names value brands
strategies uniqueness
social trade-mark
patterns humour
graphic cognitive
phonology luxury
function economy
names strategies
social seriousness
cognitive function
seriousness value
patterns linguistic
uniqueness names
success messages
trade-mark function
seriousness success
linguistic uniqueness
strategies authenticity
patterns morphological
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The Economy in Names
Values, Branding and Globalization

Proceedings of Names in the Economy 6
International Conference, Uppsala, 3–5 June 2019

Edited by Katharina Leibring, Leila Mattfolk,
Kristina Neumüller, Staffan Nyström, and Elin Pihl

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Uppsala 2021

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Abstract

This volume presents a selection of revised and edited papers given at the sixth conference on Names in the Economy (NITE), which was held in Uppsala in June 2019. The focus of this volume, and at NITE 6, is mainly the economy or economic aspects hidden or evident in various types of names: how names can hold different values; how names can be used or misused to enhance such values; how names can be used in branding; and how names can be a financial means in a global world.

The contents display a broad selection of papers on commercial names and how they are connected to economic considerations and marketing. The topics span from how personal names and brand names, used in advertising in magazines, can reveal much synchronic information about attitudes and opinions, to how different cultures or languages are represented in the linguistic landscape. Some hitherto less studied areas are the complicated issue of word-marks (including brand names) regarded from a judicial point of view and the influence of building companies on the naming of new city developments.

Contents

Preface

This volume presents a selection of revised and edited papers given at the sixth conference on Names in the Economy (NITE). The conference – attended by 44 participants (apart from the organizers) from 15 countries – was held in Uppsala in June 2019 and continues a series begun in 2006. The focus at NITE 6 was mainly the economy or economic aspects hidden or evident in various types of names: how names can hold different values; how names can be used or misused to enhance such values; how names can be used in branding; and how names can be a financial means in a global world. Both synchronic and diachronic aspects were welcome.

The contents of this volume indicate that the name-types closest to one's mind in connection with economy still certainly are the so-called commercial names: mainly brands (or brand names) and company names. Such names are directly associated with economic considerations and marketing, and research can concern both the naming of luxury products as make-up or alcohol, as well as the naming of more mundane food products or medical drugs – and company names of all sorts, from restaurant names to names of dental practices.

There are, however, more types of capital than just purely economic, not least social and cultural capital. Names of all categories can thus be examined from these aspects and interesting findings be revealed, as we can see in this volume. Personal names can have higher or lower social status in a specific society, the name-bearers can be judged by their name, and companies may want to capitalize on a certain place-name's good reputation by trademarking it. The now thriving research field of linguistic landscapes shows how different cultures or languages are represented and how this representation is manifested. Even names for specific events can have a commercial value. Personal names and brand names used in advertising in magazines can also reveal much synchronic information about attitudes and opinions as can the names of the magazines themselves. An interesting issue to discuss is the influence of building companies on the naming of new city developments. Who, in fact, owns the place-names? Some hitherto less studied areas touched upon in Uppsala were the neural representation of names – where in the brain do we store brand names,

compared to other types of names? – and the complicated issue of word-marks (including brand names) regarded from a judicial point of view. This volume shows that our knowledge of the multidisciplinary field of onomastics and economy has deepened during the last decades, and that there still are many new avenues to explore.

The editors and organizers would like to thank the authors who have submitted their papers to create this volume. We also thank the Royal Society of the Humanities at Uppsala and the Gun Widmark fund for Research in Scandinavian Languages at Uppsala University, administered by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture, for generously having sponsored the conference. And finally we extend our thanks to all referees, participants, speakers and listeners, who contributed to making the NITE 6 a stimulating meeting point of discussions, disseminating of knowledge and the establishing of new scholarly contacts.

Katharina Leibring   Staffan Nyström

Drug Names as a Business Tool

ILIA BARANOV

Abstract

Identifying measurable properties of commercial names that affect business performance directly is important for brand management. Product lifespan in the market could be generalized as a measure of business success. In this paper, 236 trade names of antiallergic drugs available in Russia between the years 1995–2015 are considered. For the names studied, it was found in particular that:

1. One-word names survive better than names of several words. Among the one-word names, short names survive better than long ones.
2. Names with unclear meaning for patients (e.g. *Lomilan*) survive better than names with clear meaning (e.g. *Analergin*). Among names of several words, the structure consisting of an unclear main word with clear additions has the best survival.
3. Names with initial plosives (K, P, T, G, B and D) survive better than names with other initial sounds. Names with consonant constellations (-ccc-) are associated with lower survival.
4. Names with the finale -IN have the highest survival rate.

The relationships between the linguistic properties of the name and drug lifetime are investigated and discussed in terms of brand functions.

Keywords

Commercial names, survival analysis, drug names, brand functions.

The properties of commercial names have been studied exhaustively, but still we know little about which of these properties are associated with real business performance. We use a product's lifetime on the market as an integral measure of its success. Based on the concept of brand functions in the name (Round & Roper 2012), we found that the best survival of services is correlated with such qualities of the name as memorability, tangibility, convenience, and at the same time a slight difficulty, which attracts more attention (Baranov 2018b). This article explores the commercial names of products; namely, the trade names of anti-allergic medications. Depending on the product and its naming traditions, the useful properties of the name are realized in different ways, and sometimes contradict each other. For example, an increase in length contributes to tangibility and uniqueness, but the name loses memorability and convenience. Frequent segments make the name familiar, thus reducing the perceived risk (Obermiller 1985), but the originality of the name is also reduced. Therefore, we will not advance hypotheses as to how brand functions can be realized, but first investigate which linguistic properties of drug names can be associated with their survival. We will then discuss how the pattern of brand functions and name properties is woven, and how truthful the resulting structure appears to be.

1. Drug Names

Drugs are of great importance to society, and laws limit the terms of patent protection for their active substances. The manufacturer has the right to offer a name for a new substance, but it is not subject to patent protection. This name is the *international nonproprietary name* (INN). To protect investments, manufacturers sell the drug containing this substance under the *original brand name*, which has no time limit for protection. After the substance patent expires, anybody can produce and sell the drug containing the substance either under INN or under another brand name. In the first case the drug name is called *generic*, and in the second case it is a *brand generic* (see Table 1). Most drugs in our sample are brand generics.

Traditional drug names are generally made up of a masculine word (in languages in which nouns are gendered), with a length of 7–8 letters (3–4 syllables), sometimes containing Greek/Latin segments, and common finals such as *-in*, *-al*, *-ol* etc.[1] As a rule, the meaning of a drug name is vague and not essential for market success (Drëmova 2017: 24). Newer drug names, if seen in isolation, are hardly recognized as medications or even as words. For example: *Kiskali, Stalevo, Moroktokog al'fa, Risarg, Kabazred* (GRLS 2018).[2]

2. Data and Method

We have recorded the presence of drug names in the print edition of the annual pharmaceutical directory (Vidal 1995–2015) since the beginning of its publication in Russia. This is one of the two most reputable directories for professionals, both doctors and pharmacists (Vyškovskij & Zaličev 2002). We estimate our sample represents two thirds of the brands and brand generic antiallergic drug market in Russia. Each of the 236 unique names was counted as many times as it appeared continuously during the observation period

Table 1. Drug name species.

| INN | Trade names | | |
	Original brand names	Generic names	Brand generic names
cetirizine	Zyrtec (*Zirtek*)	*Cetirizin Geksal, Cetirizin, Cetirizina digidrohlorid, Cetirizin-OBL*	*Allertek, Alerza, Zincet, Zodak, Letizen, Parlazin, Cetrin, Cetirinaks*

1. Cf. the concept of sound shapes as bundles of related properties in German brand names by Ronneberger-Sibold & Wahl (2013: 232).

2. Tomasik (2018) described the opposite trend of colloquialization of over-the-counter drug names and the intermediate case of adding a clear descriptive element to an opaque name.

Table 2. Part of data sheet.

Name / Year	...	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
CETIRIZIN GEKSAL [3]			▓	▓								
CETIRIZIN GEKSAL						▓	▓	▓				
CETIRIZIN GEKSAL											▓	▓

(Table 2).[4] With these repetitions, the sample consists of 318 cases, and all further shares are calculated from it. The full dataset is published as a Google spreadsheet: bit.ly/baranov-nite6.

Following Barhatov & Pletnev (2014: 15), we assume that the longevity of a business is integral to its success. To connect the properties of a drug's name with its lifetime, we used the statistical method of survival analysis (Guo 2010), which allows the inclusion of cases that (dis)appeared outside of the study period.

3. Results

3.1. Semantics

We refer to the noticeable group of names in the sample that points at diseases other than allergy as *outliers*. Outliers make up 13% of the sample, and differ from the rest of it by several features. In addition to containing segments with a clear meaning, they often consist of several words. For example:

- MIGRENOL PM implies it can be used against migraines;[5]
- TERAFLÛ OT GRIPPA I PROSTUDY implies it can combat cold and flu;
- ÈFFERALGAN OT BOLI I BESSONNICY implies it can be used for pain and insomnia.

Almost all of these outliers show indications for cold or flu in their names. This group shows significantly lower survival rates than the rest of the sample:

Outliers < Others .0001 (meaningful names: .02)[6]

Therefore, we are forced to look at the effects on the subsample without outliers.

3.1.1. Meaning

We tried to look at the names through the eyes of patients and professionals separately, believing that professionals understand the drug names better than patients do. For example, segments such as BRON, KOLD, RIN, and FLÛ are considered to be known to professionals, but not to patients. Patients, on the other hand, might recognize segments such as ALLER or BRONH.[7] We estimate that about a quarter of our sample (27%) could mean something to a patient. For example:

- ZODAK sounds like Zodiac;
- KOLD<u>AKT</u> contains a segment that echoes the word 'active';
- BRONAL calls to mind a generic term for medicine;
- RINIKOLD BRONHO implies it is for the bronchi.

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3. Hereinafter, the drug names from the sample are given in CAPITAL letters, as in most editions of Vidal.

4. The measure of success could be the total presence of names in the directory, without considering gaps. In this case, each name should be counted once. Existing gaps may be both forced — reflecting the lesser success of a drug — and a conscious cost-saving measure by the manufacturer, increasing the profitability of the drug if a relatively short absence in the directory affects sales insignificantly. It is unlikely that it is possible to find out the real reasons for the absence in each case, and the difference in the results of the two accounting methods is likely to be insignificant.

5. The use of the term 'PM' in the names of medications is not familiar to Russian patients (and possibly professionals as well) since the 24-hour clock is favoured in Russia as opposed to the 12-hour-clock which uses the designations 'AM' and 'PM'.

6. Hereinafter, we use the following system for recording survival analysis results:
.008 'statistical significance (Gehan—Wilcoxon p-value) is 0.008';
< 'survives less than' (p < .05);
≤ 'tends to survives less than' (.05 < p < .15). There is no difference for a p greater than .15.

7. The RIN segment meaning 'nose' is not as distinct in Russian as is *rhin* in Latin-script languages, since it loses the *h*. Cf. **Rhin**opront vs. **Rin**opront. The RIN is masked by the frequent finale -IN or by hyphenation: ASPIRIN, ZE-TRI-NAL. We considered the RIN significant only at the beginning of the name.

Table 3. Topic for professionals.

Topic (outliers excluded)	N
Unclear meaning	121
Nosology	27
Efficiency	13
Composition	97
Body organ	20
Total	*278*

Names that are unclear to patients survive better than meaningful names:

Patients: Meaningful < Unclear .003 (without outliers .14)

Many more names are clear to professionals (60%), but the presence of meaning does not affect survival. Division by topic also yields no results, although it shows that there might be potential for a study on a larger sample (Table 3).[8]

3.1.2. Frequent Segments with Meaning

One of the most significant problems with drug names is the risk of a mix-up with prescriptions due to name confusion, which may be the reason why brand generic names are sometimes similar to the original brand. Table 4 shows the lifespan of brand generics with a KLAR- initial segment appearing after the INN *loratadine* patent (original brand name *Claritin*) expired. The life of these copycats seems mostly short.

Names containing the AL(L)ER(G) 'allergy' segment, such as the examples listed below, do not show differences in survival as compared to other meaningful names.

- ALERPRIV
- ALLERGIN
- ALLERTEK
- ALLERCET

3.1.3. Negative / Improper Connotations

A few names in our sample (10%) bear a similarity to ridiculous, indecent or unpleasant words.

- ANALERGIN contains the segment 'anal'
- KROPOZ sounds like the name of a disease due to the final segment resembling the *-osis* suffix in Latin
- OLOPATALLERG contains the Russian word for 'shovel'
- E`ROLIN echoes the word 'erotic'

Such names do not show significant differences in survival compared to the rest of the sample.[10]

Table 4. Names of loratadine with KLAR- or KLA- initial.

Name	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
KLARITIN	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■
KLARINAZE [9]	■	■	■	■	■				■												
KLAROTADIN							░	░	░												
KLARGOTIL							░	░													
KLARIFER									░												
KLARIDOL											░	░			░						
KLARFAST													░								
KLALLERGIN													░								
KLARISENS																					

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8. In our experience, it is advisable to have at least 30 cases in each of the subgroups being compared in order to make a confident judgment (cf. Statsoft 2020).

9. This brand belongs to the same manufacturer as the original *Claritin*, and denotes the nasal form of the same INN.

10. None of the negative names from our sample fell into the lists of ridiculous drug names commonly found on the Russian internet. Either these names are not strange enough for meme distributors, or these names were not in their sight.

Table 5. Name macrostructure.

Nucleus	Shell	Shell translation	Meaning topic in the shell
DIMEBON	—	—	—
TIZIN	ALERDŽI	allergy	Disease
ANTIGRIPPIN	ÈKSPRESS	express	Action velocity
PROTIAZIN	ÈKSPEKTORANT	expectorant	Effect
CETIRIZIN	GEKSAL	Hexal	Manufacturer
RINZASIP	DLÂ DETEJ	for kids	Patients
RINZASIP	S VITAMINOM C	with vitamin C	Composition
ASMOVAL	10	10 [mg]	Dosage
FENISTIL	24	24 [hours]	Action time
TERAFLÛ	ÈKSTRA	extra	Some value
—	SIROP TROJNOGO DEJSTVIÂ	Triple action syrup	Form + effect
PROMETAZIN	5 BERLIN HEMI	5 Berlin Chemie	Dosage + manufacturer
TERAFLÛ	ÈKSTRATAB	extratab	Value + form
BENADRIL	N	N	Unclear

3.1.4. Names with Clues

Following Chazal & Voigt (2013), we distinguish the nucleus that is the main word in the name. It is usually first in order. Extending the atom metaphor, we call the rest of the drug name a 'shell'.[11] These are various additions, not always with a clear meaning (Table 5).

Segments in the nucleus can point to different diseases, effects, compositions, and bodily organs (Table 6). Some other commonly found elements are prefixes, truncated roots, chemical-sounding finales, and pseudosuffixes.[12] As in a real atom, the nucleus segments are rigidly connected or even fused.

Among the names consisting of several words, there is a group in which the nucleus has unclear meaning, but instead the shell is meaningful. We call them *names with clues*. These cases have no effect on the full sample, where most of names are single words that survive better than names of several words. The advantage of names with clues is only apparent when compared to other names of several words, as seen below:

2+ words: Others ≤ Names with clues .10
(without outliers .04)

Table 6. Nucleus topics.

Nucleus	Meaning topic
ZIRTEK	[*Zyrtec*] Unclear to patients and professionals
ÈRIUS	[*Aerius*] Unclear in Russian
CETIRIZIN	INN *cetirizine*, unclear to patients
ALLERTEK	Allergic disease
KLARISENS	Effect (for English speakers who assume *Clarisense*)
STADAGLICIN	Manufacturer (*Stada*) + substance (*cromoglicic acid*, not *glycine*)
ANVIMAKS	Effect (-*max*)

3.2. Graphics

3.2.1. Length

Dots and ® signs in the names we analyzed were not taken into account, and hyphens were replaced with a space. The average length of the names in our sample is 10.0 characters, counting spaces. The average length of the nucleus is 7.6 characters. When the length of the whole name is taken into account, our analysis shows a slight tendency for short names to survive better than long ones. Nuclei shorter than seven characters survive better than long ones:

Long < Short .04 (without outliers .20; and unclear meaning .30)

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11.   Chazal & Voigt (2013) used the term 'model name'.

12.   These are called 'teleutosemes' by Chazal & Voigt (2013).

The length effect is more prominent when counting the number of words rather than characters (see section 3.3.1.).

