/Ohala (1995: 6) give as an example the name ‘L’ORÉAL’ for shampoo. According to the authors, this name echoes the very feminine-sounding name ‘Laura’, it is reminiscent of the plant name ‘laurel’, and being full of continuant, ‘flowing’ sounds it symbolizes ‘flowing’ hair.

The same applies to the choice of language: The British linguists Howard Giles and Nancy Niedzielski point out to studies showing that speakers of prestige languages are judged more handsome and physically attractive (1998: 90). Therefore, it is safe to say that it is already the mere sound of a language that fulfils the function of attracting consumers, and it is not the meaning of the words in the first place.

Within this framework, Usunier/Shaner relate languages of certain countries to common stereotypes of these countries (e.g. French → France → “sense of design and high-class products” (2002: 216)).

4.2.4 What is now the right language for trademarks?

To conclude, an old seller’s word of wisdom states that the best language in business is always the customer’s language. In this respect, Usunier/Shaner warn, “pronouncing foreign words may be difficult, even painful and humiliating” (2002: 218). Furthermore, a trademark that is not speakable cannot promote a product. On the other hand, the mere sound of a trademark can be used to convey an emotion, like a local color or a certain tradition or a passion. Trademark creation has to take into account all these aspects about the target market.

4.3 The articulated form vs. written form (using the example of Swiss trademark law)

The next issue to be discussed concerns the relation between the visual/written form and the spoken/articulated realization of a trademark. In order to fulfill the legal requirements

of a distinctive product name, the word sign must not directly describe any information about the product (like: properties, characteristics, quality etc.). This legal requirement sometimes contradicts marketing intentions, which is in fact to create transparent trademarks. One of the possible methods to solve successfully this contradiction is the mere insinuation of a direct product description. This is often achieved by mutilating or disfiguring generic terms, e.g. ‘SPAGHELLI’¹⁶ is registered for foodstuff, thus distinctive.

4.3.1 Audible modifications generating distinctiveness

Swiss jurisdiction on trademarks usually demands a high level of modification. As a rule, modifications have to be realized both orthographically and phonetically. In this respect, a Supreme Court decision in Switzerland states:

S’agissant d’une marque verbale, il faut considérer d’une part l’effet auditif, d’autre part l’effet visuel du ou des mots utilisés. La jurisprudence attache toutefois une importance prédominante au premier, qui se grave le mieux dans le souvenir de l’acheteur moyen (Swiss Supreme Court, case: 100 Ib 250)¹⁷.

Consequently, deviances from the standardized word formation play an important role for jurisprudence. The grade of acceptable modification is depending on the way a word is spoken. The *Swiss Federal Administrative Cour* has clearly stated that “una minima modifica di ortografia [...] che nel linguaggio parlato passerebbe in genere inosservata, non è atta a conferire la forza distintiva concreta al segno”¹⁸ (case: B-787/2007)¹⁹. Thus, jurisdiction in Switzerland does not consider visual modifications as long as they do not have an impact on the spoken realization. The *Swiss Supreme Court*²⁰ for example has refused trademark protection of the word signs ‘SIBEL’ as an insufficient spelling deviation of ‘si belle’, ‘YUROP’ as a directly perceivable reference to ‘Europe’, and ‘FROSTI’ as being insufficiently far from ‘frosty’. Hence, modifications have to be audible in the first place.

4.3.2 Audible distinctions between trademarks

The same considerations apply for opposition procedures. In case that a trademark owner objects the registration of another trademark for potential trademark infringement, Swiss jurisdiction has developed several measurements in order to compare the opposing product names. Remarkably, these measurements are primarily sound-based ones, namely:

- sequence of vowels
- cadence of articulation
- meter of the syllable

The similarity concerning the audible representation of two opposing trademarks is the dominant factor to be considered in trademark infringement procedures; followed by the visual representation, and only then a semantic representation plays a role.

4.3.3 Parallels between proper names and products names concerning audibility

Pursuant to the Swiss Courts, the reason for this predominance of the articulated representation lies in the fact that the acoustic form better engraves in someone’s mind (see cases under 4.3.1). Here are parallels between proper names and product names. The Swiss linguist Stefan Sonderegger points to the fact that all proper names are ‘sound words’ due to their important appellative character and, consequently, concludes that the same applies to trademarks (1987: 12). As a result, the legal dominance of the sound representation, the importance of the appellative character of the trademarks, and the pictures that are generated through the sound of a trademark (cf. point 4.2.3) put the spoken / articulated form of the trademark ahead of the visual form. And last but not least, the classification of the trademark as a ‘sound word’ paves the way to a pure pragmatic setting of the trademark in linguistics. Proper names and trademarks build one type of lexical unit on this pragmatic level.

5. Conclusion

The creation of a trademark has to be considered carefully from the very beginning of the naming process. The speakability of a trademark is decisive for its success in the market and for its survival next to other word signs. The trademark as a language sign lives in everyday conversation and thus, contributes to our stock of words. In this context, the two key functions of the trademarks are vital, since trademarks must be easily accessible to communication and they have to be distinctive.

Given that communication builds a core requirement of the trademark, it is self-evident to assume a certain preponderance of its spoken form. Hence, in combination with the key functions of the trademark, several aspects can be defined to stand out during trademark creation, namely considerations about those who are supposed to use the trademark, and about the speakability of the trademark. As a result, trademarks have to be able to be spoken. This speakability has to be defined from the outlook of the target market. Nevertheless, it is not possible to state that an ‘internationally’ sounding trademark is always the best solution for a marketing strategy. Sometimes the language of a certain region for a certain good with a certain reputation can be shown by the use of shibboleths out of a vernacular language variation and, consequently, serve much better to convey a certain emotion than an emotionless internationalism can do, e.g., the famous Swiss trademark ‘GLARNER SCHABZIGER’²¹ (for green cheese); this trademark is undoubtedly hard to pronounce, its sound, however, reflects the unspoiled, rocky area - almost as inaccessible as its pronunciation - from where the product comes.

Anyway, the language of the trademark has to be commanded by the target market. For this reason, the target consumer’s awareness is of enormous importance. A balance between the association of the trademark conveyed by the language and the language competence of the consumers has to be found. An inhibiting pronunciation has to be avoided, or else the associative, emotive content of the trademark has to be outstanding. In this context, Usuni-

er/Shaner (2002: 218) accurately summarize: “Generally, simple brand names are most effective. However, brands names should avoid simplicity”.

Moreover, speakability is an inherent feature of the trademark. This fact underlines the relationship between proper names and trademarks. Due to their appellative character both types of ‘names’ possess the common characteristic to be ‘sound words’. Jurisdiction on trademarks takes on this appellative character, because in trademark registration and infringement procedures the speakability or the spoken realization of the trademark is always ahead of its written form.

Notes

- ¹ In this paper I use the term ‘trademark’ in the legally defined sense; this is why, according to the principle of specialty (cf. footnote 6 below), any consideration regards always a concrete product and never an indefinite ‘range of products’. Please note, that neither the concept of ‘brands’ nor the essential terminological distinction between ‘brands’ and ‘trademarks’ are subject of the present paper, for it would lead far beyond the scope of it.
- ² cf. register no. 404040, under: www.swiss-reg.ch
- ³ cf. register no. 535224, *ibid.*
- ⁴ cf. register no. 465215, *ibid.*
- ⁵ cf. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/KLM_Royal_Dutch_Airlines
- ⁶ Due to legal form requirements there is an international classification trying to arrange all possible commercial product sectors (Roberts 2007: 235); without a connection to concrete products trademarks cannot be an object of intellectual property (Willi 2002: 279, Teutsch 2007: 57).
- ⁷ Trademarks make up a large proportion of the vocabulary of a language (Teutsch 2008: 294).
- ⁸ Online access available under: <http://curia.europa.eu/jurisp/cgi-bin/form.pl?lang=en>
- ⁹ Note that Usunier/Shaner use the term ‘brand’, following the typical terminology

of marketing; as I implied in footnote 1, the terms ‘trademark’ and ‘brand’ are no synonyms as they do not follow the same concept. There is, however, a large intersection between the concepts. Therefore, the way how Usunier/Shaner use the term ‘brand’ in their paper (2002), and how I use the term ‘trademark’ in the present paper, follows a synonymous use.

- ¹⁰ Swiss German is a distant variety to standard German.
- ¹¹ cf. register no. 516936, under: www.swiss-reg.ch
- ¹² standard German: ‘Herbstwarenmesse’
- ¹³ cf. register no. 464143, under: www.swiss-reg.ch
- ¹⁴ cf. register no. 461930, *ibid.*
- ¹⁵ standard French: ‘berger d’alpage’
- ¹⁶ cf. register no. 449222, under: www.swiss-reg.ch
- ¹⁷ Online access available under: <http://www.bger.ch/de/index.htm>
- ¹⁸ “Minor deviations in spelling, which generally pass unnoticed in spoken language, are not capable to confer concrete distinctiveness to the sign” (AT).
- ¹⁹ Online access available under: <http://www.bundesverwaltungsgericht.ch/>
- ²⁰ cf. footnote 17
- ²¹ cf. register no. 454830, under: www.swiss-reg.ch

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A Semantic Description of Company Names in Spanish Business-related Newspaper Articles

An Vande Castele

Abstract

This paper offers a corpus-based analysis of how companies are identified in Spanish newspaper articles. A large number of business-related articles, published in *El País* in 2008, were gathered in order to examine the linguistic characteristics of references to company names. More precisely, the material used in this study consists of references to companies in newspaper headlines and their first reference in the article itself. It is interesting to find out how companies are introduced in newspaper articles, how they are usually defined, with which descriptive elements they tend to appear and which specific roles in society they are assigned to. So, we will focus our attention particularly on the semantic information provided in the different kinds of syntactic structures in which company names appear.

The power of media to shape a corporate image

The role of the media in developing a company's image cannot be emphasized enough (cf. Goodman 2004 and Argenti & Forman 2002). Media communication can have an enormous effect on building or diminishing a corporate reputation. A company's image is powerful because the way a company is publicly perceived influences on the readiness of persons to buy its products, to be willing to work there, to collaborate with them, to purchase its stock. Fombrun and Shanley (1990) argue that:

“good reputation is very useful for an organization; it may enable it to charge premium prices for its products, enter in favorable financial arrangements with banks, attract graduates from top universities, get in touch with customers easily, and so on, such that good reputation constitutes a valuable asset to the organization.”

In brief, media communication is all about building and maintaining a positive relation-

ship with others. Media coverage can be both controlled and uncontrolled. The former type is clearly instigated by the company, whereas the latter takes place when a perception is unintentionally influenced (cf. Melewar et al. 2005). Media coverage assumes a very important role for a company's image. Moreover, as Bernstein (1984: 1) states, “*companies communicate whether they want or not*”. So, corporate communication is about managing perception, it involves creating a positive relationship with customers, employees, commercial partners, suppliers, shareholders, etc. Finally, according to Goodman (2004), it will only gain in importance due to the information economy we live in.

Methodological considerations

As announced, the present article provides a corpus-based linguistic approach of company names used in the business section of the Spanish newspaper *El País*. The economic news texts cover several topics on companies

such as financial business results, stock market information, takeover, leadership changes, internal organization, market trends, etc. From a linguistic point of view, there is a wide array of expressions used to refer to companies. Organization studies as from Alvesson and Kärreman (2000) emphasize the fundamental role of language in representing companies. The advantage of a corpus-based exploration is that it allows studying the role of ‘language in use’. It enables us to formulate generalizations on frequency of certain constructions or collocations in which company names usually occur. We want to underline that corpus linguistics is much more than obtaining language data by means of computers. The central task of a corpus linguist is not the retrieval of data, but the analysis of the data obtained from a corpus. In brief, corpus data enable researchers to study naturally occurring linguistic phenomena in their context. Since language is undoubtedly a social phenomenon, it is interesting to find out which roles specific linguistic expressions assume in society and communication. Our approach will start from a linguistic point of view and will attempt to provide evidence on the use of company names in the economic discourse.

A semantic account of company names

From a first glance at our corpus data, there is no denying that company names clearly function as proper names. They refer to individual entities in an unambiguous way; they are rigid designators. This means that in order to identify their referent, they do not require the presence of descriptive elements. Nevertheless, we observe that in a lot of examples, the company names appear accompanied by descriptive segments. In the following paragraphs we will propose a semantic account of the linguistic expressions in which company names appear.

Company names as rigid designators

Company names clearly function as ordinary proper names, they have a unique, fixed reference. According to the classical referential

theory a proper name is a rigid designator. Kripke (1972) defines this concept as follows:

“Let’s call something a rigid designator if in any possible world it designates the same object.”¹

So, a rigid designator is a unique identifier, which always designates the same entity. It implies that theoretically it does not require descriptive features in order to identify the referent. In other words, a proper name denotes without having a connotation, without having a sense. The following example illustrates this phenomenon:

- (1) “Los títulos de Air France-KLM se desplomaron ayer en Bolsa cerca de un 9% tras la presentación de los resultados de la compañía en el ejercicio fiscal 2007-2008 cerrado el pasado 31 de marzo.” (*El País*, 23/05/08)
 [*The shares of Air France-KLM collapsed yesterday with 9% after the release of the company results of the fiscal year 2007-2008 which closed on the 31st of March.*]

With the use of the proper name *Air France-KLM* the referent is identifiable. It refers to a well known company.

Nevertheless, we observe that company names seldom occur alone, without specifications, in newspaper articles. Detailed descriptions of the company’s business line, products, importance in the sector, are often added in order to offer the reader some background information, even if these descriptive elements are not really necessary in order to establish the reference. Consider the next examples:

- (2) “La productora alemana de automóviles deportivos Porsche anunció ayer sus aspiraciones de comprar la mayoría del gigante del sector Volkswagen (vw).” (*El País*, 04/03/08)
 [*German sports car maker Porsche announced yesterday its aspirations to buy the majority of the sector giant Volkswagen (vw).*]
- (3) “El grupo tecnológico alemán Siemens va a presentar una demanda por daños contra los 11 miembros del antiguo co-

mité ejecutivo de la compañía por su responsabilidad en los casos de corrupción.” (*El País*, 29/07/08)

[*The German technology group Siemens will ask to refund the damage caused to 11 members of the former executive committee of the company because of their responsibility in corruption cases.*]

- (4) “Morea, una pequeña empresa catalana de comunicación, que factura 6,5 millones de euros y emplea a 70 personas, ultima su salida a la Bolsa.” (*El País*, 30/05/08)
[*Morea, a small Catalan communication company, which has a turnover of 6,5 million euro and employs 70 people, delays its stock market entry.*]

The proper names Porsche, Volkswagen, Siemens and Morea are specified by descriptive features. So, what Jucker (1992: 207) states on anthroponyms² could be applied to company names:

“Under normal circumstances, personal names have a unique reference, but very often a person’s name alone does not enable the reader to identify the designated individual. It is generally his or her role in public life that constitutes the newsworthiness of the individual thus designated.”

Company names also present a unique reference, but as illustrated by numerous examples in our database, they often appear with a lot of descriptive information. It is this background information which seems to be “newsworthy”.

In conclusion, an explicit mentioning of lexical features such as the company’s type, their business line, their products, their ranking, etc. appears to be useful in order to obtain a clear informative newspaper article. This means that the reader’s general knowledge seems to be insufficient in order to identify univocally the company referred to by its name only. It implies that the topic has to be specified in order to become mentally accessible (Ariel 1990). So, there is a lack of direct lexical identification of companies by the means of a proper name alone, since the identification process requires descriptive elements.

Companies described as multidimensional organizations

For another semantic point of view, we refer to Weick and Daft (1983: 72). They define companies as “*fragmented, elusive and multidimensional*”. Cooren et al. (2005) also propose a pluralized view of organizations. In order to understand them, they are instantiated in very different concrete ways: as a group of people, buildings, machines, etc. These instantiations or “embodiments” are situated in a particular context and time frame. In the next paragraphs we will study the descriptive properties with which companies tend to occur in the economic press. The linguistic phenomena we will discuss in detail concern different types of modification and predication of company names and their pragmatic role in the text. We observe that many company names appear in so-called loose or close appositive constructions. Based upon previous research on appositive constructions (cf. Acuña Fariña, 1999; Martínez, 1994; Meyer, 1992; Neveu, 1998; Suñer Gratacós, 1999; Van Langendonck, 2007) loose appositive constructions can be described as two juxtaposed noun phrases which share the same reference. The two segments of this appositive construction are separated by a pause, formalised by the means of a comma or another punctuation mark with a separating value. This type of apposition has an explicative meaning, it describes or develops the content of the first member of the construction. Close appositive constructions consist of only one noun phrase with a head and a modifier. There is no co-referentiality between the two segments in the structure, since it concerns a modifying construction, in which the modifier assumes a restrictive function.

The first set of examples illustrate different kinds of modifying constructions. In (5) and (6) the proper names *Mall* and *Puleva* appear in so-called close appositive constructions, which we analyzed as modifying structures (cf. Vande Castele, 2010). The words *grupo* and *compañía* present a general content and function as modifiers in the nominal group they belong to.

- (5) “El grupo español Mall invertirá 391 millones en Patagonia” (*El País*, 11/03/08)
[*The Spanish group Mall will invest 391 million euros in the Patagonia.*]
- (6) “La compañía Puleva ha paralizado la producción y entrega de leche en sus plantas de Granada, Lugo, Sevilla y Lleida, que producen en total 2,5 millones de litros diarios.” (*El País*, 12/06/08)
[*The company Puleva has stopped the production and the milk delivery in its plants in Granada, Lugo, Sevilla and Lleida, which produce a total of 2,5 million litres daily.*]

In other constructions (for instance (7) and (8)) the so-called close apposition constructions are a bit longer and the common nouns *grupo* and *consorcio* are modified by adjectives as *inmobiliario*, *sueco-japonés* and prepositional groups such as *de telefonía*.

- (7) “El grupo inmobiliario español Mall elegirá en abril la localidad de la Patagonia argentina en la que invertirá unos 600 millones de dólares (391 millones de euros) en un complejo de viviendas para turistas.” (*El País*, 11/03/08)
[*The Spanish real estate group Mall will chose in April the location in the Argentine Patagonia where it will invest 600 million dollars (391 million euro) in a residential tourist complex*]
- (8) “La crisis golpea con fuerza al consorcio de telefonía sueco-japonés Sony Ericsson.” (*El País*, 18/07/08)
[*The crisis is striking hard against the Swedish-Japanese telephone joint venture.*]

Another type is illustrated by (9). It shows a loose apposition construction, in which the company *Metrovacesa* is followed by an appositive segment: “*la mayor inmobiliaria española*”.

- (9) “Metrovacesa, la mayor inmobiliaria española, trata de lograr una dispensa a su compromiso con los bancos prestamistas de captar 1.250 millones de euros mediante una ampliación de capital antes de fin de año [...]” (*El País*, 15/10/08)
[*Metrovacesa, the Spanish major real estate*

group, is trying to obtain a dispensation from the loaning banks to receive 1.250 million euro by the means of a capital increment before the end of the year.]

As can be observed in our database, these descriptive apposition constructions can be very long. (10) illustrates the combination of a close and loose apposition.