3.2.2. Legibility

Name legibility was calculated as the average legibility of its letters. Letter legibility data from a paper by Alekseeva & Dobrego (2016: 71) was used for this task. According to this paper, for instance, the Russian letters corresponding to R, U, and D are more legible, while the letters L, Č M are less legible.[13] We found that name legibility is negatively correlated with survival:

> More legible < less legible .0001
> (without outliers .004; and
> unclear meaning .02)

3.2.3. Repetitions

Repeated letters are frequently seen in the names in question. However, repetitions of letter bigrams (SP<u>ER</u>SALL<u>ER</u>G) and names in which the initial and final segments are the same (<u>AL</u>ERGOFT<u>AL</u>) are rare. Repeated letters, vowels, and bigrams show a survival decrease when graphed, although with no statistical significance.

3.3. Grammar

3.3.1. Name Structure

The majority of the names we examine are single words (73%). Single word names survive better than names with several words:

> Several words < Single word .01
> (without outliers .12)

3.3.2. Gender

Most of the names in the sample have a nucleus with a masculine gender (92%). Below are examples of non-masculine gender names:

- ZEROSMA
- KLARINAZE
- ŠIPUČIE TABLETKI OT PROSTUDY
- GRIPPOFLÛ OT PROSTUDY I GRIPPA

As we only identified 25 non-masculine names (19 without outliers), this subset is not large enough for any meaningful statistical analysis. The slight advantage of a non-masculine gender in a name disappears when outliers are excluded.

3.3.3. Nucleus Finale

The most frequent nucleus finale in our sample is -IN (Table 7). Names with the finale -IN tend to survive better than others in our sample.

> Others ≤ -IN .12 (without outliers .07; and
> without meaning .05)

If the group of the three most frequent finales -IN, -AL and -EN is set against the others, the survival effect disappears.

Table 7. The finales frequency in the sample.

Finale -XX	-IN	-AL	-EN	-OL	-KS	-IL	-AN	-LD	Others, each less than 3%
%	21	8	8	7	6	6	5	3	37

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13.   The letter recognition theory included in the theory of reading is underdeveloped (Finkbeiner & Coltheart 2009), and there are only a few works on the subject of Cyrillic graphics. It was found that the speed and accuracy of recognition of individual letters are affected by their frequency in the language and the form of the sign (Grainger, Rey & Dufau 2008). Regarding the form of the Cyrillic sign, it is assumed that the protruding and hanging elements of letters, as well as the presence of large rounded components increase the speed of letter recognition; letters that are part of other letters will be recognized with a delay (Alekseeva and Dobrego 2016: 71). The position of a letter in a word and its surroundings also influence the recognition, but here we do not consider these aspects.

3.4. Phonetics

3.4.1. Structure of Nucleus Finale

Most finales in the sample are vowel + consonant (-vc, 76%). -cv finales are rare (8%). The prominent advantage of the -vc finale over the double consonant finale (-cc) remains even after the removal of names with the finale -IN.

-cc < -vc = -cv .006 (without outliers .01; and without meaning .05)

The grouping of -vc finales by the most frequent vowels is related to the survival rate as follows:

-Oc ≤ (-Ac and -Ec) ≤ -Ic .07 (without outliers .12; and without meaning .24)

Adding -vcc finales to the sub-sample does not change the picture. The properties of the last vowel (open vs. closed; front vs. middle vs. back, rare vs. frequent) and the last consonant (voiced vs. voiceless; devoicing or not) did not show any connection to survival. Further fragmentation of the sample results in groups that are too small for statistical analysis.

3.4.2. Initial Sound

For the drugs we examined, the survival of names with initial stops (B, G, D, K, P and T) is higher than the rest of the sample:

Others ≤ Initial stop .08 (without outliers .03; and without meaning .03)

3.4.3. Euphony

Euphony has two interrelated aspects: pronunciation usability and sounding pleasurable. As per Chazal & Voight (2013: 78), we first used the proportion of vowels in the name for measuring euphony as a product of pronunciation usability. The average proportion of vowels in the sample is about 3/8 (0.38), which is close to the average value for Russian words in general (0.36). Names

with a proportion of vowels equal to or less than 1/3 (0.33) have a slight but insignificant tendency to survive better than the rest of the sample. The advantage is still visible even if long life champions SUPRASTIN and PIPOL`FEN are excluded.

A vowel share of 1/3 or less means that words longer than three letters will necessarily have segments of two consonants (cc). Constellations of three or more consonants are common in Russian, and could sometimes make pronunciation difficult. Such constellations (ccc) account for 20% of our sample, while 60% contain cc-segments and 20% have no constellations (c). Since names with four consonants in a row such as the ones shown below are rare, we merged them into the group of ccc constellations:

• ZODAK ÈKSPRESS
• KOLDAKT BRONHO

The refined relationship between the v/c-structure of names in the sample and survival is as follows:

ccc ≤ cc ≤ c < 1/3v .0003 (without outliers .03; and without meaning .11)

In other words, structures like -cvcv- survive better than all other cases except 1/3v.

Concerning the second aspect of euphony, research has shown that certain sounds in Russian are not considered pleasurable; for example, the consonants Ž, Š, Ŝ, C, F, H, as well as the vowels Y and sometimes U (Žuravlev 1974: 91, 93, Bondar′ 2001: 27 ff.). However, we have not found that the inclusion of these letters in the names of drugs has any effect on their survival.[14]

3.4.4. Stress Position

The stress in the nucleus usually falls on the last syllable (88%). Even in names originating from English, the stress can transfer from the first to the last syllable, as is the case with KOLDÁKT and TERAFLÚ. When graphed, the survival of a name based on stressed syllable place appears as Penultimate ≤ Last ≤ First, but the data is not sufficient to draw

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14.   We have not found any difference when the euphony of certain letters was measured in a more precise way, either. Namely, on the scale of 'good — bad' employed by Žuravlev (1974: 116), which evaluates a word by the phonetic meaning of its 'sound letters', taking into account their frequency in the language, position in the word, and stress.

any conclusions except that it is necessary to study variations in stress position on a wider scale.

4. Discussion

We posit that as an integral part of the brand, a product's name can perform all of brand functions. Round & Roper (2012) highlight seven such functions, and we will discuss them further in this section.

4.1. Identification

Short, and especially single-word names and names starting with stop consonants, are better recognized and memorized than longer ones or those with a less vivid sound at the beginning (Vanden Bergh & al. 1984). This is the identification function of the brand, which provides quick recognition of familiar names.

4.2. Quality Signaling

It should be noted that our sample does not contain very short names (the shortest one is AVIL, and it is the only one with 4 letters; there are also no initial abbreviations).[15] Very short names do not look substantial enough, which affects the quality signaling brand function.

We also suggest that repetitions are not perceived as serious enough for medication names. In other words, quality signaling is violated here as well, so the survival rate of names with repetitions is reduced. Although repetitions and rhymes contribute to memorability in the names of goods and services (Robertson 1989), this is more likely to apply to hedonic goods. Conversely, when it comes to names for utilitarian goods,[16] which include drugs, repetition may be perceived more negatively (cf. Rozental´ 2010: 190). *Barbara Bar*

might be a good name for a pub, but the drug name **Flufluin* is questionable.

Quality signaling works differently for drugs than for mass-market goods; for drugs, a nucleus with an unclear meaning gives the impression that the name is scientific (Robins 2001: 161–162). We propose that drugs still follow the tradition of unclear naming that originated with ancient magical/medical substances. The extant names of the strongest remedies, created as opaque originally or became such over time, have remained unchanged as long as the remedy has been in use, which in some cases amounts to centuries.[17] These names crossed borders and millennia virtually unchanged, even while the remedies themselves changed their composition. Some examples are *bezoar, kyphi, laudanum, shilajeet,* and *theriac.* The opacity of the meaning of these remedies could have been intentional, since revealing the mystery was believed to deprive a rather expensive remedy of magical/ healing power (Brévart 2008: 11) and opened the way for competitors by potentially revealing its ingredients. Although these days, the opacity of new drug names is due to other reasons (e.g. legal restrictions on names promising to cure or the fact that an artificial word with no meaning is easier to register as the name of a drug than a word from the dictionary), the opacity in itself does not interfere with, and sometimes contributes to, the success of the drug, perhaps because it signals quality, inter alia, through the traditional associations of an opaque name such as mystery, exoticism, or rarity, and thanks to all this seems effective.[18]

4.3. Search Cost Reduction

We found three manifestations of this function:

a) Outliers survive worse than the rest of the meaningful names;

---

15.   It is typical for drugs in Russia. Out of 9,488 unique trade names in GRLS (2018) only 48 have the length of 3 or 4 symbols (own calculations of the author).

16.   On the division of goods into utilitarian and hedonistic, see (Batra & Ahtola 1991).

17.   Here, the drug names converge with the main categories of proper names, toponyms and anthroponyms, where the lexical meaning is erased over time, which does not impede the names to successfully perform their functions (cf. Nübling 2000).

18.   Which is not to say that transparent names were not ever successful. In the 18th–19th centuries, the industry of so-called 'nostrums' was prospering. They were not very effective, but extremely popular remedies for many diseases, sold in pharmacies along with drugs in the modern sense. For example, *Turlington's Balsam of Life* was sold for over a hundred years in the UK and the USA (Jones & Vegotsky 2016).

b) The nucleus is located at the beginning of the name.

c) The use of segments which are too 'bright', such as the categorical AL(L)LER(G), seems to 'blind' perception, and reduce the consumer's ability to distinguish between products. Confusion between names which are too similar could cause a reduction in survival rates.

For example, borrowing the KLAR segment from one of the best sellers is useless for survival, perhaps due to the explanation provided in point c) above. Koss (1990: 348) points to such a confusion and cites the example of a firm forced to rename the drug *Prostatin* to *Bazoton* in order to differentiate it from a dozen other names containing a *prosta* segment.

4.4. Risk Reduction

An opaque name sounds scientific on the one hand, but may on the other hand raise concerns about the safety of the drug. The risk reduction function could compensate for the lack of meaning through the grammatical properties of the name. For example, the extremely high frequency of -IN finales is typical for drug names in general, not only in Russia (Werkman 1974: 465, Lambert, Chang & Lin 2001: 170, Musohranova 2007: 118). It also has the highest survival rate in our sample, which may indicate a preference for a familiar name, i.e. it is perceived as safer (Obermiller 1985).

4.5. Habitual

Short names are easier to use. This is the habitual function of the brand – the convenience of the everyday use of the name – which stands in contrast to the names of services, like banks or restaurants (Baranov 2018a, 2018b), for which tangibility is more important than convenience, and where longer names survive better. Pronounceability also serves this function, which is reflected in the lower survival rate of names with clusters of consonants and the higher survival rate of names with -cv- structure. With the 1/3v structure, which has a better survival rate, it is possible to achieve an optimal level of convenience and tangibility.

4.6. Relationship

This function, in which a brand tries to take on human characteristics – those of a friend, teacher, or even the mother of the consumer – is less common and less obvious with drugs than with food or household goods, where animated brand names are usual (*Green Giant, Mr. Proper*), although they are also certainly found in drugs (*Doctor MOM, Dr. Theiss*).[19] In our case, relationships are established with the help of the colloquialisation of names or clues, but only the latter strategy aids in survival. However, a name of several words does not get ahead of the market lifespan of one-word competitors with opaque semantics. Whether the reason for this is that the convenience of single-word names is greater, or that long names are given to drugs with a known lower market power – in terms of composition, distribution and advertising capabilities of the manufacturer – is an open question.

4.7. Symbolic

In the names under consideration, we have not found a clear manifestation of the symbolic function, which is when the brand creates a feeling of belonging to a reference group, thereby raising consumers' status. German sound shape (Ronneberger-Sibold & Wahl 2013: 232) could be such a symbol, indicating that the origin of the brand is from a country famous for its success in medicine. In our sample, we can consider LÛFFEL' as such, but its example is almost unique. English sound shapes, on the other hand, are inferior to pharmaceutical shapes in frequency and do not show differences in survival.

It is better for drug names to remain enigmatic, to keep a distance from the patient, both in order to maintain the authority of professionals and because many diseases remain stigmatized to some extent. It is considered shameful to ask a pharmacist for *Impotencil* or keep *Madnessin* in a shared medicine cabinet. Therefore, symbolism which confers membership in a certain group by virtue of purchasing a drug is difficult to implement. It would be interesting to find out whether anyone has managed to successfully apply this function in a drug name.

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19. Even doctors give drugs human qualities (Kapferer 2008: 109).

4.8. Function Interactions

A certain name property can affect multiple brand functions, both in the same and opposite directions. A slight reading difficulty caused by the presence of less legible letters contribute to survival. These letters probably give the name more tangibility (quality signal) and at the same time get a little more attention, so it becomes more memorable (identification). Words with negative meanings are remembered more often and more accurately than neutral ones (Kensinger & Corkin 2003), i.e. they contribute to identification, but they hardly signal quality. This cancelling out of one brand function by another could explain why we do not see a connection with survival here.

5. Conclusion

In Table 8, we summarize the effects found. Names which might not be clear, but rather convenient for search and communication, turned out to be more survivable.

Perhaps drugs retain their unclear names, for patients and professionals both, by way of their origins as potions that can be dangerous in the hands of a layman. This tactic of 'neither yours nor ours' as applied to the meaning of a name is advantageous: it is authoritative for the patient and not annoying for the specialist. The opaqueness of the name is also compelled by the restrictions imposed by laws and international agreements on permitted information in the name (Lambert, Chang & Lin 2005). While attempts to create understandable names continue, this trend is probably only true for the simplest over-the-counter drugs and dietary supplements. The lack of significance, therefore, is functional in itself: it is a quality signal. The other brand functions are implemented in the drug name mainly by non-semantic means, as shown in section 4.

5.1. Managerial Implications

Not all of the traditional criteria for a good name in mass market-oriented business literature apply to drug names. An antiallergic drug name, for example, does not have to be semantically transparent, even for a doctor, nor does it have to indicate the benefit or scope of application. If you only have one or two words, don't waste them on the obvious. In addition, when it comes to drugs, it is useless to imitate the names of market leaders.

At the same time, pronunciation, euphony and shortness remain important. A single-word name of 6–9 letters, with a vowel share of no more than 1/3, a stop consonant at the beginning and with a -vc finale, and without a cluster of consonants of more than two is optimal for an anti-allergic agent. With a length of 9 letters it is better to have two -cc-segments. If there are several words in the name, it is better to make the main word opaque and put it first, while giving a clear meaning to the others.

How can this knowledge be put to concrete use? If you simply construct names within the framework of trends outlined here, they will surely be boring and lifeless. It is better to use the properties

Table 8. Brand functions of antiallergic drug names. + / - = property is associated with higher/lower survival rate; 0 = no connection to survival has been found;

Name properties Brand functions	Semantics	Grammar	Graphics	Phonetics
Identification		Single word +	Short +	Initial stop +
Search cost reduction	Outliers - ALLER 0 Mimicry -	Nucleus first		
Quality signaling	Unclear +		Less legible + Repetitions -	1/3v +
Risk reduction		-IN finale +		
Habitual		Single word +	Short +	-cc finale — -ccc- - -cv- +
Relationship	Clues +			
Symbolic				

we have described here as filters for selection from an array created without these restrictions, since novelty and creativity arise from freedom.

5.2. Restrictions and Further Research

We studied only one category of drug names in an emerging market, in one language, where the patients do not understand many segments that are transparent to native speakers of European languages. Whether to consider names with the finale -IN and the 1/3 share of vowels as carriers of more general properties that have not yet been discovered, or to recognize them as unique to our sample is an open question. In order to more reliably assert the relationship between the properties of drug names and survival, not only is a plausible justification of the brand functions provided by these properties necessary, but also the expansion of the research base – to several categories of drugs and to several European countries at the least.

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Selling Political Messages

Brands Using *Brexit* in Their Names

ANGELIKA BERGIEN

Abstract

The facilitation of communication between company and consumer is a central function of a brand. Such communication is best achieved through positive connotations of the name. Against this background, it is interesting to note that today many brands make official statements about the politics of their companies. It is, of course, not unusual for brands to get involved politically, but the question is whether this strategy, taking the risk of polarisation, can always pay off. It is one thing to express a political opinion in an advertising campaign, and it is quite another to incorporate the political message in the brand name. By 2017, there were, for example, 62 instances of *Brexit* in businesses registered in Great Britain, including a brand of tea, a brewer and a biscuit producer. Whether these companies were looking to spark outrage or intrigue is not always clear, but the names play on the tension the word *Brexit* can conjure. The aim of the present paper is twofold: firstly, to argue why and how brands express political standpoints, and secondly, on a more specific level, to find out why companies use *Brexit* in their brand names and what implications there are for authentic marketing.