- (10) “El grupo canadiense Enbridge, máximo accionista de la Compañía Logística de Hidrocarburos (CLH), ha comunicado hoy que ha firmado un acuerdo para vender el 25% del capital que posee en la empresa española a un grupo de inversores, entre los que figura Deutsche Bank AG, por 876 millones de euros.” (*El País*, 29/05/08)
[*The Canadian group Enbridge, major investor of Compañía Logística de Hidrocarburos (CLH) (crude oil Transportation Company), has announced today that it signed an agreement to sell its 25% stake in the Spanish company to a group of investors, containing Deutsche Bank, for 879 million euro.*]

From an informative perspective, apposition constructions seem to be very useful to offer lots of background information in rather short constructions. By a simple juxtaposition of nominal elements several descriptive elements can be joined. And these nominal structures tend to be more concise than their equivalents with conjugated verbs.

Nevertheless, it is still very common to provide descriptive information on companies in other syntactic structures, as we can see in (11):

- (11) “Carrefour es uno de los supermercados más baratos en productos de alimentación y droguería y El Corte Inglés de los más caros [...]” (*El País*, 01/12/08)
[*Carrefour is one of the cheapest supermarkets in food and sundries and El Corte Inglés among the most expensive.*]

The proper names *Carrefour* and *El Corte Inglés* are followed by descriptive nominal groups in an attributive construction.

A pragmatic approach of company names in Spanish press

After the description of their semantic characteristics we will now concentrate on the discourse role of the different expressions referring to companies in the newspaper *El País*. We will investigate to what extent the companies' descriptions used in the headlines differ from the ones that appear in the text itself. In order to obtain a homogeneous set of examples, we selected the referents in the article's headlines and the first mention of the referent in the newspaper article itself.

Company's identification in the headlines

In this section we will take a look at the company's identification in the headlines. In this paper, a headline will be defined as the text at the top of a newspaper article. Mårdh (1980) states in the introduction of her book on "Headlines", the specific language of headlines, that it is probably the headline that has the highest readership in a newspaper. It is clear that a primary function of a headline is to make it easier for the reader to select the news he is interested in. Therefore headlines usually offer a kind of summary of the news exposed in the article. So, the information

provided by newspaper headlines has to give a good idea of the news discussed in the article. Another important role of the headline is to evoke interest. It has to catch the reader's attention. Putting the headline in a larger typographic style is one device to attract the attention. Another objective is to make the people read the article. That is why headlines often arise curiosity by revealing little information, by expressing a few key-words.

The material used in this part consists of 510 references to companies in the newspaper headlines. As can be observed in the table 1, most of the references to the companies in the article's headlines are realized by proper names.

Here are some examples:

- (12) **"Iberia retira su oferta por Spanair por la difícil situación del sector"** (*El País*, 29/05/08)
[Iberia gave up its bid for Spanair because of the difficult situation in the sector]
- (13) **"Sony Ericsson anuncia el despido de 2.000 trabajadores tras un drástico recorte de beneficios"** (*El País*, 18/07/08)
[Sony Ericsson announces to lay off 2000 workers after a drastic profit reduction]

Table 1: References to the company in the newspaper headlines

Proper name alone	370	72,5%
Proper name in an appositive construction	28	5,5%
Descriptive group without a proper name	112	22,0%
Total	510	100%

Table 2: References to the company in the title and subtitle

	Title	Subtitle	p-value
Proper name alone	309	61	< 0,001
Proper name in an appositive construction	23	5	0,097
Descriptive group without a proper name	9	103	< 0,001
Total (n=510)	341	169	

Significance levels were calculated with a Chi-square test on 2 x 2 contingency tables.

An important distinction has to be made between title and subtitle, because, as the data in table 2 show, they contain very different types of references.

In the title, the number of proper names used alone is very prominent, while in the subtitle appear more descriptive groups. On the base of the following examples, we attempt to clarify the differences:

(14) **“Seat quiere desembarcar en China La filial de Volkswagen incluye al gigante asiático entre sus planes de expansión, que ya abarcan a algunas zonas de Rusia y Sudamérica”** (*El País*, 10/03/08)

[*Seat wants to enter in China The subsidiary of Volkswagen includes the Asian giant within its expansion plans, which already contain certain zones of Russia and South America*]

(15) **“Sacyr asegura que Eiffage conocía la venta del 33% del grupo La empresa francesa afirma que no existe ningún acuerdo entre ellos”** (*El País*, 10/04/08)

[*Sacyr assures that Eiffage knew about selling its 33% stake. The French company confirms that there was no agreement*]

The title of an article clearly has an appellative function, whereas in the subtitle some more details are added. Therefore descriptive nominal groups seem more adequate.

First reference to the company in the article

Another interesting research subject concerns the first reference to a company in the economic article itself. Some figures are presented in table 3.

Table 3: First reference to the company in the article

Proper name alone	235	58,3%
Proper name in an appositive construction	159	39,5%
Descriptive group without a proper name	9	2,2%
Total	403	100%

The results indicate that the use of proper names alone is still very common. We observed already that in this kind of sentences the company names often appear with background information in other parts of the sentence. Remind this example:

(16) **“Carrefour es uno de los supermercados más baratos en productos de alimentación y droguería y El Corte Inglés de los más caros [...]”** (*El País*, 01/12/08)
[*Carrefour is one of the cheapest supermarkets in food and sundries and El Corte Inglés among the most expensive.*]

Next to this, we also see that proper names are often specified by some complements in appositive constructions (cf. example 17).

(17) **“La crisis golpea con fuerza al consorcio de telefonía sueco-japonés Sony Ericsson.”** (*El País*, 18/07/08)
[*The crisis is striking hard against the Swedish-Japanese telephone joint venture.*]

In some cases, when it concerns a very well-known company, its name can appear without descriptive elements, for instance in (18):

(18) **“Hay al menos 55.000 pasajeros, la mayoría inmigrantes humildes, que Air Madrid dejó en tierra cuando cerró el 15 de diciembre de 2006, ante la retirada de la licencia para operar por parte del Ministerio de Fomento.”** (*El País*, 23/05/08)
[*At least 55.000 passengers, mostly poor immigrants, stranded when Air Madrid closed on the 15th of December 2006, before the Minister of Public Works cancelled the license to operate.*]

It seems interesting to examine now if there is a significant difference according to the company's type, for instance between Spanish and other companies. In table 4 we briefly indicate the origin of the companies retrieved in our data base. In table 5 the company's origin is related to the type of construction used for the first reference to the company.

Foreign companies tend to appear much more in appositive constructions, whereas Spanish companies are more likely to occur with the company's name alone, since they are better known by most Spanish readers. As indicated before, descriptive nominal groups appear less to refer to for the first time to a company.

Furthermore, the companies in our corpus belong to a broad spectrum of industries. Table 6 compares the industry the company belongs to with the type of construction used for the first reference to the company.

The largest difference appears in the transportation industry. This is not so surprising, since most of the company names refer to air-

line companies, which are well known.

Finally this information was related to the company's origin (table 7).

Among the most important conclusions, we observe that, as for the transportation industry, Spanish companies almost always appear with proper names alone. Another significant difference can be noticed in the utilities, where the Spanish companies usually appear unspecified and the foreign companies tend to appear in appositive constructions. In the manufacturing business the appositive constructions are also more frequently used to indicate foreign companies.

So, we can conclude that the nature of the business and the origin of the company have a certain influence on the way Spanish economic press refers to companies.

Headline compared to the first reference in the article

Finally, we contrasted the data of the two preceding paragraphs. From table 8 we can conclude

Table 4: Origin of the companies in the data base

Spain	213
United States	48
Germany	23
United Kingdom	21
Franc	19
Russia	19
Italy	12
Other	48
Foreign countries total	190

Table 5: The company's origin related to the construction

	Spanish companies	Foreign companies	p-value
Proper name alone	151	84	< 0,001
Proper name in an appositive construction	57	102	< 0,001
Descriptive group without a proper name	5	4	1
Total (n=403)	213	190	

Table 6: The company's industry related to the construction

Industry	Proper name	Appositive construction	Descriptive group	Total
Communication	30	14	1	45
Construction	28	23	1	52
Finance	49	30	0	79
Health	1	0	1	2
Hotel/restaurant	1	2	0	3
Manufacturing	23	36	3	62
Real estate	16	7	0	23
Sales	4	2	0	6
Services	2	5	0	7
Transportation	40	15	1	56
Utilities	41	25	2	68
Total	235 (58%)	159 (40%)	9 (2%)	403 (100%)

Table 7: The company's origin and industry related to the construction

Industry	Spanish companies				Foreign companies			
	Proper name	Apposit. constr	Descript. group	Total	Proper name	Apposit. constr	Descript. group	Total
Communication	12	5	0	17	18	9	1	28
Construction	25	19	1	45	3	4	0	7
Finances	27	11	0	38	22	19	0	41
Health	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Hotel/restaurant	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	1
Manufacturing	8	8	2	18	15	28	1	44
Real estate	16	7	0	23	0	0	0	0
Sales	2	0	0	2	2	2	0	4
Services	0	2	0	2	2	3	0	5
Transportation	24	1	1	26	16	14	0	30
Utilities	35	3	1	39	6	22	1	29
Total	151 (71%)	57 (27%)	5 (2%)	213 (100%)	84 (44%)	102 (54%)	4 (2%)	190 (100%)

that it is most common to refer to a company with a proper name in the title, a descriptive nominal group in the subtitle and an appositive construction in the first sentence of the newspaper article. As an illustration the titles, subtitles and first sentences of some articles:

(19) **“Porsche quiere comprar más de la mitad de Volkswagen**

La productora alemana de automóviles deportivos Porsche anunció ayer sus aspiraciones de comprar la mayoría del gigante del sector Volkswagen (vw).” (*El País*, 04/03/08)

[*Porsche wants to buy more than 50% of Volkswagen*

German sports car maker Porsche announced yesterday its aspirations to buy the majority of the sector giant Volkswagen (vw).]

(20) **“TeliaSonera rechaza la oferta “amistosa” de France Télécom**

La firma escandinava considera la oferta insuficiente

El operador sueco-finlandés TeliaSonera ha rechazado la oferta de fusión “amistosa” lanzada por France Télécom.” (*El País*, 05/06/08)

[*TeliaSonera has rejected the “friendly” takeover offer from France Télécom*

The Scandinavian company considers the offer insufficient

Swedish-Finnish operator TeliaSonera has rejected a takeover offer launched by France Télécom.]

(21) **Aegon se desploma en Bolsa pese a recibir 3.000 millones del Gobierno holandés**

La aseguradora holandesa Aegon recibió ayer una inyección de capital estatal de 3.000 millones de euros, que saldrán del fondo de ayuda de 20.000 millones establecido por el Gobierno para contener los efectos de la crisis financiera mundial. (*El País*, 29/10/08)

[*Aegon collapsed even after receiving 3000 million euro of the Dutch Government*

The Dutch insurer Aegon received yesterday a public capital injection of 3000 million euro, drawing on the government’s 20-billion euro bailout package to restrain the effects of the global financial crisis.]

Of course, there are many other possibilities, as shown by our corpus data, as illustrated by this final example.

(22) **“Rusia reduce un 25% el suministro de gas a Ucrania por falta de pago**

El gigante energético ruso garantiza el 100% de su distribución hacia Europa

El consorcio ruso Gazprom ha anunciado hoy la reducción en un 25% de sus suministros de gas a Ucrania.” (*El País*, 03/03/08)

[*Russia reduces gas supply to Ukraine by 25% because of debts*

The Russian energy giant assured a 100% delivery to Europe.

The Russian consortium Gazprom announced today the reduction by a 25% of the gas supplies to Ukraine.]

Table 8: Comparison headline and first reference

	Headline title	Headline subtitle	First reference in the article
Proper name alone	309	61	235
Proper name in an appositive construction	23	5	159
Descriptive group without a proper name	9	103	9
Total	341	169	403

Conclusion

How a company is presented in the media is a strategic device to achieve competitive advantage in business. In this paper we analyzed the role of language in representing organizations in the Spanish press.

We found that company names seldom occur alone in the Spanish press. They usually appear specified by several kinds of descriptive elements. In the different parts of a newspaper article, different kinds of constructions are preferably used. In titles the appellative function predominates and the companies are named by their proper name. In subtitles a descriptive component seems to be more usual. For the first reference in the newspaper article itself appositive constructions tend to be more frequently used. They combine a denominating part with a descriptive segment.

It still would be interesting to find out how companies try to influence media coverage. More precisely it would be intriguing to see which type of information companies provide in their press releases and how they are covered then by the newspapers.

Notes

- ¹ He defines a possible world as follows: "A possible world is given by the descriptive conditions we associate with it." (Kripke 1972: 267).
- ² Anthroponyms are proper names with human referents.
- ³ Other means less than 10 in our data base: Japan, the Netherlands, Belgium, Brasilia, etc.

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English Words in International Brand Names: Proceed with Caution

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Abstract

Thanks to ever-increasing familiarity with English in countries around the world, English is becoming a lingua franca for brand names. However, the use of real English words as brand names (e.g., Sprint) is not without its problems in international markets. This paper discusses one of the biggest problems. Many English words change their meaning after being borrowed into other languages. In this paper, we present examples of real English words that have been proposed as possible brand names. In all these cases, host languages have idiosyncratically restricted or shifted the meanings of words from their original meanings in English. We also develop a viable solution to this problem.

Introduction

This paper offers a challenge to the current trend toward using English words in brand names. A few facts suggest that actual English words (e.g., *Apple*) are becoming more attractive than coined words (e.g., *Wii*) for use as brand names in international markets:

1. Even in countries where English is not the primary language, speakers are becoming more familiar with it because it is widely taught as a second or foreign language. Estimates of English speakers (including non-native speakers) vary greatly depending on how fluency is defined, but the number now ranges from 470 million to over a billion (Crystal 2003).
2. In Asia, Africa and South America, the ubiquity of English words in everyday life is both a cause for and an effect of greater familiarity with English. For instance, thanks to the PLAY button on CD and DVD players, even someone who has never studied English will recognize the English word *play* and understand its meaning in this particular context.

3. Non-native English speakers with only basic knowledge of the language will often know an English word's meaning because it resembles a word in their native language. A French speaker with little knowledge of English is likely to understand the English word *glorious* because of the word *glorieux* in French.

Despite a worldwide increase in familiarity with English, English words still face problems as brand names in international markets. One problem is non-native speakers' level of proficiency: non-native English speakers are likely to have a smaller vocabulary than native speakers. Another problem is concerned with the connotations that English brand names convey solely by virtue of their English origin: while English brand names may suggest sophistication to many Japanese consumers (Haarmann 1984; Takashi 1990), they may be viewed less positively in places where there is resistance to the English language.

But the focus of this paper is a third problem, one that has received less attention than the other two. Specifically, appearances can be deceiving: the same English word may convey

different meanings to native speakers and non-native speakers. When used as brand names, some English words may not produce the results that marketers desire because what they mean to speakers of other languages is different – often narrower and more idiosyncratic. This does not mean that English should be avoided entirely in brand names. What it does mean is the subject of our paper.

For our answer we draw on both theoretical and applied sources. Linguistics offers a sizeable literature on loanwords. Scholars have studied why some languages have more loanwords than others and how meanings change when words are borrowed into another language (e.g., Gonzalez 1996; Haugen 1950; Hitchings 2008; Weinreich 1953). This present study supplements our own findings on the diffusion of semantic and lexical innovations (Wong 2005) with others' research on loanwords. To get beyond the academic results, we offer insights gained from our experiences as brand consultants.

Same Word, Narrower Meaning

Very often, the same English word conveys a narrower meaning to non-native speakers than to native speakers. This is especially true for English loanwords – i.e., English words that have been borrowed into other languages. Table 1 shows three common English loanwords.¹

All three English words in Table 1 have a narrower meaning in the host languages than in English. *Field* is a common English loanword in Japanese and Korean, but it is used primarily in the context of sports (e.g., soccer field). Native Japanese and Korean words are used to convey the other meanings expressed by the English word *field*. *Gel* is an English loanword in Italian and Hong Kong Cantonese, but it is used in these languages to refer to the hairstyling product. Unlike in English, it is not used as a verb to mean 'to be consistent with' or 'to get along with'. As previously mentioned, *lift* has been adapted into

Table 1: Three English Loanwords in Various Languages*
(The meaning of each loanword in other languages is in BOLD.)

	English loanword in ...	Meanings in English
FIELD	Japanese and Korean.	an open land area free of woods and buildings, land containing a natural resource, the place where a battle is fought, an area constructed or marked for sports , an area or division of an activity or profession, etc.
GEL	Cantonese (Hong Kong), Italian, and many others.	a colloid in a more solid form than a sol, a gelatinous preparation used in styling hair , (v.) to be consistent with (slang) (<i>What you're saying doesn't gel with what John told me.</i>), (v.) to get along with (slang) (<i>She and I really gel.</i>), etc.
LIFT	Cantonese (Hong Kong), Dutch, French (France), and Portuguese (Brazil).	to move or to bring something upward, to remove by an official act, (n.) elevator (in Hong Kong Cantonese), etc. [(n.) face-lift (lifting in French and Portuguese)]

* The examples are from general observation and reading.

Hong Kong Cantonese as *lip*; however, it has lost many of its meanings, and its sole meaning in Hong Kong Cantonese is ‘elevator’, thanks to the influence of British English in Hong Kong. In addition, many French speakers and Brazilian Portuguese speakers with little knowledge of English will likely recognize this word, but for them, it is strongly associated with cosmetic surgery because *lifting* has one primary meaning in these two languages: ‘face-lift’. In this case, a peripheral meaning of the word in English has become its primary meaning in French and Brazilian Portuguese.

Loanwords may undergo semantic narrowing because they are often used to fill rather specific lexical gaps. Speakers all over the world frequently borrow words from English to refer to new objects or concepts (particularly in the areas of sports, economy, science, technology and popular culture) imported from the English-speaking world. However, other meanings of borrowed English words are seldom carried over to the host languages because they can be readily expressed through the use of existing native words. For example, Cantonese speakers probably borrowed the British English word *lift* when a new object – namely, the elevator – was introduced into Hong Kong. They started using an English word to refer to an object that they did not have a word for in their language. However, other meanings of the English *lift* were not carried over to Cantonese because they can be conveyed by native

Cantonese words (e.g., *geui-bei* ‘to move or to bring something upward’).

The kind of semantic narrowing discussed above poses a problem for the words *field*, *gel* and *lift* in global brand names. *Gel* might be an effective brand name for a social networking site because of its unexpectedness and metaphorical meaning. In Hong Kong, however, it will likely take some effort to distance the name – and the product – from the association with hairstyling and to encourage monolingual Cantonese-speaking consumers to make the metaphorical extension.

Like English loanwords, common English words that have not been borrowed into other languages often convey a more restricted meaning to non-native speakers than to native speakers. Non-native speakers – even advanced learners – may not know the semantic nuances, figurative uses, and infrequent meanings of some common English words. Table 2 shows two English words that are familiar to even non-native speakers with only elementary knowledge of the language. However, they probably know only the basic meaning of each of these words – i.e., ‘related to or operated by electricity’ for *electric* and ‘the liquid or moisture contained in something’ for *juice*.

The other meanings of *electric* and *juice* (e.g., ‘exciting’ for *electric*, and ‘strength’ for *juice*) arose through metaphorical uses of these two words. Non-native English speakers’ ability to recognize these metaphorical meanings de-

Table 2: *Two English Words Familiar to Many Non-Native English Speakers*
(The meaning that non-native English speakers are most likely to know is in **BOLD**.)