Keywords

Authentic brands, Brexit, political stance, trendjacking.

Introduction

Brands play a pivotal role in modern economies and they greatly contribute to the assets of their owners. Over the last century, they have developed into something far more important in contemporary culture than mere marketing tools. They have emerged both as culturally important symbols that shape consumers' identities and as devices that bring competitive advantages to their legal owners (Bengtsson & Östberg 2006: 83). Branding provides a company or a product with an image, and it is therefore the connotation that a brand name conveys which matters most. Although the name is only one player in a team of branding tools (e.g. colours, fonts, logos, slogans, acoustic effects), it is usually the most important carrier of a brand and 'often the first point of interaction between a consumer and a product' (Hillenbrand & al. 2013: 300).

A brand name has to fulfil many functions, among them distinction, identification, protection and promotion. In addition, Sjöblom (2005: 268) mentions a socio-culturally integrative function, which implies that the referent (e.g. a company) is part of its socio-cultural environment, and the name thus reflects sets of common values that are connected with that environment in people's minds. These cultural, social or emotional values are important to maintain a certain we-feeling, which is necessary for the unity of the citizens.

Against this background, it is interesting to note that firms compete to add value to their brands in order to win customers that are usually well informed and knowledgeable about their options. Added values satisfy, for example, socio-political and emotional needs of consumers in that they provide extra benefits beyond functional utility, which makes brands noticeably different from competitors. A classic example is a campaign for Nike's sports gear where consumers were urged not to be content with being second but rather to aim to win, inspired by the Greek goddess of victory after whom the brand has been named (cf. Chernatony & McDonald 1998: 331–332).

Being culturally important symbols, brands are critical vehicles of meaning; and through consumption, the particular status, uses and meanings of brands are subject to social negotiation. Consequently, branding is more complex and requires attention to both the company's strategic vision, its corporate culture and its contemporary status in the consumer culture. This means, among other things, that the branding process becomes more transparent, including official statements about the politics of the respective companies or referring to hotly debated topics.

The present paper attempts to show how companies include political stands in the branding process and why the use of the word *Brexit* is a special case in point.

1. Political Standpoints as Added Benefits for Brands

One of the first companies to focus on world issues to raise awareness and create an added value for the brand was the Italian Benetton Group that changed its advertising campaigns in 1982 by showing graphic, billboard-sized ads including depictions of a variety of shocking subjects (e.g. a deathbed scene of a man dying from AIDS).

Today, issues range from gun violence to immigration and climate change, and brand managers hope that their political activism will help shape public opinion. At the same time, they strengthen their reputations as moral leaders and agents of change. Since customers are increasingly politically active themselves, they expect the same of the brands they buy. According to Kambhampaty (2017) half of all consumers worldwide are 'belief-driven buyers'.

Based on the 2018 version of the CMO[1] Survey, Moorman (2018) lists four reasons why marketers would find it appropriate for their brand to take a stance on politically charged issues:

- It shows their company cares about more than making profits.
- It has a positive effect on the company's ability to attract and retain customers and partners.

1. The CMO (Chief Marketing Officer) survey, founded by Christine Moorman, collects and disseminates the opinions of top marketers in order to predict the future of markets.

• It bolsters the company's ability to attract and retain employees.
• It boosts the company's ability to stand out in the market.

A brand that takes a political stance may risk irritating or even polarising consumers. The brand might not meet the approval of a respected peer group, it might run counter to buyers' self-image or it might stand out in the marketplace in a way that was unwanted (Chernatony & McDonald 1998: 105). Therefore, brands are in danger of losing their socio-culturally integrative function.

Social media has changed the corporate culture, making it more connected, empathetic, transparent, and human. Consumers want brands to be more personal, brands that stand for something. The problem is whether companies like Coca Cola and McDonalds that depend on selling billions and billions of products can take a side, but avoiding a clear standpoint is equally dangerous. An example is Pepsi's protest-themed commercial, featuring Kendall Jenner, which received immense amounts of backlash and was pulled from the air almost immediately after debuting. The advertisement displayed diverse groups of people marching in the streets with a peaceful agreement made when Jenner hands a police officer a can of Pepsi. It was, however, not clear in the commercial what was being protested. 'The ad backfired because it used the idea of protest to sell its product. It was insensitive and looked stupid. The audiences received the insincerity found in the ad negatively' (Kambhampaty 2017).

Companies frequently express political standpoints in advertisement campaigns, but to incorporate the political message in the brand name can be a rather risky business: 'Of all the marketing variables it is the brand name which receives the most attention by consumers and is a key influencer of their perceptions of quality' (Chernatony & McDonald 2002: 88).

This may, for example, be one explanation why Budweiser's controversial *America* rebrand in 2016 did not have the impact the beer giant had hoped for. Instead, critics called into question Budweiser's decision to brand itself as *American*, considering the brand is owned by a Belgium-based company. 'Additionally, the *America* campaign came

at a time when politics may have left American consumers feeling less than united in their patriotism' (Taylor 2016).

2. Brexit versus Anti-Brexit

Although it is still not clear how Brexit will affect UK businesses, some brands and organisations have utilized the decision to promote their marketing campaigns. For example, Channel 4 created their own version ahead of their program 'Brexit: The Uncivil War', by displaying the message *Take back the remote control; watch the gripping new TV drama* (Adamson 2019). The message was replicated just like the pro-Brexit bus and travelled around the UK to promote the channel's Brexit-related drama.

Marmite, a brand for a British food spread made from yeast extract, created the Brexit-related phrase *Hard Breakfast, Soft Breakfast, No Breakfast*, playing on the phrase *Hard Brexit, Soft Brexit or No Brexit*. It also uses the tagline *Dividing the nation since 1902*, playfully mocking the political situation in the UK (Adamson 2019).

HSBC's newest marketing campaign (Huggins & Carr 2019) reveals the bank's values and correctly suggests that the UK is a multinational and multicultural place to live and work, and has a society based on diversity. However, due to the campaign's allusion to Britain being 'not an island', the adverts have been called 'anti-Brexit' by critics and affronted leave voters (Huggins & Carr 2019).

Allusions to Britain's exit from the European Union can also be found in packaging trends. For example, an English wine – called *Brexit Cuvee 52:48* – refers to the ratio between voters who chose to leave (a slight majority) and those who chose to stay. The resulting product is marketed as a blend of 52% British sweet grapes and 48% sour grapes. The wine is sold in a sleek black box that has a central split evoking the open slot of a ballot box (cf. Saven 2016).

The most openly expressed political standpoints can be found in company or product names including the word *Brexit*, a blend of *British* (or *Britain*) and *exit*. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2019), *Brexit* was first used in 2012 and coined on the pattern of *Grexit*, the term used for Greece's possible exit from the Eurozone in 2012.

Shortly after the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum on 23 June 2016, a number of companies made trademark applications for names including *Brexit*. By 2017, there were, for example, 62 instances of *Brexit* in businesses registered at Companies House – a UK registry of company information –, including:

- Brexit Biscuit Company Limited (active private limited company, involved in the sale of a variety of goods),
- Blame it on Brexit Ltd. (a dormant company),
- The Brexit Diner Limited (unlicensed restaurants and cafés, dissolved in September 2018),
- Brexit The Opera Ltd. (an active private limited company, other service activities not elsewhere classified) (cf. Caldwell 2018).

In November 2018, The Brexit Party Limited was incorporated with Companies House as a company. It was formally announced on 20 January 2019. On contesting the 2019 European Parliament election, the Brexit Party became the largest Bristish party and the largest European party in that Parliament.

There are also trademark applications for products like Brexit Blue cheese, Brexit energy drinks, Brexit bread, English Brexit Tea, Brexitfast Tea, Brexit Smooth or Bitter Beer.

Brexit Smooth is a British Pale Ale and Brexit Bitter a British Dark Ale. The company explains the name choice as follows: 'Brexit beer was brewed with one thing in mind. To bring together a nation divided by Brexit. Friends and family in bitter feuds can now be brought together to discuss things over a beer' (Brexit Beer 2019). In this example, the company uses a risk-reduction strategy, since they want to bring together estranged people.

Another interesting example is the name *Brexitfast Tea*, which makes the political standpoint of the owners even clearer by adding the word *fast* to *Brexit*.

An allusion to tea can be found in a now famous Netflix joke by stand-up comedian James Acaster, who compared Brexit to a teabag:

> The referendum was like making a cup of peppermint tea. You had to decide whether

to leave the teabag in or take it out. If you leave it in, the cup of tea as a whole is stronger. Even though it appears that the teabag itself is getting weaker, it's still part of a strong cup of tea. But if you take the teabag out, the cup of tea as a whole is weaker – and the teabag itself goes directly in the bin (Hogan 2018).

It is interesting to note that these names are mainly related to food and drink, which are traditionally difficult to market because there are numerous products of the same quality in the world. By using *Brexit*, companies probably thought to promote Britishness and make their products stand out from the rest. However, apart from this, the names play on the tension the word *Brexit* has conjured.

In September 2017, the EU Intellectual Property Office (EUIPO) issued its judgment in an appeal case related to the question whether the term *Brexit* was itself eligible for trademark protection. Up to that decision, all attempts to register *Brexit* as a European trademark had been refused by EUIPO on the absolute grounds that it was 'devoid of distinctive character' and 'contrary to public policy or to accepted principles of morality' (Pardoen 2017). However, considering an applicant's subsequent appeal, the EUIPO's Board of Appeal found that the term *Brexit* had no moral connotation and concerned a sovereign political decision. The Board of Appeal also noted that the word *Brexit* fulfilled the criterion of distinctiveness and found the term to be a 'memorable and fancy combination of words' that 'creates a striking and surprising impression on the customer' (Pardoen 2017). In consequence, the registration of the trademark could no longer be refused.

3. Concluding Remarks

One of the fundamental aims of marketing is to obtain a competitive advantage in the market a business occupies, but weighing in on political issues can polarise potential customers. There is also the problem of brands that do not really support an issue, but take part anyway in order to promote themselves, a new product or service they have on the market. In the case of *Brexit* names, for example, the applicant to the EUIPO Board of

Appeal was the UK-based company Brexit Drinks Ltd. for which EU registration was sought. The two entrepreneurs who run the business said in an interview with The Telegraph: 'People keep asking us whether we were trying to make a political statement or anything like that. We weren't at all. We just thought it was quite a cheeky name so we went with it. It was just a bit of fun really' (Nsubuga 2019). Such a strategy is called 'trendjacking', meaning to drive positive awareness of the brand. However, riding 'on the back of a trend can seem fake and forced' (Huggins & Carr 2019). In other words, if a brand jumps on board every time a new trend starts, it will soon become boring and no longer distinctive. Routinisation and ritualisation of branding patterns may then serve as driving forces of change, paving the way for new and more expressive patterns.

In addition, there is a fine balance between a company's own authentic values and the exploitation of political issues for promotional reasons. Authenticity, according to Holt (2002: 86) 'an endangered species', is important to consumers, who look for brands that are faithful toward themselves and true to their consumers.

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The Hidden Power of the Words

The Italian Brand Names for Wines

PAOLA COTTICELLI KURRAS

Abstract

Italy is in some sectors still reluctant to make use of the services offered by communication and marketing agencies, which, however, have conquered clothing and leather goods as well as the food sector. These sectors have always been the leading fields for export and the pride of the label 'Made in Italy'. In the case of the names for wines, we must distinguish the individual name from the brand name as a corporate (brand) name. This can become quite difficult because the brand in the wine sector may be the signature of the producer, the name of the winemaker, his winery or that of one of his ancestors, the name of the company or of the locality, or that of the farmhouse. In the history of the Italian brand names, we have analysed different naming strategies. Some typical wine names from our corpus (stretching from 1904 to 2016) mark the historical value of the production or highlight the relation to the region, to the wine cellar, or to the family tradition. If the consumers have no knowledge of the underlying cultural dimension, they do not understand the value of the wine until the corporate name of the company has become a brand name. Indeed, variable success is often dependent on the associations the names stimulate as well as the interaction with their target.

Introduction

This contribution deals with the interaction between language and wine in the Italian tradition of wine brand naming; further, with the different strategies and functions of the 'individual' brand names of Italian wines and their relation to the consumers; it thereby completes a topic presented during the *Vinitaly* fair 2018. The (commercial) power of the name in Italy, such as *Abbazia*, *Castello*, *Rocca* = 'Abbey, Castle Fortress of...' (referring to monuments near the winery); *Bardolino*, *Montepulciano* (both place and brand name); *Nero D'Avola* (the black of Avola, in Sicily); *Antinori* (name of the traditional marquis family of the producers), is still based on sharing a strong cultural tradition with the addressed target. The point will also be addressed as to whether the new European regulations restrict the language use of the wine labels.

1. Italian Wine Names and the Label 'Made in Italy'

Wine is a very ancient drink, but only through time has it been refined through increasingly complex winemaking techniques. Italy has always been recognized as the land of choice for wine, and the old denomination *Enotria* ('land of wine') testifies to this. Wine is a cultural product and is rooted in a social space.

Though some other sectors such as clothing and leather goods, as well as the food sector, have always been the leading fields for export and the pride of the label 'Made in Italy', the wine sector is strongly expanding and helps to strengthen the image of 'Made in Italy', even if with its own marketing and naming strategies. It would be interesting to assess information on labels, brand names, and what kind of influence they exert on the consumers.

2. Why Associate Language and Wines?

The relationship between wine and consumer follows a semiotic channel as a path of signs. The signs are the words. Wine consumption and its creation are inseparable from the "words" that are used to talk about it, approach and appreciate it. As the famous proverb *In vino veritas*, 'in wine is truth' says, truth implies the use of the words: it is known when it is 'told'.

In the history of the Italian brand names, it was possible to encounter some typical wine names in the corpus collected during a research carried out by the author and containing labels stretching from 1904 to 2016, which showed recurring parameters of features in relation to the respective wine. Such features may be individual persons, such as *Isabella* (a personal name, the daughter or wife of the producer) or *Regina Isabella* (the Queen of Bourbon-Naples), or places, such as *Torre* = 'Tower' (referring to monuments near the winery), *Chianti* (both place and brand name), *Nero D'Avola* (the black [wine] from Avola, the most important red wine grape in Sicily), or names of prestigious families such as *Antinori* (name of the traditional marquis family of the producers).

These names mark the historical value of the production or highlight the relation to the region, to the wine cellar, or to the family tradition: if the consumers have no knowledge of the underlying cultural dimension, they do not understand the value of the wine, until the corporate name of the company has become a brand name.

For instance, if we take the example *Amarone della Valpolicella Classico Riserva "Il Lussurioso" 2015 Buglioni DOCG*, an average customer not particularly versed in Italian wines will probably be able to decode the message of (or behind?) the words on the labels, as the following figure 1 shows.

The indications on the front label refer to:

- the territory (Italy, territorial macro-division, region): *Valpolicella*,[1]
- the type of wine (white, red or rosé): *Amarone* (a well-known red wine),

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1. Other well-known wines are e.g. *Barolo*, *Chianti*, *Anagni*, *Veneto*, *Colli Piacentini*, *Riviera Ligure di Ponente* (named by the simple place name or geographical characterisation); or *Nebbiolo d'Alba*, *Aglianico del Vulture*, *Barbera del Monferrato* (simple name plus the place of production/origin).

Figure 1. The label *Amarone*.

- possibly the taste: *Amarone*, in this case motivated through the adjective *amaro* 'bitter' (due to a 'bitter' note in the taste),
- the year of production: 2015.

However, as far as all the other words on the label are concerned, an average customer will perhaps know their lexical meanings, but not their specific function in the official classification and common organisation of the wine market in Italy. Thus, he or she will probably not recognize:

- *Classico* as a specification that refers to wines (not sparkling wines) from areas of more ancient origin, for example, *Valpolicella Classico*; or *Chianti Classico*, established by an interministerial decree in 1932,[2]
- *Riserva* as a predicate reserved for wines (non-sparkling wines) characterized by particularly long aging,[3]
- "*Il Lussurioso*" ('The lustful') as an individual brand,

- *Buglioni* as the trademark of the company,
- *D.O.C.G* (*Denominazione di origine controllata e garantita*) as a top predicate referring to the geographical origin of the wine.