Meanings in English

ELECTRIC	relating to or operated by electricity , exciting as if by electric shock (an <i>electric</i> performance, an <i>electric</i> personality), charged with strong emotion (the room was <i>electric</i> with tension), etc.
JUICE	the liquid or moisture contained in something (as in orange juice) , essence, the inherent quality of a thing strength, vigor, vitality a motivating, inspiring, or enabling force or factor (creative juices), etc.

depends on whether the same metaphorical extension exists in their own languages. Surprisingly, what may pass for a natural, almost automatic metaphorical extension in one culture will be totally opaque to another culture. The metaphorical meanings of *electric* are far more accessible to French speakers than to Cantonese speakers: The French word *électrique* underwent semantic extension and gained the metaphorical meaning of ‘exciting’, but the Cantonese equivalent of *electric*, [din], did not.

Non-native speakers’ familiarity with only the literal meanings of common English words throws into question the effectiveness of brand names that are essentially metaphors. In English-speaking markets, *Mind Juice* might be a good name for a computer game that promotes intellectual growth; however, it will be difficult for some Cantonese-speaking consumers to understand the metaphorical use of this name. Its literal interpretation (e.g., brain fluid) will likely be more prominent for them than for native English speakers, who know the metaphorical meaning of *juice*.

Same Word, Stronger Connotations

The kind of semantic narrowing discussed above reduces the range of meanings that an English word conveys to non-native speakers. This, in turn, reinforces the association of the word with the remaining meanings and contributes to the strengthening of certain connotations. For instance, *lift* stimulates an immediate association with *lifting* ‘face-lift’ in French and Brazilian Portuguese. In these two languages, *lifting* does not convey the other meanings of its English counterpart. Thus, this word strongly suggests beauty and cosmetic surgery to French and Brazilian Portuguese speakers. On the other hand, *lift(ing)* in English expresses a wider range of meanings. As such, the connotations of beauty and cosmetic surgery are significantly less prominent for native English speakers. While this does not mean that *Lift* should not be used as a brand name outside the category of cosmetic products in Brazil or France, marketers should be aware of this association, and it may

take some effort to distance the name – and the product – from the association with cosmetic surgery in these two countries.

Table 3 shows several English words that suggest to non-native speakers notions around the Internet and computer technology because of their use in computer-related expressions. These words, which are in bold, have well-established non-computer-related meanings. Some non-native speakers may not know these individual words, but they are likely familiar with the computer-related expressions in which these words are used. Thus, while non-native speakers may not know the English word *dot* means ‘small spot’, they are familiar with the expression *dot-com*, which has been borrowed into many languages (e.g., Japanese, Thai). Without understanding the two components (i.e., *dot* and *com*), they may treat *dot-com* as one word and understand its meaning holistically. Due to its association with *dot-com*, the English word *dot* triggers associations with the Internet and computer technology. These associations are probably less salient for native English speakers than for non-native English speakers who do not know the literal meaning of the word *dot*. Similarly, many Cantonese speakers have heard the word *icon* used as a loanword to refer to a symbol on a computer screen, but they do not know its more general meaning in English – namely, an “emblem” or “symbol”. Thus, *icon* is perhaps more strongly associated with computer technology for Cantonese speakers than for native English speakers.

In addition, the context in which a word is learned has a huge effect on its connotations. Table 4 shows seven words from various academic disciplines. They carry strong academic connotations for many Hongkongers educated in Anglo-Chinese schools, where English is the medium of instruction. They learned these English words as technical terms in chemistry, economics, geography, and physics classes. Nevertheless, among native speakers of English the words do not function solely as technical terms but are also used in everyday speech. Yet the meanings in every speech are slightly different from the related meanings in scientific discourse. English learners in

Table 3: Computer-Related Words in English

	Non-Computer-Related Meaning(s) of the Part in Bold
Dot-com	small spot
Icon	emblem, symbol
Internet	device for catching fish, birds, or insects
Log in/off	to cut (trees) for lumber, to make a note or record of
Networking	to cover with or as if with a network, to engage in networking
Surf the Internet	to ride the surf (as on a surfboard), to scan a wide range of offerings for something of interest
Web site	fabric on a loom, cobweb, entanglement, network

Hong Kong are unlikely to be familiar with the use of *mantle* to refer to “a loose sleeveless garment”; instead, they may recognize it from high school geography as meaning “the earth that lies beneath the crust”. As such, this word comes across as technical and scientific to them. In the US, *Mantle* may serve as an effective umbrella brand name for a family of entertainment services. In Hong Kong, however, its technical and academic connotations may interfere with the marketer’s intended message, and general unfamiliarity with its

non-technical meaning will weaken its potential to communicate the desired message.

Same Word, New Meaning

Although it is common for English loanwords to undergo semantic narrowing, some English words gain completely new meanings when borrowed into other languages. A prime example is *silver*. This English loanword has been adapted as シルバー (*shirubaa*) in Japa-

Table 4: Some Technical Terms in English

	Used in...	Meaning(s) in Everyday Speech
Element	Chemistry (<i>chemical element</i>)	a constituent part, severe weather (<i>battling the elements</i>), state suited to a person (<i>in her element</i>), etc.
Drift	Geography/Geology (<i>Continental Drift</i>)	purpose (<i>drift of a conversation</i>), underlying design (<i>drift of the government’s policies</i>), etc.
Mantle	Geography/Geology (‘the earth that lies beneath the crust’)	a loose sleeveless garment worn over other clothes, etc.
Paradox	Economics (<i>economic paradoxes</i>)	a self-contradictory statement that seems to be true, etc.
Spectrum	Physics (‘a continuum of color formed when a beam of white light is dispersed’)	a continuous sequence or range, etc.
Sphere	Geography (<i>stratosphere</i>)	an area within which some acts (<i>public sphere</i>)
Ultra	Physics (<i>ultraviolet light</i>)	going beyond others

nese. Though a color term, it is most often used to describe a particular type of jewelry. In addition, *shirubaa* refers to ‘the elderly’, e.g.:

シルバー料金 (*shirubaa ryookin*, lit. ‘silver charge’)
‘senior discount’

シルバーホーム (*shirubaa boom*, lit. ‘silver home’)
‘home for the elderly’

Shirubaa serves as a euphemism for the Sino-Japanese word 老人 (*roo-jin*) and the native word お年寄り (*o-toshi-yori*). (In fact, English loanwords are commonly used as euphemisms in Japanese. Another example is the use of *toire* (from the English word *toilet*) as a more polite term than the Sino-Japanese word 便所 (*ben-jo*.)

One plausible but unsubstantiated account claims that *shirubaa* came to mean ‘the elderly’ through its metonymic use to refer to the color of their hair.² In the early 1970s, Japan Railways started installing *shirubaa shiito* ‘priority seats’ in its cars for the elderly. This practice was soon adopted by others. *Shirubaa shiito* now functions as an umbrella term to refer to priority seats for the disabled, the elderly, and pregnant women. Marketers who intend to use the word *silver* in a brand name need to be aware of its additional meaning and connotations in Japanese, and investigate their relevance and significance when the name is considered in the context of the product.

Conclusion

We do not mean to suggest that companies competing in international markets should stop using English words as brand or product names. Our point is rather that linguistic assessments are no less important for names that are existing English words than for names that are coined words. While linguistic assessments of coined words can get by with focusing on any undesirable associations in local languages that arise from similarities in

pronunciation or spelling, assessments of real English words need to perform several additional tasks: (1) to determine if consumers in international markets understand the words; (2) to delimit the range of meaning that they evoke for consumers; and (3) to investigate if they have been borrowed into local languages, and if so, whether or not their meanings have changed. These linguistic assessments must be conducted in consultation with in-country native speakers. Dictionaries and speakers who do not reside in their native countries are poor substitutes. Languages borrow words from each other all the time: dictionaries include only English loanwords that are already firmly established in the language, and speakers who have been away from their native countries for an extended period of time are unlikely to be familiar with the most recent borrowings from English and their meanings. For this reason, only the most current information will do for anyone competing in the international arena.

If English retains its pre-eminent status in the 21st century, its role in marketing and advertising in international markets will need serious attention. This paper is a step in that direction. We hope that it also illustrates one of the many ways in which insights from linguistics can inform decisions on marketing, advertising and brand name development.

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Endnotes

¹ English loanwords are different from English words in bilingual speech in two re-

spects. First, unlike English words in bilingual speech, English loanwords are often nativized: they are pronounced according to the pronunciation rules of the host language. For instance, *lift* is adapted as [lip] in Cantonese because neither the [ft] sequence nor the [f] sound in syllable-final position is possible in Cantonese. Second, English loanwords are used not only by those who know some English, but also by those with little or no knowledge of the language. Thus, even monolingual Cantonese speakers in Hong Kong use the word [lip] in everyday speech.

² In the U.S., this same process gave rise to the expression *sliver alert*, which in the state of Florida refers to a public announcement system designed to help authorities find missing elderly people.

The Remains of the Name - How Existing Brand Names are Used in the Formation of New Names

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Abstract

Brand names are considered as reflection of specific social and economical conditions and they allow within certain boundaries to anticipate the developmental trends in a linguistic system. The principles of and the trends in the creation of Italian brand names were outlined on the basis of 950 brand names. This analysis represents an integral contribution to the long lasting demand for a closer cooperation between linguistic theory and economical and juridical practice.

In the framework of analysing the morphological structure of brand names special attention should be given to the formation of new names that are based on existing brand names. The latter act as linguistic resources, but beyond that the manufacturer attempts to make use of the brand equity that has already been built up. The utmost aim of this analysis is to draw up a typology that can serve as a model for the creation of further brand names.

1. Introduction

In today's world of globalised markets, growing international competitive pressure, high investment costs for the development of new products, wide product variety, difficult product differentiation and a consumer society characterised by an overflow of stimuli, new products must gain their share rapidly in the marketplace (Platen 1997: 162; Latour 1996: 177). In this context communication psychologists have pointed out the crucial importance of names as "mind markers", since a product is usually recognized by its name (Platen 1997: 162). The name is considered as a cognitive anchor representing a whole set of values, thus providing orientation for the consumer (Sprengel 1990: 410). These premises made Latour suggest the following equation: brand name = capital = success (Latour 1992: 140). A suitable brand name has become the *conditio sine qua non*, the strategic success factor (Latour 1992: 140). The name, therefore, is the corner stone within the entire communi-

cation process regarding a product (Latour 1996: 177).