The labels of the wines are of great importance as, on the one hand, they provide a constant quality guarantee under the responsibility of the producer and/or bottler, and, on the other hand, they allow us to identify the wine and to assess whether its purchase meets our needs or expectations. In addition, the label of a product contains pieces of information that are clearly regulated according to general rules on wine labelling which derive from various EU regulations.

Thus, depending on the type and its positioning in the 'Pyramid of Quality' (see Fig. 2 below), the wine label provides for different information, which is commented on from the perspective of the new regulatory aspects in the following section 3.

3. The Constraints of the Legislation: Regulatory Aspects

3.1. The traditional 'Pyramid of Quality' for Italian wines

The different traditional terms that characterize the Italian wines were ranged in an official classification before 2008 in such a way as to constitute a proper 'Quality Pyramid', as shown in the following Figure 2.

The law outlines a "pyramid" structure that serves to define the different degrees of quality that a wine may have. The base level comprises 'table wines' defined for the community market.[4] The next-higher level comprises the IGT wines[5] in Figure 2 (wines with a typical geographical indication), which differ from table wines by having a geographical name that identifies the product as well as its own production. The indication of the

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2.   Other comparable denominations are *Barolo Riserva Cannubi*, *Barbera d'Asti Superiore Nizza*, expressed through the simple place name or geographical characterisation together with the predicate, e.g. *Riserva, Superiore*.

3.   Another term to be mentioned could be *Novello*, which refers to the age of the wine.

4.   The following denomination reports the traditional terms as referred to in Article 54(1)(a) of Regulation (EC) No 479/2008 and referred to the article 40 of the regulations text published in the *Official Journal of the European Union*, 6.6.2008, L 148/1, vol. 51.

5.   'An exclusively Italian term laid down in the Law n. 164 of 10 February 1992 to describe Italian wines having a geographical indication, whose specific nature and quality level are due to the geographical grape production area'.
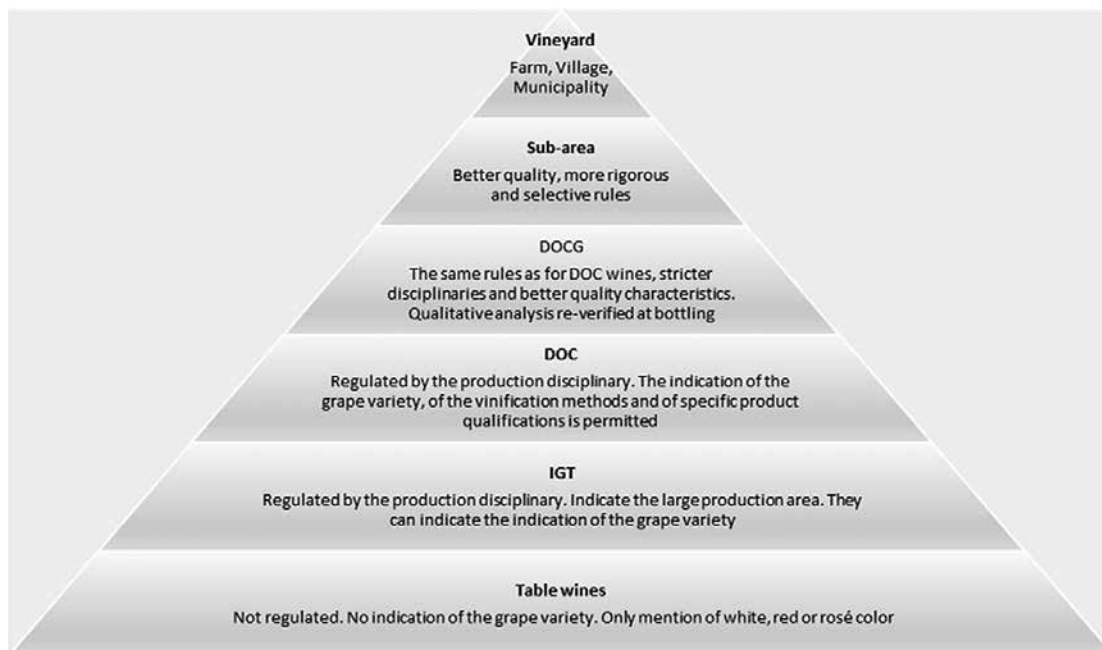
Figure 2. The 'Pyramid of Quality' displaying the previous classification for Italian wines.

grape variety, the vintage and the mention of the area and any sub-area are optional. The third level corresponds to wines with a protected designation of origin, which are divided into DOC ('denominazione di origine controllata' = designation of controlled origin) [6] and the DOCG ('denominazione di origine controllata e garantita' = controlled and guaranteed designation of origin)[7] wines. The DOC wines cannot be produced with grapes destined for IGT wines, they must be subjected to chemical-physical and organoleptic examination in the production phase. They can also be characterised by the indication of sub-areas or of even more restricted areas, depending on the specification. They may mention product specificities (e.g. classic, superior) if required by the specification. The indication of the vintage on the label is obligatory. The DOCG wines (now also under the umbrella of the PDO) have more stringent viticultural and oenological regulations, which are normally more restrictive than those of the DOC are. The DOCG denomination is granted to wines that have already been recognized as DOC for at least five years and which are considered of particular value. [8]

Finally, the traditional 'subzones/areas' and 'vineyards' are at the top, special awards given only to wines already belonging to the DOC and DOCG categories and able to boast even more restricted characteristics of environment and tradition.

3.2. The Regulatory Aspects of the Common Market Organisation for Wine

In 2009, this traditional legislation on the classification and common organisation of the market in wine was amended, following the coming into

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6.   'Wines Designation of Origin means the geographical name of a wine-growing zone characterised by specific productions and is used to describe a renowned quality product, whose characteristics are due to the geographical environment and the human factor. The aforementioned law states, for the Italian denominations, the specific traditional term "D.O.C." in order to make clear the above concept of highly qualitative and traditional designation of origin'. [Law No 164 of 10.2.1992]

7.   'It is similar to the D.O.C. definition, but it also contains the word "Guaranteed" and so it is assigned to wines having a particular value, which have been recognised as DOC wines for five years at least. They are marketed in containers the capacity of which is not more than 5 liters and are ticketed with a Government identification mark to provide a better guarantee for the consumers'. [Law No 164 of 10.2.1992]

8.   It should be noted that Italian producers are allowed in some cases to still use the previous predications (DOC, DOCG as origin indication near IGT as geographical specification etc.) also after the introduction of the new European denominations, because they were already protected. This IGT specification is not used in Piedmont, where we find only DOC and DOCG.

Former wine denomination		New European denomination since 2008	
Italian former denomination	**English correspondence**	**Italian denomination**	**English correspondence**
DOCG (Denominazione di origine controllata)	**CGDO** (Controlled and Guaranteed Denomination of Origin)	**DOP** (Denominazione di origine protetta)	**PDO** (Protected origin denomination)
DOC (Denominazione di origine controllata)	**CDO** (Controlled Denomination of Origin)		
IGT (indicazione geografica tipica)	**TGI** Typical geographical indication	**IGP** (indicazione geografica protetta)	**PGI** (Protected Geographical indication)
VdT (vini da tavola)	Table wines	Vini varietali	Varietal wines
		Vini generici	Generic wines

Figure 3. Correspondences of the Italian and English denominations.

force of the new CMO (Common Market Organization), sanctioned by the publication of Council Regulation EC N. 479/2008,[9] Reg. EC 555/2008 (and following regulations, e.g. EC n. 607/2009, EC n. 1169/2011, EC n. 1308/2013 and its integration in EC n. 33/2019).[10]

The main objectives of the reform were clearly highlighted by the European Commission and can be summarized as follows:

- increase the competitiveness of European wine producers on the international market,
- strengthen the reputation of European wines,
- regain market shares,
- restore the balance between supply and demand,
- simplify the rules, while safeguarding the best traditions of European viticulture and strengthening the social and environmental fabric of rural areas,
- protect historical designations, the quality of the production in various regions and their denominations, and specifically prohibit the registration of geographical trademarks also if

they evoke an origin for wines and spirits that is not always true, not only when the evocation is such as to mislead the consumer.

The new CMO introduced important innovations into the classification of wines and some special rules for their labelling, contained in the EC n. 1308/2013, and EC n. 33/2019, art. 40 and following. Further, it established that, starting from the 2009/2010 wine year production, and for subsequent campaigns, wines produced in the European Union must be classified into the following types, as Figure 3 shows:

1. wines with 'Denomination of Origin' (DO): that is, wines that must include several delimited areas, and must be identified as PDO 'Protected Denomination of Origin', according to the new European classification, (and including the former Italian wines definition DOC and DOCG 'Controlled (and Guaranteed) Denomination of Origin').

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9. See the regulation text published in the *Official Journal of the European Union*, 6.6.2008, L 148/1, with the content: "Council Regulation (EC) No 479/2008 of 29 April 2008 on the common organisation of the market in wine, amending Regulations (EC) No 1493/1999, (EC) No 1782/2003, (EC) No 1290/2005, (EC) No 3/2008 and repealing Regulations (EC) No 2392/86 and (EC) No 1493/1999", available under the link: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A32008R0479. Last view 19.05.2020.

10. See the link http://data.europa.eu/eli/reg_del/2019/33/oj and the Italian law GU n.302 of 28-12-2016.

Figure 4. The former Italian classification of wines according to the Pyramid of quality (left) and the new European classification (right). Source: *Quattrocalici* 2019, https://www.quattrocalici.it/conoscere-il-vino/la-piramide-della-qualita/ (last view 20.05.2020).

Furthermore, there are the PGI wines 'Protected Geographical Indication' also indicated as IG, (corresponding to the Italian former IGT 'Indicazione geografica tipica' = 'Typical Geographical Indication').

2. Wines without 'Denomination of Origin': i.e., wines that do not have a specific link to the territory and are predominantly represented by the former 'table wines'.

Figure 3 shows the correspondences between the Italian and the English denominations of wine according to the pyramidal structure of the wine classification and to the corresponding commercial value before and after the introduction of the European regulation 2008.

Starting from 2008, the European Classification has been superimposed on the traditional Italian one, with the aim of harmonising the national classifications and those relating to different commodities in a meaningful homogeneous system. Figure 4 illustrates the correspondences between the former traditional Italian denomination and the new European one after 2008.

3.3. Mandatory and Optional Elements on the Wine Labels

The new laws provided, depending on the individual to the case, some mandatory and other optional elements. They thus define the place of the mandatory information on the label and at the same time restrict the choice of the non-mandatory information. All mandatory indications must appear in the same visual field, i.e. on the front label or on the back label, but without the consumer having to look for them by turning the container (art. 50, § 1, Reg. 607/2009).

Mandatory indications in the wine labels are: [11]

1. The category/name of wine or the denomination, indicated in full.
2. The (country of) origin.
3. The bottler (name and/or trademark if different from the producer, identified at least by the name and the municipality of origin or by its ICQRF code, formed by the abbreviation of the province).
4. The presence of allergens (sulphites, eggs, milk).
5. The production batch (also called Lot number) that guarantees the traceability of the batch

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11. The paper by Luca Pollini, 'Note pratiche di etichettatura dei vini', published in *Agroqualità, La certificazione della qualità*, gives a very illustrative explanation, and is available under the link http://www.agroqualita.it/_files/Note_pratiche_etichettatura_vini_ita.pdf. Last view 15.10.2020.

of wine. It indicates a set of sales units (e.g. bottles, barrels) produced, or packaged in practically identical circumstances. This indication is free with regard to its form.

6. Indication of the net volume/the volume of the container preceded by the estimate symbol (e), in accordance with European Union and Italian regulations.
7. Volume of alcohol graduation as a percentage.
8. Sugar content (only for sparkling wines).

Optional indications are:

1. Product category/wording (white wine, red wine, rose wine, sparkling wine etc.).
2. References (name or trademark + address) to other operators involved in the supply chain (e.g. manufacturer, distributor, etc.).
3. Use of terms such as *abbazia*, *castello, torre*, *rocca*, *villa* 'abbey, fortress, tower, etc.', referring to the farm, but only if all the production stages take place in the area mentioned.
4. Community logo on the presence of allergens.
5. Vintage of the grapes, only if at least 85% of the grapes come from the same vintage.
6. Grape variety, only if it represents at least 85% of the varieties used.
7. Sugar content (for non-sparkling wines).
8. Indications relating to the method of aging and/or processing (e.g. *superiore*, *novello*, etc.).
9. Community symbols of the PDO/PGI (Fig. 3 and 4).
10. References to the production method (fermented in cask, etc.).
11. Indications relating to geographical units smaller than the PDO/PGI, only if at least 85% of the grapes used in the production of the wine come from these areas.

Thus, elements such as the brand of the company, its logo, and the additional names attributed to the product and other graphic elements relating

to non-mandatory certifications, membership of consortia or associations etc. are optional.

4. Business and Consumer

In terms of management, the marketing parameters 'control', 'search' and 'sales channels' remain in focus in order to optimize the performance of the sales and the relation to the target. Consulting some reports by economical and agricultural institutes[12] or those by various Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Trade and Agriculture, it is possible to gain an insight into the Large Organized Distribution (GDO, 'Grande Distribuzione Organizzata'), like *ipermercati* 'supermarkets' and free shops, etc., as well as into the operations by retailers and wine merchants or into direct sales. According to the different distribution of some products, i.e. regional, national or export, also the lexical choice and the kind of information in the description of the wine may change.

The result and effects from a commercial perspective are that the former IGT ('Indicazione geografica tipica') wines have received a higher predication category by becoming IGP ('Indicazione geografica protetta'), though their horizontal differentiation as DOC or DOCG still plays an important role for the consumer through the regional differences between production area and company. In terms of price, there is also no direct correspondence between a DOC ('Denominazione di origine controllata') from a certain region (e.g. *Cannonau* from Sardinia) and a DOCG ('Denominazione di origine controllata e garantita') from another region (e.g. *Chianti*), where the DOC is more expensive than the DOCG, contrary to the meaning of the predications.[13] These aspects will not be more thoroughly covered here.[14]

4.1. Business Aspects

Furthermore, the EU regulations and control systems were conceived in order to give support measures and practices to apply protection in denomi-

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12. See e.g. the National Institute of Agricultural Economy INEA ('Istituto Nazionale di Economia Agraria') and the Institute of Services for the Agricultural and Alimentary Markets ISMEA ('Istituto di servizi per il merca-to agricolo-alimentare'), or CCIAA ('Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura'). See also the related links (in Italian) https://agriregionieuropa.univpm.it/it/views/glossario_pac/Istituto%20Nazionale%20di%20Economia%20Agraria%20%28Inea%29, and https://agriregionieuropa.univpm.it/it/views/glossario_pac/Istituto%20di%20servizi%20per%20il%20mercato%20agricolo-alimentare%20%28Ismea%29. Last view 24.09.2019.

13. See Sicheri 2015.

14. There is a large literature about marketing and wine, here e.g. Rouzet & Seguin 2006.

nation, production and trade. The processes have been supported by consortia interventions for local protection and by interventions of the local Chambers of Commerce. The results should be visible and favoured by the commercial launch, by market study and protected by the patent office of the Ministry of Industry and Trade. In this last instance, the Ministry of Industry and Trade protect even the brand names one is dealing with.

The consumer might ask whether the results of the intervention of the legislation are also tangible in the type and quality of information put on the labels. In addition, according to this point, one may now ask what the function of the language is apart from giving the mandatory information.

As a tentative answer to these questions, the label *Cirò Rosso* is analysed and commented upon in Figure 5 as an example, highlighting the European norms and prescriptions listed under section 3.

5. The Function of Language in Brand Naming and Labeling

From the moment when the bottling of wine began in the 1600s, the question arose as to how to distinguish one wine from the other. The first

paper labels were affixed around 1740 to French champagne, but it was only with the invention of the lithographic machine that labeling in modern terms developed.

If initially the labels contained only the name of the producer, over time they were embellished with gilded or silvered edges and pictorial motifs, becoming real advertising media, so much that the producers began commissioning them to graphic design studios, poster artists and famous painters such as Picasso, Matisse, Chagall and Mirò. These labels soon became the object of thematic collections.

Nowadays, the label has a multiple function. It primarily informs the consumer about the main characteristics of the product he is buying; it encourages him to choose what best meets his needs. The label is also a tool to attract the attention of the buyer (especially at the time of the first purchase). It then fulfils the fundamental function of making the product and the producer recognizable, without which all company efforts would be nullified. However, the introduction of the new regulations discussed above, starting with EU Reg. No. 607/2009, changed the behaviour of the producers and bottlers and, consequently, the choice of the semiotic messages on the labels.
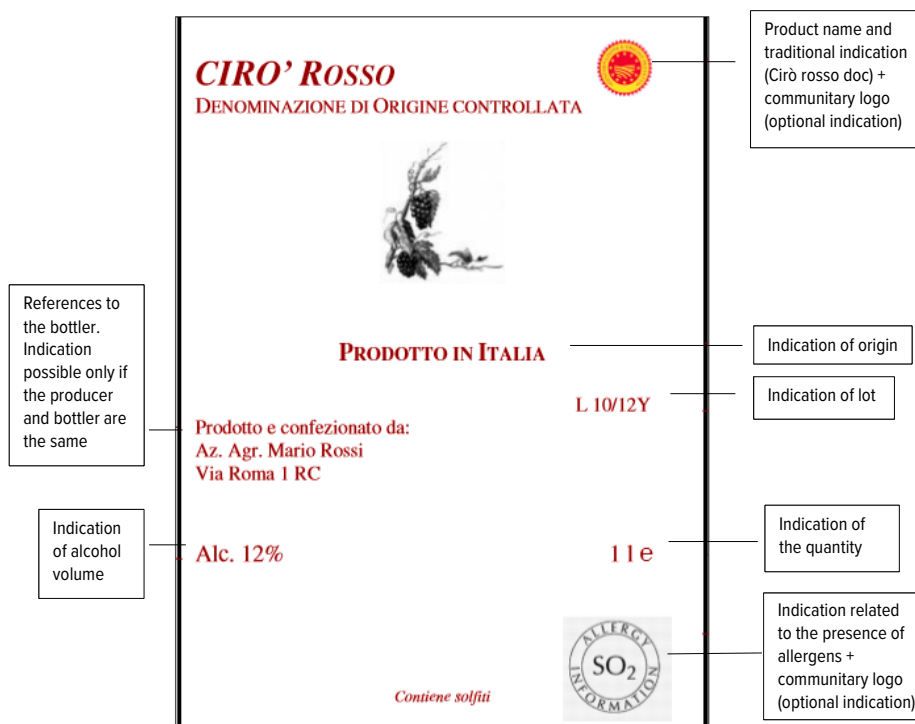

Figure 5. Illustration of the label *Cirò Rosso* according to the mandatory and optional information on a label.

5.1. What Does Language Do?

In the analysis of wine brand names, the role of individual brand names of the products will be pointed out with regard to the relevance and frequency of the use of individual marks (only a third). Then follows the correlation between onomastic creativity and marketing strategies through a linguistic-semantic analysis of brand names.

5.1.1. Focusing on the Consumers

The output of the research regarding the cultural information of individual product brands focuses on a target that is highly interested and is looking for quality in the choice of wine. Also, at the cultural level, the wine (bottle) represents an object of knowledge. The output concerns the following aspects:

1. Links to the place of cultivation and production and with the territory,
2. Links to the history and culture of the territory,
3. Links to the company's or family's history and culture,
4. Vinification (processes in wine production) and viticulture techniques and types of production (see the example below under the individual name *Blau & Blau* in Fig. 7),
5. Organoleptic characteristics of the wine (*Pure Red, Bianco Luna*),
6. Appeal to the experience and pleasure of drinking,
7. Uniqueness and quality of the product.

The classification by the *Solving Efeso*[15] research on large consumption, which established a typology of wine consumers in four marketing segments, classified according to their expectations and their buying behavior with regard to wine, turned out to be a useful basis for the categorisation of this study. The four types are 'basic, fun, degustation, art'.[16]

- BASIC segment: consists of subjects typically male and over 50 years of age. For these subjects, wine still has a precise food function in terms of accom-

panying meals and providing liquid and calories. Wine is purchased based on the price (which must be low) mainly in the large distribution or directly from the manufacturer in certain less urbanized areas. This segment represents 20% of total consumption and is constantly decreasing.
- FUN segment: wine has a function of distinction and a social function. This segment represents 55% of the total and the subjects are 25 to 35 years old. The price of the bottle is important but it is not the decisive element for the purchase. The wine is purchased in the *Enoteca*, at the large-scale retailer or directly from the producer. The fun segment is growing moderately.
- TASTING segment: includes 20% of consumer habits. These subjects are very interested in the relationship between wine and territory of origin, they are looking for a cultural dimension, they focus on the taste and sensory characteristics of wine, and they are experimenters. They are 30 years old and buy the product via the web, directly from the producers and only partially in the *Enoteca*. This segment is growing strongly.
- ART segment: This segment, representing 5% of the total, is formed by subjects who are older than 40. In wine, they seek a particular sensory rewarding experience of strong emotions. They are always looking for exclusive wines mainly characterized by small runs, and they buy high-end wines in wine shops or on the web. This segment has no growth factors.

This typology helps in understanding some linguistic choices.

5.1.2. Connotations and Associations

The linguistic analysis according to connotations and associations allows pointing out the most frequent ones:

- QUALITY, expressed through, e.g., long-standing family tradition, as in *Castel Canelli* (1904), *Il dogale* (1980)[17],

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Figure 6. Some examples of other bottles connected with the connotations introduced 5.1.2.

- TRADITION, expressed through (1) historical reminiscences, either of the regional history, e.g. Regina Isabella (1975), Palladio (1970), Vino etrusco (1975), Baldovino (1980), or of the family, e.g. Nozze d'oro (2013); (2) mythological tradition, e.g. Vino Diana (1908) Sileno (1970), (4) religious references, e.g. S. Giorgio (2016).[18]

Other fields referring to tradition are Italian history or the history of the Italian royal family, like in *Marsala balilla* (1930),[19] or *Villa Belvedere* (1980),[20] including the connotations of Strength and power, like in *Gigante* (1980), *La vetta* (1980).

Further associations are LUXURY, SENSORY (*Cantico*, 2015), as well as SYNESTHETIC LEVEL, and INTERNATIONALITY (*Blau & Blau*, 2015).

With regard to the typology of the consumers, as well as to the association of INTERNATIONALITY, the label *Blau & Blau* is commented on below, due to its containing information in German and in French (see Fig. 7).

The narrative text[21] of the wine *Jermann Blau & Blau* 2015 says:[22]

> Silvio Jermann himself recounts how, as a child, he remembered his grandfather telling him about the ancient Blaufränkisch vineyard. After many years, now one of the top producers in Friuli, he decided to replant that childhood vineyard, as a tribute to his family and his roots. From Blaufränkisch (Franconia) and Blauburgunder (Pinot Noir) grapes, Blau & Blau was born, dedicated to Sylvia Tunina, the last-born

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18. On religious aspects in naming, see Corino Rovano 2017.

19. *Marsala*, a type of sweet wine, combined with *balilla* in a sort of prepositional phrase (*Marsala del balilla*). *Balilla* was a member of the *Opera Nazionale Balilla*, an Italian Fascist youth organisation functioning between 1926 and 1937.

20. Though there are various buildings named *Villa Belvedere* in Italy, the origin of the production near Verona points to a place near Bardolino.

21. For some studies on the so-called *enogrammi* see Speranza & Vedovelli (2003).

22. The Italian original text is: "È lo stesso Silvio Jermann a raccontare di come, da piccolo, ricordasse suo nonno narrare dell'antico vigneto di Blaufränkisch. Dopo molti anni, ormai diventato uno tra i produttori top del Friuli, decise così di reimpiantare proprio quel vigneto dell'infanzia, come omaggio alla sua famiglia e alle sue radici. Da uve Blaufränkisch (Franconia) e Blauburgunder (Pinot Nero) nasce così Blau & Blau, dedicato a Sylvia Tunina, l'ultimogenita della famiglia Jermann, nata lo stesso giorno in cui il Vintage Tunina veniva premiato come miglior vino bianco d'Italia. Famiglia, tradizione e amore per le origini sono le tracce che, da sempre, hanno fatto e continuano a fare grande Jermann nel mondo. Curiosità: il cagnolino in etichetta è Truman, il cucciolo di casa!

Colore rosso rubino intenso e concentrato, ha profumi genuini che ricordano il mosto, in un tripudio di sentori fruttati di marmellata di more, visciole e mirtilli, con toni di rosa canina e terra bagnata, insieme a qualche accenno erbaceo. L'assaggio è asciutto, elegante e slanciato nel corpo, in un ottimo equilibrio tra freschezza e sapidità e con un tannino morbido e ben integrato, nella lunga e golosa persistenza fruttata. Perfetto con un carré di maiale, con affettati molto saporiti ma anche con primi piatti dai sughi importanti, come il ragù."

Figure 7. Label of *Blau & Blau*.

of the Jermann family, born the same day that the Vintage Tunina was awarded as the best Italian white wine. Family, tradition and love for the origins are the tracks that have always made and continue to make great Jermann in the world. Curiosity: the little dog on the label is Truman, the house puppy!

The text continues with the organoleptic wine description with some indication on accompanying food:

> Intense and concentrated ruby red colour, it has genuine aromas reminiscent of must, in a riot of fruity scents of blackberry, sour cherries and blueberries, with tones of wild rose and wet earth, along with some herbaceous hints. The taste is dry, elegant and slender in the body, in an excellent balance between freshness and flavour and with a soft and well-integrated tannin, in the long and delicious fruity persistence.
> Perfect with a pork loin, with very tasty cold cuts but also with first courses with important sauces, such as 'ragù'.

The core target may be defined as TASTING based on the narration, with many hints to the familiar tradition, dedication to a family member, the presence of the family dog. However, there is also a reference to a world distribution of the wine within the FUN segment.

5.1.3. Linguistic Strategies in Naming

The analysis also yielded results about the linguistic strategies applied in naming, which are:

- transonymisation by microtoponyms: *Bardolino*;
- transonymisation by anthroponyms: *Gustav, Cantine Ortona* (2013), *Don Venanzio* (2018),[23] produced by the Società cooperativa Agricola San Nicola;
- transonymisation through use of the proper names of literary characters (*Palladio*);
- syntagmatic combinations (neoformations from existing linguistic material, lexicalized collocations, citations); *Plenio* < Lat. *plenum* (lit. 'full', referring to the *plenilunium* 'full moon', see Fig. 8), *La vi in rosa extra dry* (2018) (echoing the French saying 'La vie en rose');

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23. The name echoes the natural protected area with a plain forest, Don Venanzio.

Figure 8. A further example of the interplay with words and pictures in *Plenio*.

- complex morphological structures of individual product brands, such as multiword expressions with both idiomatic and compositional meanings: *Mai dire mai* ('never say never');
- use of common nouns: *Cantico* (2015), also combined with proper names: *Cantine Mucci*;
- use of adjectives: *Primitivo Ancestrale* (2016);
- acronyms and invented names are rare.

5.1.4. Rhetorical Strategies

Numerous rhetorical and linguistic strategies that generate metaphors describing the character of wine in the paratexts are employed:

- metonymies (indicate a thing with the name of another thing linked to the first by a relationship of contiguity or by a logical link, e.g. 'fresh nose', 'fruity mouth') or expressions such as 'enveloping like a fabric' , 'we see the texture' with respect to the taste of wine, also similarities between smell and taste of wine such as 'smell of violet', 'taste of honey', 'smell of tobacco',
- metaphorical use of adjectives referring to the wine's imagined outer appearance, such as: 'honest', 'well-dressed', 'rough', 'severe', 'flat', 'fleshy', or synesthetic use of adjectives referring to

the flavour (juxtaposition of two terms belonging to two different sensory spheres), e.g. 'a velvety wine', 'pungent taste', 'flint-stone taste', 'a green wine', 'soft nose', 'savoury nose', 'wide taste';[24]
- metaphorical colour indications ('straw yellow', 'dark ruby').

The function of the metaphorical and metonymic strategies is to place the consumers in the midst of feelings; the words are to accompany them on the tasting journey. However, these strategies will work only if the specific metaphors and metonymies are embedded in the culture of the target group. This becomes particularly evident in strategies of other countries looking for a possible market in Italy as, e.g., a closer look at a bottle from South Africa[25] in Figure 9 shows; more precisely, it is from Jason's Hill.[26] On the label one reads four names below the image: *Sophia, Pistis* and *Elpis, Agape*.

The representation on the label of the wine *Sophia* is inspired by the legend of Sophia. The representation of Sophia with the names and symbols of Elpis, Pistis, and Agape is an echo of an iconic Orthodox representation of Saint Sophia the martyr together with her daughters Hope, Faith and Charity (Elpis, Pistis, Agape). This is, in turn, an allusion to a letter by Saint Paul, where Hope, Trust

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24. See Massobrio & Gatti 2006, Gilardoni 2017.

25. In particular on wines from South Africa, see Neethling 2017.

26. Jason's Hill got its name from an old shepherd by the name of Jason, who used to herd his sheep on the farm.

Figure 9. The South African wine *Sophia.*

and Love appear as major virtues of Christianity. The producer of the wine sets these three virtues in relation to the three Bordeaux varieties making up his wine. He writes:

> Representing the characteristics of the three Bordeaux varieties that make up this exceptional wine, the Cabernet Sauvignon, Cabernet Franc and Merlot grapes were harvested from the best hillside vineyards at Jordan, which overlook Table Mountain and False Bay.

It might be difficult for the consumer, at least in Italy, to catch the metaphorical connection between the three "daughters" and the three wine varieties. The question is whether it would be any difference for South African consumers. Probably, not everyone in Italy will even be able to identify the three Greek names, written in Latin characters, much less to link them, together with the image, to the correct hagiographic and New Testament context. Nevertheless, each consumer surely associates them with a particular quality.

6. Conclusion

The choice in the communication strategies is one of the channels for the enterprises/companies to reach the consumers. When they have identified the consumers' profile, their needs and habits, they can select the appropriate strategies for each marketing segment. From this point of view, it is also important for companies to find selling ways and points for the local or national market, and production models for the internal and external consumer. Wine classification is useful in order to distinguish the production strategies for table wine from those for IGP wine, so that the producers differentiate mass production from local and hand-crafted production. Accordingly, communication paths are selected for the naming, whereas the description and the paratexts are created for the corresponding target. Only if one can compare both the marketing analyses and the linguistic efforts and techniques, can one arrive at meaningful conclusions. The dialogue between *Vinitaly* and the University of Verona was one of the first steps, which can bridge the gap between practice and research, and begin an interesting collaboration.

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Message on a Bottle

Wine Names from Piedmont (Italy)

ALBERTO GHIA

Abstract

The aim of this paper is the study of the wine-naming process in the province of Asti (Piedmont, northwest Italy). Asti is the most suited province for wine production in Piedmont, a region where producing wine plays a crucial role in the local economy and its tradition is ancient. To achieve this goal, I created a corpus of 466 wine names, collected from the e-shops of 50 winemakers whose vineyards are located in the province of Asti. I have considered four levels of analysis, i.e. type of language, morphology and syntax, grapho-phonetics and semantics, according to the Cotticelli Kurras (2013) analysis model on Italian brand names.

Keywords

Branding process, Piedmontese local language, proper name creation, wine names.

1. Introduction

Wine is a vital product for Piedmont, a region in northwest Italy. There is a long grape-growing history, especially in the southern part of the region. It dates back to Pliny the Older (23–79 A.D.), who praised the soil quality nearby Alba (a city in the central southern part of Piedmont) for wine growing.[1] Therefore, since ancient times, grape growing has always had a great influence in shaping a large part of

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1. 'Cretam in Albensium Pompeianorum agro et argillam cunctis ad vineas generibus anteponunt, quamquam praepingues, quod excipitur in eo genere' (Plin, Nat. Hist. 17, 3). Transl.: 'For the vine, I put the clay from the Alba Pompea area (today Alba in Piedmont) and the argillaceous soil before all the other types of soil suitable for this crop, though they are very greasy. This is an exception for this type of plant'.

the Piedmont landscape. For this reason, UNESCO declared the Piedmont vineyard landscape as a world heritage site in 2014.[2]

Moreover, wine has also a great relevance for the Piedmont economy: more than 2.7 million hectolitres of wine are produced here[3] every year and there are more than 20,000 wine farms (one out of three among all Piedmont farms; ISTAT 2013: 13). These figures suggest that economic competition among winemakers can be fierce; hence, they use specific strategies to promote their products. Branding is one such strategy; therefore, a linguistic analysis of wine names might be interesting.