The principles of and the trends in the creation of brand names were outlined on the basis of 950 brand names of the Italian food industry (Zilg 2006). The synchronic analysis of the language structure of brand names in the Italian food market shall contribute to a description of the Italian present-day language as well as to a closer cooperation between linguistic theory and practical business and jurisprudence.

A linguistic analysis of Italian brand names with regard to synchronic aspects of their word formation and meaning required a reasonable selection of material. In this context brand names in the food industry deserve special attention. The consumer spectrum in the food sector is the most comprehensive of all industries as food is essential for human beings. The smooth and steady supply of food is one of the most important achievements of our modern industrial world. We are confronted with a varied, high-quality supply of

goods satisfying our physiological needs, often even with an additional benefit (Strecker, Reichert & Pottebaum 1990: 12). According to the number of employees, the food sector is one of the key industry sectors in Italy. The food industry makes a greater contribution to the creation of value in Italy than in other leading EU countries (Grosse, Trautmann 1997: 71 f.).

In the framework of analysing the morphological structure of Italian brand names special attention should be given to the formation of new names that are based on existing company names, assortment names or product line names. In this way the manufacturer attempts to make use of the brand equity that has already been built up. The utmost aim of this analysis is to draw up a typology that can serve as a model for the creation of further brand names.

In this paper, the methods of creating new names from existing brand names will be illustrated (section 4) after the elaboration of the branding concept and the dimensions of brand success (section 2) as well as the explanation of different brand strategies and brand types (section 3).

2. **Branding and dimensions of brand success**

Marking products is not an invention of our time. The identification of products as a means to rise them from anonymity and to distinguish them from competitive products is rather centuries old and has been used in all advanced civilizations.¹ The marking of products, also known as *branding*, can therefore be regarded typical of developed economic systems (Langner 2003: 1 ff.; Esch 2003: 1 f.; Esch, Langner 2001a: 439). According to Esch and Langner *branding* means:

All measures which are suited to raise a product out of a bulk of products of the same kind and which allow an unmistakable association of products to a specific brand. (Esch, Langner 2001a: 441)

The brand name, the brand logo, the shape of the product and its packaging are suited to

meet this claim for marking because these elements distinguish a brand from other competitive brands and allow a clear assignment of what the product has to offer (Langner 2003: 5). *Branding* requires an integral consideration taking into account the interactions between the different brand elements that explicitly lead to the creation of a new brand (Esch 2003: 157 ff.). Name, logo, and product packaging should communicate the same associations as intended by the positioning strategy (Esch, Langner 2001b: 506).

The brand name is the verbally reproducible, articulable part of a brand (Kotler, Bliemel 2001: 736). A brand's name has a central communication function as it serves as an identifier for what a brand has to offer and enables consumers to verbally express a brand (Langner 2003: 27). Latour (1996: 30) stresses the role of the brand name:

The nominal form [...] of a brand is its main characteristic. It is indeed the essence of a brand concept [...].

Botton, Cegarra and Ferrari (2002: 9) point out the central significance of a name:

In fact the name has a fundamental meaning in the communication mix as it functions as the memory of the product itself. Once it has been selected it is very difficult and expensive to change it.

In saturated markets with interchangeable products *branding* plays a key role as a means of differentiation among competitors. Due to the increasing number of company mergers and buyouts, the growing market globalisation as well as the rise of new brands, *branding* has gained more and more importance and actuality in practical marketing in the past years (Esch, Langner 2001a: 439 ff.; Langner 2003: 6 ff.).

Purchase decisions are more and more influenced by the consumer's brand knowledge. Thus, it is essential that consumers develop certain brand knowledge structures. Brand knowledge is the result of a learning process including the dimensions 'brand awareness' and 'brand image' (Langner 2003: 17). Brand

awareness is a necessary condition for the success of a brand. A consumer is only able to memorise certain associations and to consider these later in the purchase situation if he or she knows the brand (Langner 2003: 18 f.). The brand image is understood as all the associations a target group may have regarding a certain brand. It is of crucial importance for the product and brand judgement as it serves as a filter for new details on a brand as well as a basis for judging products and brands in general (Langner 2003: 20 f.).

3. Brand strategies and brand types

When a brand strategy is being planned, the competence field of a company, the target group needs and the competitive structures must be taken into consideration. Additionally, the decision how to mark a new product always has to be made in the context of a company's existing brands (Esch 2003: 251). Nowadays, a comprehensive name portfolio becomes more and more important in this context (Kircher 2001: 493).

According to Botton, Cegarra and Ferrari (2002: 75 ff.) and Latour (1996: 50 ff.) a classification of the following brand types can be proposed with regard to the named referent:

- Product brand
- Line brand
- Assortment brand
- Guaranty brand

The product brand, in which the name is associated with one single product, is very popular in the food sector. The main concern is to connect the name with a certain product and a certain promise of what the product has to offer, thus creating a clear and unique brand identity. Typical examples of this brand strategy are FERRERO'S brands MON CHÉRI, FERRERO ROCHER and RAFFAELLO. The corporate risk is minimised when the image and the reputation of a company do not only depend on one single brand. Yet, it must be taken into account that every new product brand causes high advertising expenditures and cannot profit from the success of an already existing brand; the protection of a new brand requires additional investments.

A line brand marks a group of homogeneous products. It is linked to a product range which offers the consumer one single advertising promise and which often can be found in the food sector. To be able to describe every product exactly, it is necessary to add a product description to the brand name. One example of a line brand is YOMO, a brand for dairy products such as yogurts and different desserts with names like *Yomo 100% naturale*, *Yomo 100% naturale Superfrutti*, *Yomo 100% naturale 0,1% grassi*. Line brands define product fields and product families, and allow the creation of a coherent and durable brand, the very fast sale of new products and a limitation of marketing costs. However, product innovations are often neglected in favour of line expansions to guarantee a uniform brand image.

An assortment brand includes a group of heterogeneous products, which means that the brand covers several product and competence fields as well as different promises which are aimed at different target groups. Due to the complexity of the product range a communication strategy and a special advertising message as well as the use of an individual product name are necessary for every product to ensure identification without weakening the stable and strong brand image of the assortment brand. The assortment brand is different from the line brand because of a broader product environment. Originally, an assortment brand is a very popular and well-known brand which often has a high-quality image in a certain market segment and strives for diversification. STAR, a brand which includes different types of stocks and gravies, tomato products, tuna, teas and even kits for the preparation of pizza, is a good example of an assortment brand.

A guaranty brand covers several complex product ranges, thus making different promises and aiming at different target groups. The guaranty brand accomplishes the task of underlining the connection and the authenticity of all of the products. At the same time, it functions as the manufacturer's signature on the product, e.g. NESTLÉ. It gives the consumer confidence by informing him or her about the origin of the products. The reference to the manufacturer is a guaranty for reliability and

quality. With a guaranty brand the extension of the brand in different product categories is possible. It makes the acceptance of a new product easier on the part of consumers and dealers. However, there is a risk of watering down the brand if the product environment is too extensive. The named product may become a brand which competes with the manufacturer's brand. Besides printing the guaranty brand on the product's packaging, the manufacturer may find expression within the product name, for example DANONE: DANETTE, DANISSIMO, DANITO, and DAN'UP. In these cases the product brand name allows the individualisation of the product and, at the same time, the authenticity of its origin. This form of name creation is primarily chosen if the manufacturer does not want to grant too much independence to the product and the product brand should not depart too much from the guaranty brand.

The creation of new brand names can be carried out by means of existing company, assortment or line brand names. The following chapter introduces methods of creating new names from existing brands, such as derivation, composition and shortening.

4. Brand names

4.1. Derivation

The Italian language is very rich in suffixes that can give a semantic nuance to a noun or an adjective. There are four different groups of these so-called modifying suffixes (*gli alterati*): diminutives (*diminutivi*), augmentatives (*accrescitivi*), affectionate forms (*vezzeggiativi*) and suffixes with a pejorative meaning (*peggiorativi*). Since the meaning of a derivation is influenced by the meaning of the root, it is often difficult to classify a suffix as belonging to one of these groups. Sometimes it is necessary to consider the context of a derivation in order to be able to assign the suffix to one of these categories (Reumuth, Winkelmann 2001: 380). Analysing brand names as part of the product-praising advertising language, the pejorative meaning of a suffix can be left out.

There are a high number of cases, in which the combination of a company name, an assortment or a line brand name and a modifying suffix form new assortment, line or product names:

The names DANETTE and DANITO were created by shortening the company name DANONE and adding a foreign language suffix. The suffix *-ette* in French and the suffix *-ito* in Spanish are used to form diminutives. At the same time,

Table 1: Creations of new assortment, line or product names by combining a company, assortment or line brand name and a modifying suffix

Company, assortment or line name	Suffix	New brand name
BIRAGHI	-etta/e	BIRAGHETTE
BIRAGHI	-ino/i	BIRAGHINI
GALBANI	-ino/i	GALBANINO
INVERNIZZI	-ina/e	INVERNIZZINA
MOTTA	-ello/i	MOTTARELLO ²
PAVESI	-ino/i	PAVESINI
PERONI	-ino/i	PERONCINO
PREALPI	-ino/i	PREALPINO
TAVELLA	-ina/e	TAVELLINA
VITESSA	-ino/i	VITESSINO
WÜBER	-ino/i	WÜBERINI
WÜBER	-one/i	WÜBERONE

the diminutive suffix functions as a hint at the target group as can be assumed from the following product description: “*DANITO è un prodotto sano che fornisce un importante e prezioso contributo per l'alimentazione dei bambini.*” (www.danone.it) (DANITO is a healthy product which makes an important and valuable contribution to the nutrition of children.) The name DANISSIMO shows that the superlative suffix *-issimo* can also be used for name creation on the basis of a company name. SUPERCIRIO and MINI MOTTA are examples of prefixation. The name VICENZOVO is a compound of the shortened company name VICENZI and the postpositive prefixoid *ovo-*.