In order to be sold, each wine requires a name, and wine-naming procedures are laid down by Italian and European regulations. For the purpose of this study, it should be noted that the complete denomination consists of (a) the name of the wine-making company; (b) the name of the quality of the grapes the wine is made from; (c) other elements, called *menzioni* 'mentions', conferred to the wine when exhibiting given features, and (d) an individual brand chosen by the winemaker.[4]

My aim is to provide a first assessment of how Piedmontese winemakers create the aforementioned individual brands (hereinafter *wine names*) for their wines. I will consider four analysis levels (language used, morphology and syntax, grapho-phonetics and semantics) according to the Cotticelli-Kurras (2013) analysis model on Italian brand names. In order to achieve this goal, I created a corpus made up of 466 wine names collected

when visiting the e-shops of 50 winemakers whose vineyards are located in the province of Asti, in the central southern part of Piedmont. I decided to focus on the Asti province because it is 'the province with a viticulture vocation *par excellence*, with the largest share of UAA (Used Agricultural Area) to vines and wineries on the provincial total' (my translation; ISTAT 2013: 14). Moreover, *la Douja d'Or* ('The Golden Jug'), a national wine fair, takes place in Asti every year.

2. Language

When considering the language that is used to name the products, a diverse framework of both foreign and Italian names can be found.

There are a few wine names in foreign languages (see Table 1).

The most frequent 'foreign'[5] language is Latin. The language has certain connotative meanings (high culture, luxury, antiquity). Winemakers probably create wine names in Latin since it confers to the product's own connotative meanings (i.e. wine is regarded as a high-culture, traditional, luxury product).

Other foreign languages are poorly represented. As a matter of fact, there is only one name in English. Munteanu Siserman (2013: 168), on Romanian wine names, states that foreign elements can help Romanian wines find their place on an international market. In Italy, the situation appears to be the opposite to the Romanian one

Table 1. Wine names containing foreign lexical elements.

Foreign Language	Occurrences	Example
Latin	25	*Ad libitum* (Carlin de Paolo)[6]
French	5	*Monsieur* 'Sir' (Baldi Pierfranco)
English	1	*TM Roses* (Tenuta Montemagno)
Spanish	1	*Antés* 'Before' (Arione)
Japanese	1	*Umi* 'Ocean' (Arione)

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2. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1390

3. http://www.inumeridelvino.it/2019/07/piemonte-produzione-di-vino-e-superfici-vitate-2018-dati-istat.html

4. See Gilardoni (2017) and Cotticelli Kurras (in this volume) for a more detailed description.

5. The *foreign* adjective is written in inverted commas because Italian derives from Latin.

6. Every wine name is written in italics; it is followed by the name of the winemakers in brackets. Their websites can be found after the references.

due to the prestige of the Italian language on the international market, particularly for food, fashion and design products.[7]

As for Italian wine names, they reflect the complex linguistic repertoire of the Italian speakers. Besides standard Italian wine names, the ones having regional Italian[8] and local native language (i.e. Piedmontese[9]) elements can be found. Distinguishing wine names conceived in regional Italian from those in Piedmontese or standard Italian can be difficult. Place names used as wine names (following a transonymic process) are generally Italianised forms of Piedmontese names, and it is unclear how they should be categorised linguistically. Considering this complexity, however, it is possible to introduce this classification (see Table 2).

The number of dialectal names exceeds the number of foreign language names: more than one name out of three (35%) is Piedmontese. The use of local languages in commercial communication has already been emphasised on several occasions. Berruto (2006) states that it is a *dialectal resurgence*, i.e. a new way of using local languages towards daily communication, wherein local languages are less and less present. Goria writes that 'advertisers use local language to represent a strongly idealised rural reality, a *locus amoenus* where the values of yesteryear and the genuine products of tradition survive' (Goria 2012: 131 [my translation]). The advertised products are generally high-end food products, and local language is an (additional) mark of quality. 'A product

that speaks dialect shows that it is the result of a localisation process which makes it exclusive and chic in response to a globalisation process which seems to affect other products, mostly intended for mass consumption' (Goria 2012: 131 [my translation]).

Scaglione (2018) states that local language performs extralinguistic functions. On the one hand, it links the product to a specific area, as well as to its processing and the raw materials it is made from. On the other hand, local language 'implicitly [confers] specific values (semi-artisan processing, genuineness of what belongs to the past and tradition), oriented towards a *localisation* in geo-cultural terms' (Scaglione 2018: 205 [my translation]). As far as wine is concerned, Scaglione finally states that the presence of Sicilian dialect 'shows how local language substantiates and enriches a product characterised by quality and specific values, representing the main tool through which a clear geo-cultural link is created in a direct and immediate way' (2018: 212 [my translation]).

Piedmontese winemakers use local language in the same way that Sicilian ones do. As for Latin, winemakers use local language because it transmits some of the values that are generally associated with the product named in that language.

Apart from Piedmontese, in the corpus two names in other local languages can be found. The first name is *Ganassa* 'Bully' (Terre Astesane), taken from Lombard, and the second one is *Setecàpita* (Tenuta S. Caterina), from Venetian, which is the

Table 2. Wine names consisting of Italian linguistic repertoire elements.

Language	Occurrences	Example
Standard Italian	253	*Notturno* 'Nocturne' (Ferro Vini)
Regional Italian	19	*Bricco della Bigotta* 'The Hill of the Holy Willie' (Braida)
Local Language	164	*la Tota* 'The Mistress' (Marchesi Alfieri)

7. See Heinemann (in this volume).

8. Regional Italian is a local dialect of standard Italian, not necessarily corresponding with an administrative regional border. It exists along a sociolectal continuum with standard Italian and it is characterised by its own phonological, morphological, syntactic, prosodic, and lexical features, and it can be influenced by the local language (*dialetto*) spoken in the area. For a list of the features characterising Piedmontese regional Italian, see Cerruti (2009), De Blasi (2014), and Telmon (1991).

9. See Parry (1997). For a description of the Piedmontese variety spoken in Asti, see Ternes (1997). Please note that Italian scholars prefer *dialetto* (dialect) when referring to a local language.

juxtaposition of the sentence *se te capita* 'if it happens to you'.[10]

There are also a few names that are made up of two elements taken from different languages. One name combines Italian and Latin, e.g. *Sei Vigne Insynthesis* 'Six Vineyards All Together', and five names combine Piedmontese and Italian, e.g. *Aurì Bianco* 'Golden White' (both VVS).

3. Morpho-Syntactic Analysis

At the morpho-syntactic level, the most important element is agreement, which serves to select the correct article to be used with the name. In standard Italian, the agreement of the quality of the wine is made with the generic noun *vino*, a masculine name, regardless of the grape quality, since it is regarded as an apposition of the generic noun. In Piedmontese, on the other hand, the agreement of the wine quality matches the grape quality. If this one is feminine (i.e. ending with -*a*, as in *fraiza*, see Table 3), then the quality of the wine is feminine as well, and thus the feminine article is chosen. Both models of agreement are accepted in regional Italian. If the quality is masculine (i.e. ending with a consonant, as in *curteiz*), then the quality of the wine is masculine both in Piedmontese and regional Italian.

Therefore, if the wine name corresponds to a word which needs to be agreed with the gender of the wine quality, the agreement is a clue to determine if winemakers use a feminine noun (as in local language and in regional Italian) or a masculine one (as in standard Italian) for the wine quality.

I am now going to focus on some *barbera* names. Barbera is a wine quality which is feminine in Piedmontese (*a barbera*); however, in regional Piedmontese Italian, it could be considered both as a feminine and a masculine noun. *Ardija* (Fasoglio) is the feminine form for the adjective *ardì* 'daring'. The wine name is agreed as if *barbera* were a feminine noun. The same applies to the names *Libera* 'Free' (Bava), *la Regina* 'The Queen' (Ferraris) and *La* 'The (feminine singular)' (Terre Astesane). Instead, the barbera name *Frem* 'Still' (Scagliola) is agreed as if barbera were a masculine noun (the feminine form is *fërma* or *frema*). It is interesting to note that, in some cases, winemakers create pairs of wine names marked by the agreement, taking into account the gender of the grape quality. For example, Fasoglio produces a wine called *Chiel* 'He', having moscato quality (a "masculine" quality), and a wine called *Chiela* 'She', having malvasia quality (a "feminine" quality). La Montagnetta produces a brut (a "masculine" quality) called *Insolito* 'Unusual' and a bonarda (a "feminine" quality) called *Insolita*.

There are no wine names created using affixoids, which is a common strategy in Italian commercial names.[11] I believe this choice is not acceptable because winemakers prefer naming their wines with simple words that could be more or less easily understood by speakers.[12] Their function is to suggest a relationship between the product and the chosen name. In the collected corpus, only two exceptions are found: *Limonte* (Braida) and *Barbon* (Cascina Cappelle). According to the Ronneberger-Sibold (2010) terminology, *Limonte* is a telescope blending form (*limo* 'silt' and *monte* 'mountain') and *Barbon* is a fragment blending form (*barbera* and *bonarda*, two grape qualities). *Barbon* could also be a pun, meaning 'drifter' in Piedmontese language. Concerning acronyms, only two

Table 3. Wine quality agreement.

Standard Italian	Piedmontese	Regional Italian
il (masc. sing.) freisa	a (fem. sing.) fraiza	il (masc. sing.)/la (fem. sing.) freisa
il (masc. sing.) cortese	el (masc. sing.) curteiz	il (masc. sing.) cortese

10. From the winemaker's site: 'The name *Setecàpita* ("if it happens"), of clear Venetian dialectal origin, pays homage to the farmer who had cultivated [the vineyard from which this wine comes from] for fifty years and who used this phrase liberally when talking about life and work in the countryside'.

11. See Cotticelli Kurras (2007, 2008, 2013) and Zilg (2011).

12. See Cotticelli Kurras (in this volume), Gilardoni (2017), Munteanu Siserman (2013) and Scaglione (2018).

names are found: *TM Roses* and *TM Brut*. The acronym *TM* stands for *Tenuta Montemagno*, the name of the producer.

A wine name may consist of almost any part of the discourse. In the corpus, nouns and names (place names or anthroponyms) appear in 401 wine names, while adjectives appear in 109 names. These are the most frequent elements used to create wine names. Other parts of the discourse used as wine names can also be found. Ten names match or contain adverbs or adverbial locutions, e.g. *Adèss* 'Now' (Cascina Valeggia) and *Ataj*, i.e. juxtaposition of *a taj* 'suitable' (Cascina Castlet). Two names match a pronoun, i.e. *Chiel* 'He' and *Chiela* 'She' (both Fasoglio). One name matches an article, i.e. *La* 'The (feminine singular)' (Terre Astesane). Verbs, found in 12 wine names, occur in infinitive form such as *Arvelé* 'To Reveal' (Cascina Gilli), in mottoes, such as *Tempus fugit* 'Time flies' (Ca del Grifone), or in more complex structures such as *Na stissa gava sagrin* 'A Drop to Take Fear Away' (Cascina Cappelle).

4. Grapho-Phonetic Level

The spelling of the national languages is respected. However, written Piedmontese can be problematic as different spelling systems were devised for this dialect.[13] The most known and used one is the so-called Pacotto-Viglongo system, identifiable for the spelling of the back and central vowels, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Graphemes in the Pacotto-Viglongo system for Piedmontese.

IPA	Pacotto-Viglongo
[ɔ] or [o]	<ò>
[u]	<o>
[y]	<u>
[œ] or [ø]	<eu>
[ə]	<ë>

However, the Pacotto-Viglongo system is not so much used in the repertoire. Winemakers often use spontaneous spellings (Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila 2008): the letters maintain the same phonetic values they have in Italian and some symbols are added for those sounds existing in Piedmontese, but missing in Italian: e.g. <ö> for [œ], <ü> for [y] and <ë> for [ə].

Table 5. Wine names written in the Pacotto-Viglongo spelling system and in spontaneous spellings.

Pacotto-Viglongo Wine Names	Spontaneous Spellings
Mon Ross [muŋ rus] 'Red Mountain' (Forteto della Luja), *Camilo* [kaˈmilu] 'Camillus' (Scagliola), *Cleto* [ˈklɛtu] 'Anacletus' (Baldi Pierfranco), *Nivole* [ˈnivule] 'Clouds' (Michele Chiarlo).	*Goj* [gɔi̯] 'Enjoyment' (Cascina Castlet), *Curentun* [kurenˈtuŋ] (a traditional dance), *Gügheta* [gyˈgeta] (a traditional party) (both Cascina Brichetto), *Föje Rùsse* [ˈføje ˈruse] 'Red Leaves' (Cerutti), *La Düan* [la dyˈaŋ] 'The Customs' (La Canova); *Bugianen* [budʒaˈneŋ] 'Stay Still' (La Montagnetta).

Moreover, the orthography of other national languages can influence the spread of alternative choices: spelling [u] with the digraph <ou>, for example, matches the French orthographic rules,[14] e.g. *Thou Bianc* [tu bjanŋk] 'white *thou*',[15] (Bava); *Rouvé* [ruˈve], 'Rovero' (the winemaker's surname; Fratelli Rovero); *Mounteis* [munˈtɛi̯z] 'Monteizo' (a place name; Fratelli Natta) *La Court* [la kurt] 'The Court' (Michele Chiarlo).

Spontaneous spellings usually resort to diacritical signs to indicate dialectal peculiarities of the Piedmontese: one can find in the corpus <oü> for [u] in the wine name *Voület* [vuˈlet] (it is a traditional game; Sulin), or <ö> for spelling the back-open vowel [ɑ][16] in the wine name *Azörd* 'Gamble' (Scagliola). However, spelling choices are not always carried out consistently by the producers themselves. For example, Scagliola also produces a wine called *Busiord* 'Liar'

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13. See Miola (2015).

14. <ou> for [u] also appears in the 19th century classical works written in Piedmontese language; see Genre (1978).

15. *Thou*, or *tu* (in regional Italian: *tufo* < lat. tophus) is a lime marl typical of the Monferrato area.

16. It is a typical solution in the Alto Monferrato variety of Piedmontese.

– the stressed vowel is the same, but it is spelt differently. The same happens for the [z] sound, spelt <z> in the first name and <s> in the latter. The peculiarities of vocalism are generally highlighted, while those of consonance are not. For example, the [ŋ] pronunciation of /n/$_{[V\_V]}$ is never indicated. Likewise, the sound [ɹ] (< lat. L$_{[V\_V]}$, or lat. R$_{[V\_V]}$), which characterises the southern Astigian varieties of Piedmontese, is never indicated.[17]

Word segmentation is generally respected, but juxtapositions can be found (37 occurrences) as well. Most of the juxtaposed names match toponyms, such as *Mombrusato* 'Scorched Mount' (VVS). The opposite phenomenon is also found, such as in the wine name *il Carica l'Asino* 'Donkey Loading' (Carussin). The winemaker separated the different parts of the compound *caricalasino* (a native and rare grape quality) in order to stress on the word *asino* 'donkey'. This operation allows the winemaker to create a special storytelling of the producer, pointing out a family passion: his wife is fond of donkeys and a donkey also appears on the label.

Van Leeuwen (2006) argues that it is possible to attribute connotative meanings to lettering. Two tendencies must be highlighted in the collected corpus: the first one is about handwriting, the second one is about brilliant colours. Many names (167) are handwritten. This style seems to be linked to connotative values such as craftsmanship and traditionalism. As regards colour, shades which recall precious metals (such as gold and silver) or gems (especially ruby) could acquire a connotative value of preciousness and exclusivity. These connotative values can also be highlighted by the choice of the language in which the name is created, as previously seen, or by semantic choices.

5. Semantic Level

As stated above, winemakers generally prefer existing words or well-constructed sentences to create the names of their wines. The choice always has a motivation, which may be clear to the customers or not. However, unusual names can arouse interest. Neethling states that 'the "exotic" nature of the wine names might individualise the wines more clearly in the competitive world market' (2008: 774). The same could be true for eccentric and witty motivations. Sometimes, clues identifying the reason and satisfying curiosity could appear in the paratext (made up by the winemakers' websites).

Semantically speaking, wine names focus on the wine itself or its producer. Names which focus on the wine are linked to vineyards (where the grapes are grown in order to make wine), wine qualities and features, wine uniqueness or its production and storage. Names which focus on winemakers are linked to their family, passions or connections with the wine-growing tradition.

The most common type of wine name recalls the vineyard. One can find the vineyard place name used as a wine name, or a noun which recalls the vineyard or terroir characteristics. For example, *Navlè*[18] (Tenuta S. Caterina) corresponds to a place name. *Filari Corti*[19] 'Short Rows' (Carussin), *La Tranquilla* 'The Quiet One' (Carussin), *Vigne Vecchie* 'Old Vineyards' (VVS) are wine names which highlight vineyard characteristics. *Limonte*[20] (Braida), *Le Marne* 'The Marls' (Michele Chiarlo) and *Thou Bianc* 'White *Thou*'[21] (Bava), on the other hand, match the soil composition of the vineyard. The latter is a key factor since soil composition can affect the taste of the wine. Apart from the quality of the grapes, the grapevine could be evoked by other elements, e.g. *Föje Rùsse* 'Red Leaves' (Cerutti), *Sialè* 'Vine Stock' (Marco Rabino), *Ceppi Storici* 'Historical Stumps' (Araldica Vini).

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17. The sound is generally spelt <ĵ>, as in Crosa & Maioglio (1988) dictionary of Astegian Piedmontese variety.

18. From the winemaker's website: '*Navlè* has always been the name of the cru, the one who gave the best result'.

19. From the winemaker's website: 'It has its name from the rectangular shape of its vineyard […]. Because of that, rows are approximately 200 m long, giving the wine the ironic name of "Short Rows"'.

20. From the winemaker's website: 'Our new vineyard has a soil rich in clay and silt; it takes its name from the latter in Italian = limo'.

21. See note 15 for a definition of *thou*.

Wine names may also emphasise a feature of the wine. Names which evoke its taste, particularly for sweet wines, such as *Dulcem* 'Sweet' and *Nectar* (both Tenuta Montemagno), or its colour, such as *Rubigo* 'Ruby' (Baldi Pierfranco), *Vermiglio* 'Vermilion' (Tre Secoli), *Aurì Bianc* 'Golden White' (VVS) and *Il nero* 'The Black One' (Ca del Grifone) can be found. *Salidoro*[22] (Tenuta S. Caterina) is a juxtaposition of *sali* 'salts' and *d'oro* 'of gold', and sums up both taste and aspect.

Some names stress on the effervescence of the wine. Wine names which personify the wine, commonly as a girl or a woman, can be found. For example, *la Monella*[23] 'The Naughty Girl' (Braida), *la Birba* 'The Scamp Girl' (Scagliola), *la Bisbetica* 'The Shrew' (Terre Astesane) and *la Spigliata* 'The Jaunty Girl' (Cantamessa). However, names such as *Rè Bollicino* 'King of Bubbles' (La Canova) can also be found. On the other hand, only one wine name evokes the opposite characteristic, namely *Frem* 'Still' (Scagliola).

Other names embody the quality of the grapes the wine is made from, e.g. *Arlandino* (Tenuta S. Caterina), *il Carica l'Asino* (Carussin), *Claîret* (Fasoglio), which are uncommon qualities of grapes. On the contrary, *Duset* and *Curteis* (both Baldi Pierfranco) are common features of grapes. If the wine is made up with two or more features of grapes, the winemaker could name it by emphasising this characteristic, e.g. *il Bacialè*[24] 'The Matchmaker' (Braida), *Azörd*[25] 'Gamble' (Scagliola), *Completo* 'Complete' (Carussin), *Tutti per uno* 'All For One' (VVS), and *Barbon* (Cascina Cappelle), as previously stated.

Other wine names suggest the uniqueness of the wine by using other strategies. Names which quintessentially match an article can be found,

e.g. *La* 'The (feminine singular)' (Terre Astesane), or a pronoun, *Chiel* 'He' and *Chiela* 'She' (both Fasoglio). Wine names could also suggest a comparison between other valuable elements, such as gold, like in *Dorato* 'Golden' (VVS), *Oro* 'Gold' (two vines from Ca del Grifone and La Spinetta, respectively) and *Salidoro*[26] (Tenuta S. Caterina), or gems, e.g. *Perla Rossa* 'Red Pearl' (VVS). Nobleness can also suggest preciousness. Names can match noble titles as in *Rè Bollicino* 'King of Bubbles' (La Canova), *Il Principe* 'The Prince' (Michele Chiarlo), *Monsignor Rosè* (La Canova) and *La regina* 'The Queen' (two wines from Braida and Ferraris, respectively) or historical nobles, as in *Arduine* (Bocchino; Arduino was the first marquis of Monferrato) and *Contessa Bianca* (Sei Castelli; Bianca Lancia di Agliano was Frederik of Sicily's wife). In the latter cases, wine is personified once again. We also find wine names matching anthroponyms without a specific reason and they are generally feminine names, e.g. *La Luciana*, *Margherita* (both Araldica Vini) and *Lidia* (La Spinetta). They suggest desirability.[27]

Some names recall wine production and wine storage, e.g. *Dogma* (Borgo Maragliano), *Barik* (it is a traditional barrel; Cascina Brichetto), *Tre Lune* 'Three Moons' (Ferro Vini); others suggest conviviality, e.g. *Ansèma* 'Together' (Terre Astesane), *Gügheta* (it is a traditional party)*, Curentun* (it is a traditional dance; both Cascina Brichetto) and some others evoke the sensations one feels when drinking wine, e.g. *Goj* 'Enjoyment' (Cascina Castlet), *Piasì* 'Pleasure' (Goggiano).

Furthermore, wine names may promote the winemaker more than the wine itself. These names link the winemaker to tradition, synonymous

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22.   From the winemaker's website: 'It expresses in its name the synthesis of its characteristics: "Sali" (Salts) for the sapidity and "D'oro" (golden) for the golden colour'.

23.   From the winemaker's website: 'Giacomo Bologna's father used to select in the cellar the most rebellious and exuberant Barbera, calling it "La Monella" which was renowned for its characteristic and irrepressible fizziness'.

24.   From the winemaker's website: '"Il Bacialè", in Piedmont dialect means the matchmaker and describes the person who arranged marriages between members of noble families in the area. This wine in fact originates from the perfect marriage of Barbera and other grape varieties.'

25.   From the winemaker's website: '*Azörd* is a word coming from Piedmont dialect and means the chance, the risk. Anything better than this name reflects our situation, deciding for the first time to create a wine with a blend of grapes'.

26.   From the winemaker's site: 'A name that recalls a jewel because Salidoro is the jewel of Tenuta Santa Caterina, a precious and rare product from the Monferrato lands.'

27.   Wine market is male-oriented: in Italy male consumption is 66,8% of the total (ISTAT).

with care and special regard of winemaking. Some names emphasise the long tradition in the family business. These ones are generally related to the winemaker's family, such as names of ancestors or heirs, but may also evoke the story of the producer. In the collected corpus, both ancestor names, e.g. *Blincin* (Bocchino), *Camilo* (Scagliola) and *Litina*[28] (Cascina Castlet) and heir names, e.g. *Daniele* and *Luca* (both Tenuta antica), *Giorgia* (La Ghersa), *Giulia* and *Paolo* (both Ferro Vini) can be found. *50° Vigne Vecchie*[29] '50th (anniversary) of Old Vineyards' (VVS) and *50 Anni di Barbera* '50 Years of Barbera' (Sei Castelli) are wine names that evoke the story of the producers. Winemakers may also share their passions, naming their wines as in *Stradivario*[30] (Bava) and *il Carica l'Asino*[31] (Carussin).

It is important for the winemakers to show that they are keen on tradition and that they are part of the wine-making tradition. That is why they may also show respect for tradition by choosing a word in the local language. Dialectal wine names could be well entwined with the wine world, but they can also have nothing to do with it. In this case, the aim of the winemaker is to emphasise their competence in Piedmontese, the linguistic expression of the tradition, and to suggest that they are also keen on every other part of tradition including winemaking. Piedmontese wine names are generally untranslatable such as *Maniman* 'In the Unlucky Case That' (Terre Astesane); *Giabinè* and *Voület* (they are traditional games; both Sulin). Hereinabove, we saw *Gügheta* (it is a traditional party) and *Curentun* (it is a traditional dance; both Cascina Brichetto).

6. Conclusions

There are some trends in the process of naming wines from Asti.

The preferred languages are Italian, Piedmontese and Latin. Italian is frequent in the branding of food products at an international level. Latin and Piedmontese are associated with connotative meanings (high culture, luxury, antiquity to Latin; tradition, authenticity and localism to Piedmontese) that the producer tries to lend to the wine. The same can also be noticed in some labelling features, which deserve to be expanded taking into account multimodal tools of analysis.

Most wine names match proper names (both place names and personal names) and adjectives. Blending forms or acronyms are not frequent. Regarding adjectives, it was shown that the agreement of an adjective can follow the standard Italian or Piedmontese model. Wine names may promote the wine itself or the winemaker. In the first instance, the most frequent choices are place names or names and adjectives that evoke the characteristics of the wine. In the second instance, the names of a person, from the winemaker's family, prevail. The reasons for the choice can occasionally be overly complex. Sometimes winegrowers explain their choices in the paratext (which corresponds to the websites of their cellars). An in-depth analysis and better modelling of the choices of the names given to wines is a road that still needs to be paved.

This paper only takes into account well-created names from the winemakers' point of view, without considering whether their choices match customer expectations. It would be interesting to analyse which names the customers would give to a wine. In order to do this, it will be necessary to create questionnaires focused on name creation and distribute them to customers, intertwining the tools of linguistic research with those of economic research.

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28. From the winemaker's website: 'Litina is my name in memory of an aunt who, when it came to strike her marriage pact, had a vineyard added to her bottom drawer'.

29. From winemaker's website: 'The winery is proud to launch the Vigne Vecchie 2008, the vintage of the 50° anniversary!'.

30. From the winemaker's website: Since the '80s [the wine] bears the name of the most famous violin of all, due to our passion for the music.

31. From the winemaker's website: 'The curious existence of Carica l'Asino [...] combined with Bruna's passion for donkeys gave birth to the "Carica l'Asino" white wine'.

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Appendix 1. Producer websites[32]

1. *Agostino Pavia* (Agliano Terme, 7 names): <http://www.agostinopavia.it/en/>
2. *Araldica Vini* (Castel Boglione, 10 names): <http://www.araldicavini.com/index-en.html>
3. *Arione* (Canelli, 10 names): <http://www.arione.it/en/>
4. *Avezza* (Canelli, 3 names): <http://www.paoloavezza.com/en>
5. *Baldi Pierfranco* (Costigliole d'Asti, 8 names): <http://www.vinibaldi.it>
6. *Bava* (Cocconato d'Asti, 7 names): <http://www.bava.com/en/>
7. *Bocchino* (Canelli, 11 names): <http://www.vinibocchino.it/sito/en/>
8. *Borgo Maragliano* (Loazzolo, 8 names): <http://www.borgomaragliano.com/>
9. *Braida* (Rocchetta Tanaro, 12 names): <http://www.braida.com/it/en/>
10. *Ca del Grifone* (Fontanile, 7 names): <http://www.cadelgrifone.it/cdg/eng.php>
11. *Cantamessa* (Casorzo, 9 names): <http://www.cantamessavini.it/homepage.htm>
12. *Carlin De Paolo* (San Damiano d'Asti, 8 names): <http://www.carlindepaolo.com/en/>
13. *Carussin* (San Marzano Oliveto, 13 names): <http://www.carussin.it/en/>
14. *Cascina Brichetto* (Asti, 6 names): <http://www.cascinabrichetto.com/>
15. *Cascina Cappelle* (Mongardino, 5 names): <http://www.cascinacappelle.it/en>
16. *Cascina Castlet* (Costigliole d'Asti, 9 names): <http://www.cascinacastlet.com/en/estate>
17. *Cascina Gilli* (Castelnuovo Don Bosco, 11 names): <http://www.cascinagilli.it/en/>
18. *Cascina Valeggia* (Moncalvo, 6 names): <http://cascinavaleggia.it/?lang=en>
19. *Cavallero Vini* (Vesime, 2 names): <http://www.cavallerovini.it/en/>
20. *Cerutti* (Cassinasco, 4 names): <http://www.cascinacerutti.it/?lang=en>
21. *Fasoglio* (Aramengo, 14 names): <http://www.cantinafasoglio.it/>
22. *Ferraris* (Castagnole Monferrato, 10 names): <http://www.ferrarisagricola.com/en/>
23. *Ferro Vini* (Agliano Terme, 5 names): <http://www.ferrovini.com/home-l/>
24. *Forteto della Luja* (Loazzolo, 5 names): <http://www.fortetodellaluja.it/en/>
25. *Franco Roero* (Montegrosso d'Asti, 3 names): <http://www.francoroero.com/>
26. *Fratelli Biletta* (Casorzo, 4 names): <https://www.aziendaagricolafratellibiletta.wordpress.com/>
27. *Fratelli Natta* (Grazzano Badoglio, 8 names): <http://www.fratellinatta.it/eng/index.html>
28. *Fratelli Rovero* (Asti, 12 names): <http://www.rovero.it/>
29. *Goggiano* (Refrancore, 5 names): <http://www.goggiano.it/aziend_e.htm>
30. *L'Alegra* (Settime, 7 names): <http://www.alegra.it/>
31. *La Canova* (Calosso, 6 names): <http: //www.damarcovini.com/index.php?route=product/manufacturer/info&manufacturer_id=12>
32. *La Ghersa* (Moasca, 12 names): <http://www.laghersa.it/italiano/home.php>
33. *La Montagnetta* (Roatto, 9 names): <http://www.lamontagnetta.com/en/>
34. *La Spinetta* (Castagnole Lanze, 14 names): <http://www.la-spinetta.com/ourlabelsit.html>
35. *Livio Amelio* (Grana, 4 names): <http://www.amelioliviovini.it/en/home>
36. *Marchesi Alfieri* (San Martino Alfieri, 7 names): <http://www.marchesialfieri.it/eng/>
37. *Marco Rabino* (Montaldo Scarampi, 5 names): <http://www.rabinomarco.com/>
38. *Michele Chiarlo* (Calamandrana, 23 names): <http://www.michelechiarlo.it/en/>

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32. Websites downloaded between February and April 2019.

39. *Montarello* (Vigliano d'Asti, 10 names): <http://www.vinimontarello.it/>
40. *Poderi Girola* (Calliano, 4 names): <http://www.poderigirola.it/en/>
41. *Post dal Vin* (Cortiglione, 4 names): <http://www.postdalvin.it/>
42. *Scagliola* (Calosso, 18 names): <http://www.scagliolavini.com/en/pagina-iniziale-en/>
43. *Sei Castelli* (Agliano Terme, 7 names): <http://www.barberaseicastelli.it/en/>
44. *Sulin* (Grazzano Badoglio, 6 names): <http://www.sulin.it/en/>
45. *Tenuta Antica* (Cessole, 4 names): <http://www.tenuta-antica.it/?lang=en>
46. *Tenuta Montemagno* (Montemagno, 12 names): <http://www.tmwines.it/en>
47. *Tenuta Santa Caterina* (Grazzano Badoglio, 7 names): <http://www.tenuta-santa-caterina.it/en/415/>
48. *Terre Astesane* (Mombercelli, 19 names): <http://www.terreastesane.it/pub/en/home.html>
49. *Tre Secoli* (Mombaruzzo, 22 names): <http://www.tresecoli.com/en>
50. VVS = *Viticoltori Associati di Vinchio Vaglio Serra* (Vinchio, 44 names): <http://www.vinchio.com/en/>

The Persuasive Function of Company Names

Examples from Four Different Business Sectors

LINNEA GUSTAFSSON

Abstract

This paper presents a study of company names from four different business sectors – dental practices, real estate agencies, cleaning companies and restaurants. The different nature of the sectors means that they use different resources in their company names to perform a persuasive function. The following resources were selected for study: personal names, locality, seriousness or humour and choice of language used in the company name. The results show that the most important similarities exist between on the one hand, dental practices and real estate agencies, and on the other, cleaning companies and restaurants. The former more often feature family names, seriousness and the Swedish language, while the latter feature more first names, distant places and humour in their company names. The results are discussed within a frame of social and ideological issues.

Keywords

Company names, dental practices, real estate agencies, cleaning companies, restaurants.

Introduction

An essential function of commercial names is to provide information about the company and the product. Commercial names can inform potential clients about the existence of a product, the practical use or price of the product, the location of the company, and so on. Other functions of company names are to identify, individualise and describe the company, and to distinguish different companies from each other (Ainiala, Saarelma & Sjöblom 2012: 243–244, Bergien 2012: 7,

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Sjöblom 2005: 268, Solly 2002: 221). The boundaries between these functions are unclear, as they are overlapping and inter-dependent. Many functions are the same for different types of names, but the persuasive function is specific to commercial names (Ainiala, Saarelma & Sjöblom 2012: 243–244, Sjöblom 2005: 268) and is the focus of this paper.