4.2. Composition and syntagms

The method of composition is used in varied forms to integrate existing brand names into new creations.

A company name may also be integrated in a nominal syntagma. The product name LE MANIE DI EHRMANN, for example, contains the company name EHRMANN. Also the line name “LIEVITO PANE DEGLI ANGELI” contains the company name, which is PANEANGELI. This is sup-

ported graphically on the packing by *degli* being written in a smaller font than *pane* and *angeli*. In the case of the nominal syntagma LA PASTA DI AVE the owner’s family name *Avesani*, which functions as the company name, found its entry into the brand name in a shortened form. The company information of Pastificio Avesani s.r.l. reads: “*Il nome ‘LA PASTA DI AVE’ ha origine dal diminutivo con cui vengono amichevolmente chiamati i Sigg. Avesani.*” (“The name ‘LA PASTA DI AVE’ has its origin in the diminutive form by which the Avesani gentlemen are amicably called.”)



Figure 1
Integration of a company name
into a line name

Table 2: Compositions from existing brand names (BN)

Composition

Constituents	Brand names
BN + N	CAMPARISODA CIDAFANTASY, CIDAGIOCHI, CIDAGUM FERRERO ROCHER LAVAZZA CLUB SANTAL MOUSSE, SANTAL BREAKFAST, SANTAL PLUS, SANTAL TEA, SANTAL TOP WÜBERTONDO
N + BN	ZOO-DORIA
A + BN	BIANCA PREALPI
BN + A	SANTAL SUNNY
BN + A + N	SANTAL ACTIVE DRINK
N + prep + BN	ELISIR DI ROCCHETTA VITA DI SANGEMINI

The series of names composed of the noun *-soda* are a special case: *CAMPARISODA*, *LEMON-SODA*, *ORAN-SODA*, *PELMO-SODA*. These names refer to products from the Campari S.p.A. company. The latter three compositions are the names of flavour variants of the same product. A similar case is that of the following series of products from the Galbusera S.p.A. company of which the names are composed of the adverb *-così* ‘like this’: *BUONICOSÌ*, *CEREALICOSÌ*, *MELGlicosÌ*, *WAFERcosÌ*. Like prefixes and suffixes these elements do form series, yet they have a (lexical) meaning. The formation of analogous series of shortened forms and full forms is regarded as a morphological building principle in brand name creation (e.g. shortened form *gran-* (*grande*) ‘big’: *GRAN AROMA*, *GRANCE-REALE*, *GRANSORPRESA*, *GRANRICETTE*; full form *menta* ‘mint’: *MENTALIQUIRIZIA*, *GHIACCIOMENTA*, *GOCCIAMENTA*). It is carried out by means of industry-specific ad-speak affixoids which are in *statu nascendi*. Here it becomes obvious that a clear-cut dissociation between derivation and composition is difficult. In the cases at hand the series-forming elements also function as identifications of a company.

4.3. Shortenings

The aim of all shortening methods is to counteract the tendency towards longer and more confusing names with short correlates. The following brand names were created by shortening of the company names:

GALBI from: *GALBANI* Egidio Galbani S.p.A.
FIORÌ from: *FIORUCCI* Cesare Fiorucci S.p.A.

Furthermore, in *MONTY*, from *MONTORSI*, a grapheme substitution can be observed, however no phonetic alteration is implied. The name *BEN'S* is an apocope of a company name (*SAN BENEDETTO - Acqua Minerale San Benedetto S.p.A.*), however, the English genitive ‘s’ was added. A similar case is *DAN'UP*, consisting of an apocope of the company name and an English adverb.

Shortening can also affect more complex formations. We will now introduce two classifications of complex brand names created by means of shortening processes. The first one follows purely formal criteria. Here the names

are compiled subject to whether the first or the second constituent or both constituents are shortened. The second classification is based on the degree of transparency of the created names.

4.3.1. Contamination and Haplology

Numerous brand names are formed on the basis of existing names by means of contamination. A contamination is defined as a compound which consists at least of one shortened constituent, e.g. *CIOCCOCEREALI* (*cioccolato* + *cereali*) or *FRESCOMAR* (*fresco* + *mare*). The following tables contain the formations in which the first or the second constituent is shortened and those in which neither the first nor the second constituent is fully contained (*mot-portemanteau*)(see table 3).

Special attention must be paid to the formation of *BONGUST'AIA*, in which the shortened compound *bongust(o)* is combined with the company name *AIA* resulting in a brand name which corresponds with a noun with a specific meaning: *bongustaia* (‘female gourmet’) (see table 4).

In many cases the (shortened) constituents of a brand name cannot be clearly separated, since the single graphemes or grapheme sequences overlap at the segmentation border. This phenomenon can be understood by means of the term “haplology”. Haplology is a special type of dissimilation which leads to the loss of a speech unit before or after a (phonetically) similar unit (Bußmann 2002: 272). According to Praninskas (1968: 62), “The overlapping of sounds and sound sequences at the nexus of compounds is very common in trade naming”. Analysing our research material, this statement concerning English brand names can be confirmed with regard to Italian brand name formation (see table 5).

The formation of *SAGRA* is very interesting. Presumably it was formed from the company name *S.A.L.O.V.* (*Società per Azioni Lucchese Olii e Vini*) and the brand name *GRAZIA*. It is a contamination of an initial word and a proper name (www.sagra.it).

Table 3: Contaminations from brand names - Shortened first or second constituent

Contaminations (I)

Type	Constituents	Brand names	Contaminations (I)
FC shortened	BN + N	COCCOBABY DIALBRODO DORIBAR FIORTOAST SANBITTÈR	<u>Coccodì</u> <u>Dialcos</u> <u>Doria</u> <u>Fiorucci</u> <u>S. Pellegrino</u> (compulsory <i>troncamento</i>)
	BN + A	IL BIRALUNGO	<u>Biraghi</u>
	N + BN	CAPITAN FINDUS CEREALDORIA	<u>capitano</u> (optional <i>troncamento</i>) <u>cereale</u> (optional <i>troncamento</i>)
	A + BN	GRANBIRAGHI GRANPAVESI	<u>grande</u> (compulsory <i>troncamento</i>) <u>grande</u> (compulsory <i>troncamento</i>)
SC shortened	BN + N	CIDALECCA CIDAMALLOW CIDAMELLE	<u>lecca lecca</u> <u>marshmallow</u> <u>caramelle</u>
	BN + A	LAVAZZA DEK	<u>decaffeinato</u>

Table 4: Contaminations from brand names - shortened first and second constituent

Contaminations (II)

Type	Constituents	Brand name	Plain forms
Apocope + aphaeresis	BN + N	MONELLO	<u>Mon(ini) + (nov)ello</u>
Apocope + apocope	BN + N	DORICREM	<u>Dori(a) + crem(a)</u>

4.3.2. Blending

According to Ronneberger-Sibold language users have a very precise intuition for different degrees of transparency and are able to use this purposefully (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 155). In this context, she develops a typology of blending techniques, which are scaled according to the relative transparency of the resulting blends (Ronneberger-Sibold 2004: 575 ff.).

She defines “blending” as a deliberate creation of a new word out of two (or rarely, more) previously existing ones in a way which dif-

fers from the rules or patterns of regular compounding (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 157). The most important output characteristics aimed at by choosing to blend words instead of compounding them, are certain sound shapes and a reduced transparency as compared to regular compounds. This is fundamental for brand names. The reduction of transparency reaches from slight obscuration to complete opacity, depending on the blending technique applied (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 161).

Table 5: Haplology from brand names

Haplology

Type	Constituents	Brand name	Plain forms
FC shortened	N + BN	BISCOLUSSI	bisco(tto) + Colussi
	BN + N	BUI <u>T</u> OST CIDE <u>L</u> IZIE NE <u>S</u> TEA	Buito(ni) + <u>t</u> ost Cid(a) + <u>d</u> elizie Nest(lé) + <u>t</u> ea
SC shortened	BN + N	GIM <u>A</u> S	GIM + <u>m</u> as(carpone)
FC and SC shortened	A + BN	SFIZIO <u>L</u> Ì	sfizio(so) + (Oliv) <u>o</u> lì
Constituents not shortened	BN + N	GISOIA	GIS + soia

The constituents of a blend can be most easily identified, if they are fully contained in the blend. This technique is called “complete blending”. Complete blends can be either “telescope blends” or “inclusive blends”. In a telescope blend, the blended elements are juxtaposed like in a compound, but the end of the first constituent overlaps with the beginning of the second. The linear order between the constituents suggests determinative or copulative readings like in regular compounds. Blends of this kind are particularly transparent if the overlapping part is a morpheme of its own (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 167). The only example of this type of blend within our corpus is GISOIA (GIS + soia). In inclusive blends one constituent is contained in the other(s) as part of its sound chain, e.g. *COMUNICHATION*. Normally, this is only revealed by the orthography of the blend (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 167). The structural and semantic relation between the constituents of inclusive blends is often less clear than in telescope blends. Therefore they are placed after telescope blends on the scale (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 169).

In “contour blends” one element functions as “matrix word”. This element is primary for the analysis, although it is normally not entirely included in the blend (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 170). The matrix word provides the rhyme and the overall rhythmic contour of

the blend, which is its number of syllables and its main stress. The second element is inserted either in the pretonic part or in the posttonic part. The semantic relation of the elements can be copulative or determinative. Possible overlaps enhance transparency, even though they are not necessary (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 167). Examples from our corpus are CIDADAMELLE (CIDA + *caramelle*), MONELLO (MONINI + *novello*) and SFIZIOLÌ (*sfizio* + *OLIVOLI*).

“Semi-complete blends” consist of a full constituent and some fragments of a second one (or rarely, of more constituents). As the shortened element does not keep its contour its recoverability crucially depends on the length of the fragment and possible overlaps (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 169). In the present study we distinguish between blends in which the first constituent is shortened and blends in which the second one is shortened. In both categories, blends in which the shortened element consists of a brand name are listed separately from those in which the brand name is fully contained in the blend. Table 6 contains the semi-complete blends without overlapping elements.

Table 7 shows the semi-complete blends with overlapping elements.

The end of the transparency scale has been reached when all constituents of a blend are shortened. In most cases, only small fragments

are left (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 174). This is the case in the so-called “fragment blends”. With this technique, the recoverability of the blended elements depends on the segmental length and on the distribution of the fragments in the blended elements. The aim of fragment blending clearly consists of creating opaque neologisms with certain evocative sound shapes (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 174 f.). An example, in which the fragments are quite long, is DORICREM (DORIA + *crema*).

According to the classification of Ronneberger-Sibold, in the present corpus semi-complete blends, in which the first constituent

is a shortened brand name and in which there is no overlapping, represent the most frequent technique. In comparison to this, the results of Ronneberger-Sibold are cited here. In the German corpus of 612 blends the incidence of the different techniques is as follows:

- Complete blends: 16%
- Contour blends: 32%
- Semi-complete blends: 27%
- Fragment blends: 25%

Thus we can confirm the following statement: [...] in the brand names, the main emphasis is

Table 6: Semi-complete blends without overlapping elements

First constituent shortened	
<i>First constituent = brand name</i> COCCOBABY (COCCODÌ + <i>baby</i>) DIALBRODO (DIALCOS + <i>brodo</i>) DORIBAR (DORIA + <i>bar</i>) FIORTOAST (FIORUCCI + <i>toast</i>) SANBITTÈR (SAN PELLEGRINO + <i>bittèr</i>) IL BIRALUNGO (BIRAGHI + <i>lungo</i>)	<i>First constituent ≠ brand name</i> CAPITAN FINDUS (<i>capitano</i> + FINDUS) CEREALDORIA (<i>cereale/i</i> + DORIA) GRANBIRAGHI (<i>grande</i> + BIRAGHI) GRANPAVESI (<i>grande</i> + PAVESI)
Second constituent shortened	
<i>Second constituent = brand name</i>	<i>Second constituent <> brand name</i> LAVAZZA DEK (LAVAZZA + <i>decaffèinato</i>) CIDALECCA (CIDA + <i>lecca lecca</i>) CIDAMALLOW (CIDA + <i>marshmallow</i>)

Table 7: Semi-complete blends with overlapping elements

First constituent shortened	
<i>First constituent = brand name</i> BUITOST (BUITONI + <i>tost</i>) CIDELIZIE (CIDA + <i>delizie</i>) NESTEA (NESTLÉ + <i>tea</i>)	<i>First constituent <> brand name</i> BISCOLUSSI (<i>biscotto/i</i> + COLUSSI)
Second constituent shortened	
<i>Second constituent = brand name</i>	<i>Second constituent <> brand name</i> GIMAS (GIM + <i>mascarpone</i>)

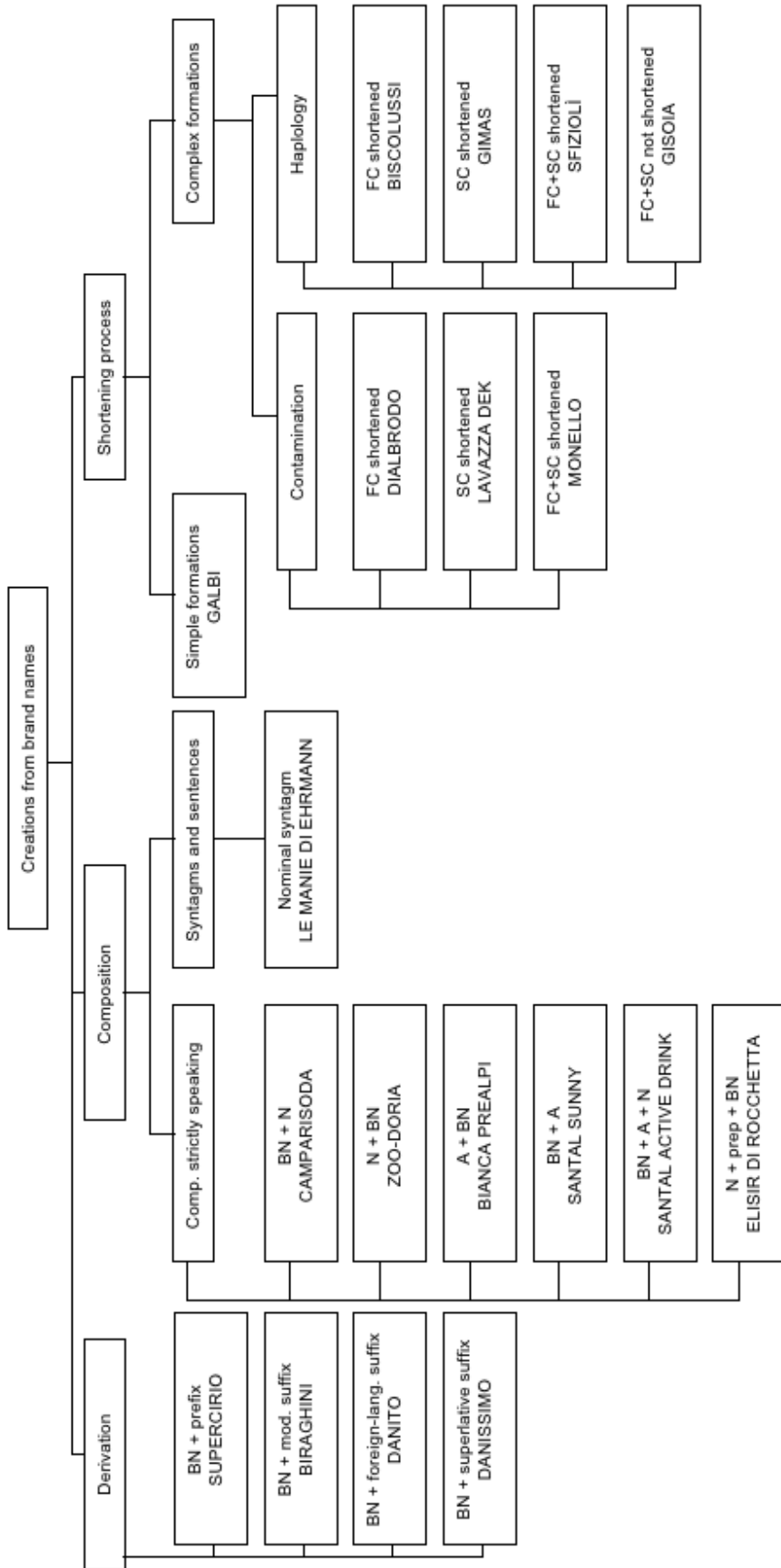


Figure 2
Brand name typology for the formations from brand names

on techniques yielding medium or no transparency in almost equal proportions. [...] This nicely agrees with the requirement for a brand name to be above all evocative with no or only some admixture of descriptiveness [...]. (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 175)

5. Summary

The creation of new names based on existing company names, assortment or line names is in the focus of the examination of the mor-

phological structure of Italian brand names. Linguistic resources as well as the available capital are used by taking an established brand name as the basis for the formation of a new one. The typology on the previous page (figure 2) includes all the formation models for the creation of future names from existing brands mentioned in the previous sections (table 5).

The table below contains all formation types detected including quantitative indications which exemplify the productivity of the single techniques. As can be seen, the forma-

Table 8: Formations from existing brand names

Formations from brand names	Example	Frequency
Affixes (17)		
BN + prefix	SUPERCIRIO	2
BN + mod. suffix	BIRAGHINI	12
BN + foreign suffix	DANITO	2
BN + superlative suffix	DANISSIMO	1
Composition strictly speaking (18)		
BN + N	CAMPARISODA	12
N + BN	ZOO-DORIA	1
A + BN	BIANCA PREALPI	1
BN + A	SANTAL SUNNY	1
BN + A + N	SANTAL ACTIVE DRINK	1
N + prep + BN	ELISIR DI ROCCHETTA	2
Syntagms (2)		
Nominal syntagm	LE MANIE DI EHRMANN	2
Shortening process (26)		
Simple formation	GALBI	3
Contamination:		
FC shortened	DIALBRODO	10
SC shortened	LAVAZZA DEK	4
FC + SC shortened	MONELLO	2
Haplology:		
FC shortened	BISCOLUSSI	4
SC shortened	GIMAS	1
FC + SC shortened	SFIZIOLÌ	1
FC + SC not shortened	GISOIA	1

tion pattern BN and modifying suffix is very productive. Furthermore, the high frequency of the formation pattern brand name and noun as well as of contaminations with a shortened first constituent is striking.

In addition to the typology introduced here, it would be an interesting approach to include the consumers' perspective in a further research project. An impact analysis could give information about the extent to which the use of an existing name within a new name contributes to the success of a new name. Does it help to sell the new brand faster? Is it easier for customers to memorise the new name and - in consequence - does it increase their willingness to buy? Furthermore, an empirical study could focus on the question to what degree an existing name might be shortened or defamiliarised to still fulfil its identification function.

Notes

- ¹ See Wengrow (2008) who argues that the concept of commodity branding predates modern capitalism and goes back to prehistoric times. In his article he compares, for example, an ancient Egyptian commodity label to the modern brand label *De Bortoli wines* and discloses striking similarities especially with regard to the visual code (2008: 9 f.).
- ² The sound /r/ is added between company name and suffix here.

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