To convince buyers or clients to spend their money in the company, different strategies of naming are used, i.e. names with a specific meaning, names that evoke emotions or mental images and humorous names (D. Aaker 1991: 89–90). In this paper, these variants are considered as different resources that can be used in the company name. In a previous paper, I focused on the same material, and the results indicated that it would be interesting to conduct a more in-depth study of certain naming resources (Gustafsson 2018). Therefore, four specific resources will be studied in this paper. These are interesting as they exist within all four business sectors, but are used slightly differently in different sectors. Thus, the following resources will be studied:

- Personal names
- Locality
- Seriousness or humour
- Choice of language

The first two resources focus on the content of the company name while the third focuses on the contents and the form, and the fourth on the form alone. Based on this, the specific research question is: How are the resources of personal names, locality, seriousness/humour and choice of language used to express the persuasive function in the naming of companies in four different business sectors in the Swedish market?

1. Data Sample

The data collected in this study come from four sub-sectors of the service sector in the digital yellow pages of the Uppsala phonebook. Companies were excluded from the sample if they were not located in Uppsala or if they were not active within any of the studied sectors. In total, 889 company names were obtained and these can be

divided into four sectors – 97 dental practices, 127 real estate agencies, 140 cleaning companies and 525 restaurants.

All four sectors provide some kind of service, but the differences between them are important to note. The most obvious difference is between white-collar and blue-collar jobs. Dental practices and real estate agencies require an academic education, while cleaning and certain types of restaurant employment are defined as menial jobs.

2. Starting Points

One of the starting points for discussion of the persuasive function can be found by considering advertising discourse, which has consumption of a product or service as its driving goal. Communication with the client is a way of leading him or her to the product or the company. To simplify, it is possible to describe this discourse as using five domains to persuade the client: 1) providing information; 2) attracting attention and interest; 3) providing amusement and entertainment; 4) providing positive associations; and 5) obtaining contact and trust (Liljestrand 1993: 131, Percy 2003: 13–19).

Other researchers (J. Aaker 1997, J. Aaker, Benet-Martínez & Garolera 2001) have chosen to study the communication between brands and clients by concentrating on brand personality. These studies have drawn attention to five dimensions which are the same in several countries when it comes to brand creation: sincerity, excitement, competence, sophistication and ruggedness. Each of the dimensions evokes a particular kind of feeling. Sincerity evokes a down-to-earth, family-oriented, honest and sincere feeling, while excitement evokes a trendy, cool, young, imaginative and daring feeling. Competence in the brand mediates a feeling that the company, or a particular person working at the company, is reliable, hardworking, intelligent, successful and a leader. Sophisticated brands mediate a feeling of being upper class, glamorous, good-looking and charming, while ruggedness evokes a feeling of masculinity and toughness (J. Aaker 1997: 352). These personal dimensions of brands therefore communicate connotations that may be perceived by potential clients.

3. Resources

3.1. Personal Names

The first resource to be focused on in this paper is personal names. Personal names have been studied in sociolinguistics, and can be used to create a sense of intimacy or respectful distance between interlocutors. Using a family name, a first name or a nickname evokes different kinds of intimacy or distance (Gustafsson 2016: 44–46, Sjöblom 2010: 356). By using personal names that are already established on the intimacy–distance scale, it is possible to transfer the idea of a certain familiarity to company names.

An increasing level of informality can be observed in Swedish society, as well as in the Swedish language; this has especially been the case since the 1970s onwards. As a consequence of this, during the 20th century, there is a decline of company names which include a full name (first and family name), but an increase of first names only and nicknames (Leibring 2012: 51–53). This further emphasises the increasing level of intimacy in Sweden.

Even though the use of personal names in company names has declined in Sweden over the course of the last century (Leibring 2012: 51–53), 26% of the names in the data sample of the present study still include a personal name. Between the four business sectors, certain differences regarding the use of personal names are apparent. It is more common to find a personal name in the company names of dental practices and real estate agencies (found in 42% and 35% of company names, respectively) than in restaurants (21%) or cleaning companies (22%). For dental practices and real estate agencies, it is more common to use either a single family name or a full name, that is a combination of a first name with a family name (41% and 35%, respectively) than a single first name (1% each).

Among the 525 restaurant names, just over a fifth (21%) of the names include a personal name. Of these, 5% contain a family name and 16% a single first name or nickname. It is also rather common to use a personal name in a restaurant name that would be perceived as foreign or ethnic in Swedish. Examples include *Asahi*, *Ayakos*, *Hardy's*, *Kareem*, *Mey Wang* and *Yukikos*.

In the cleaning sector, a family name is found in 8% of cases, while a single first name or nickname is found in 14% of the names. The following nicknames are found in this business sector: *Kats städservice* [*Kat's Cleaning Service*], *Mickes fönsterputsning* [*Micke's Window Cleaning*], *Tessas städhjälp* [*Tessa's Cleaning Help*], and *Viky & Mikie städ* [*Viky & Mikie Cleaning*].

3.2. Locality

Another resource used in company names is geographical names of two kinds. They either indicate the location of the company or a distant place. The resource of locality is closely related to country of origin, even though it is not quite the same phenomenon. The desired effect of country of origin is achieved when a name evokes a sense of a product having a higher quality because it is produced in a certain country (Lavric 2012: 224–225, Lick & Wochele 2012: 65–66). The resource of locality either uses the locality in the company name to inform the client about the company's location (the integrative function) (Ainiala, Saarelma & Sjöblom 2012: 244), or to draw on connotations of a distant place name.

Of the company names examined in the present study, 24% include an indication of locality; this is most common among dental practices (28%), and cleaning companies (28%) followed by restaurants (21%). It is least common among real estate agencies (15%). Distant place names only exist among restaurants (5%). When such a place name is used in a company name, positive connotations that signal exoticism and sometimes luxury are utilised. At the same time, the connotations emphasise the type of restaurant and its price segment. If the restaurant name includes an Italian place name, for example *Capri*, *Etna*, *Palermo* or *Verona*, the served food is probably pizzas or at least Italian in nature. In the same way, the use of other place names, for example *China* or *East*, can point to a Chinese or Asian-inspired menu.

3.3. Seriousness versus Humour

The third resource, the resource of either seriousness or humour, may be the hardest one to define. As for seriousness, it can be communicated verbally in seve-

ral ways. In this paper, it is defined as an obvious and straightforward way of indicating the business sector of the company in the name. Since names are such condensed pieces of text, space is very limited and therefore the feeling of seriousness or humour must be immediately obvious. Many companies provide this kind of indication in the name in two different ways – personal and job titles or function-related generic elements. Regarding titles, it should be noted that neither personal nor job titles are generally used in Swedish, so using them in a company name is quite a strong way of mentioning the type of business. Among the dental practices, 21% include 'dentist' or 'dental hygienist' in the name; among the real estate agencies, the corresponding proportion is 5%. Titles do not exist at all in the names of the cleaning companies and restaurants.

In the data sample of company names, most names include some kind of business information without using a title. Many different options are used to describe the business in the company names, and, therefore, the definition of company names used in the present study is set in a rather strict way. This means that the included names all embrace an explanation of the business, but not of the products. This has the most important impact on restaurant names, where names that only use a dish name, e.g. *Sushi of Sweden*, are not included in the sample. Restaurant names were included if they feature words that describe the business, e.g. *restaurant*, *bar*, *pizzeria*, *värdshus* [inn], *café* [coffee shop]. Further examples of explanatory or descriptive words that exist are *folktandvården* [*city dental care*], *tandläkarmottagning* [*dental practice*], *fastighetsbyrå* [*estate agency*], *städ* [*cleaning*], *städhjälp* [*cleaning help*], *städservice* [*cleaning service*], and *städteam* [*cleaning team*].

About half of all the names (48%) in the data sample, include this kind of business information. Among dental practices, this is the case in 68% of the names (including companies with titles in their names) followed by real estate agencies (49% including titles), restaurants (45%) and cleaning companies (43%).

When it comes to humour, this is understood in a cultural, chronological and social context (Ohls-son 2003) and is commonly used in language, even though it is not easy to explain (Gustafsson 2016: 47). To be able to understand humour in company names, the addressee must have enough knowledge about the culture in which the language is used. With that said, however, it is possible to notice that a desire to be humorous in the names demands a form, connotation or context that can be considered as funny. The humour in the company names can be characterised as discreet joyfulness rather than as evoking a loud laugh. The reason for this may be that names can be very funny the first time one hears them but as they become better known, they lose their humorous impression (Brennen 2000: 143). The names that are considered as humorous in the present study either have a funny form or funny content. In the first case, the data sample includes three possibilities: 1) a mix of letters and numbers, e.g. *Move2sun*; 2) a blend of words, e.g. *Bowlaget* [*Bowling + Liquor store*]; and 3) rhyme and alliteration, e.g. *Glada grisen* [*The Happy Pig*]. Regarding content, the following features can be used: 1) an ambiguous name, e.g. *Renarum* [*Tidy Rooms*]; 2) a name or part of a name that is a homonym of a different word, e.g. *HomeMaid*, *Thaibreak*; or 3) the content may be uncharacteristic of the sector, e.g. the real estate company *Home of sun* or the cleaning company *Citystäd den goda fen* [*City clean the good fairy*]. In total, 4% of the names in the data sample can be considered as humorous – 1.6% among the names of real estate agencies, 3.8% among restaurants and 9.3% among the cleaning companies. Humour is not used at all in the naming of dental practices in the studied material.[1]

Humour can be a way to attract attention, create interest in the company and/or to communicate business information, or a combination of these reasons. With some rare exceptions in the material, the humorous names are found in cleaning companies, for example *Dammtussen* [*Ball of dust*], *Fejax* [*Tidy + Ajax*], *Fröken finemang* [*Miss Splendid*], *Hemfrid* [*Domestic Peace*], *HomeMaid*, *Renarum* [*Tidy Rooms*], and *Sveriges rena lösningar* [*Sweden's Clean Solutions*], and in restaurant names, *Bowlaget* [*Bowling + Liquor store*], *Glada grisen* [*The Happy Pig*], *Goda korvar* [*Tasty Sausages*], *Happy*

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1. Maybe this will change in the future as humour in the name is a way of attracting attention to the company. In another Swedish town a dental service called *Tandlaget borr & tång* [*The dental team drill & forceps*] exists.

Food, *Matverkstan* [*The Food Garage*], *Restaurang goda samvetet* [*The Good Conscience*], *Sextio kvadrat* [*Sixty Square Metres*], *Thaibreak* and *Uppe på vinden* [*Up on the Attic*].

3.4. Choice of Language

The final resource to be focused on in this paper is the choice of language. Previous research has shown that a commercial name in a language different from the local one may evoke connotations of higher prestige, and therefore a higher status for the company (Ronneberger-Sibold 2007: 209, Gustafsson 2020: 106–107). A French name in a French context only conveys the denotative meaning; however, the same name in, for example, a German context, would also evoke particular connotations (Bergien 2007: 265). Therefore, both the denotative meaning and connotative associations are important for the choice of the form as well as the meaning and connotations of a commercial name (Cotticelli Kurras & al. 2012: 24).

Defining the language in a company name may, however, be difficult, as a name constitutes a very limited piece of text and in many cases is used in a globalised or international context. In particular, the international connections of the restaurants are often expressed through linguistic internationalism, i.e. through words that exist in many languages, such as *bar*, *grill*, *pizza* and *restaurant* (Ainiala, Saarelma & Sjöblom 2012: 239). Moreover, as mentioned above, personal and place names appear in company names. These are used in a uniform way across languages and cultures, meaning that it is not possible to decide on the choice of language based only on other sorts of names. One does not name a company with a personal name 'because of the language, the language simply has no role in here' (Sjöblom 2008: 688). Company names were excluded from this part of the study if it was not possible to determine the choice of language.

Among the 706 company names where it was possible to determine the choice of language, Swedish is the most common language (83%), followed by English (13%) and then either a combi-

nation of these two languages, for example *Freshline Städ*, or the use of a foreign language overall (4%), for example *Il Forno* or *Le Moulin*. Almost all dental practice names (96%) are Swedish, followed by 89% of the real estate agencies and 87% of the cleaning companies. Among the restaurants, 72% of the names are Swedish.

The consequence of this is that names in English only exist in 2.5% of the dentist practice names.[2] The proportion of English names is higher among real estate agencies (10%), e.g. *Home of Sun*, *Pricy Entreprenad*, *Return on Investment*; among cleaning companies (11%), e.g. *Cli Clean* or *Shine Clean*; and among restaurants (15%). Even though most of the restaurant names are Swedish, it is within this business sector that English names are the most common, e.g. *Indian Kitchen*, *American Steakhouse Burgers*, *China River*, *China Garden*, *Raw Like Sushi*, *Coffeehouse by George*, *Wayne's Coffee* and *Dragon Palace*.[3] Similar results can be seen in Finland where Sjöblom (2010: 362–363) noted that Finnish company names are the most common.

4. Distribution of the differences among the resources

This name study has shown how the four resources are used to inform, attract, amuse and obtain contact and trust between the companies and potential clients, even though different sectors have their own ways of doing this. The analysis can be strengthened via a cluster model of the resources, which highlights certain tendencies and therefore make the existing patterns more noticeable.

The most obvious similarities exist between on the one hand, dental practices and real estate agencies, and on the other hand, cleaning companies and restaurants. Dental practices and real estate agencies more often use family names, titles as business information, geographic location, seriousness and the Swedish language in their company names. The opposite practices, that is, the use of first names, business information without titles, humour, and the English language, are more com-

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2. In one case it has been impossible to decide from which language the name is derived.

3. Among restaurant names, names from other languages (3%) are also used, e.g. Italian and French.
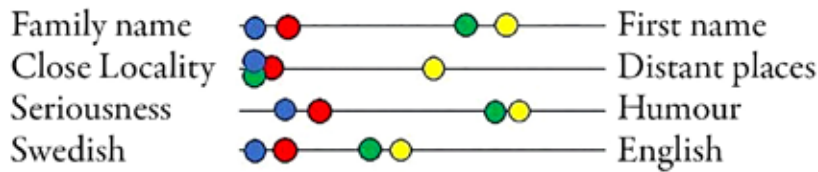
Figure 1. The distribution of the differences among the resources. Blue dots: dental practices. Red dots: real estate agencies. Green dots: cleaning companies. Yellow dots: restaurants.

mon in the naming of cleaning companies and restaurants. For reasons linked to product information, restaurants also use foreign place names.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The findings in this study can be understood in relation to the different persuasive functions required by the business sectors under study. The health care sector (here represented by dental practices) is a service sector where the ability to inspire confidence is more important than attracting attention. Humorous names are mainly used by cleaning companies and restaurants, which can be understood as a way of these companies attracting attention and being able to stand out from other companies. Yet another explanation for humorous cleaning company names, in particular, may be ideological. In Sweden, it has only quite recently become socially acceptable to have cleaning help in private homes. (The use of domestic services declined due to ideological reasons from the 1960s onwards and the rise of the Social Democrats and the Swedish welfare model.) As the use of domestic help is sometimes still associated with some moral shame, the use of humour in the company name can be one way of distancing the client from the service.

The cluster pattern found in the study is also partly based on intimacy or respectful distance. The social variables that mark a difference in social power between the interlocutors are above all seen in the company names through the use of either a family name/full name or an isolated first name. The choice of first- and family names gives different signals with regard to intimacy and distance/respect. In addition, almost all the personal names used by dental practices and real estate agencies sound Swedish, which is not always the case in cleaning companies and restaurants.

The dental practices, as well as the real estate agencies, use information and a sense of confidence to attain the persuasive function in their company names, while the cleaning companies and restaurants more often use strategies that amuse and attract attention. These tendencies underline the fact that positive impressions of a company can be achieved via different naming techniques. Different conventions appear to be used in the different business sectors according to their existing subcultures. This may also expose a social, or possibly ideological, difference between companies and business sectors.

This study points out some interesting aspects to be studied further:

1. Do the studied resources exist within other businesses as well, and if so, in what way?
2. Is there an imminent change that permit more humour in the names of company names in general, even in dental practices?

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Italian Sounding

On Names and Frames in German and French Brand Communication

SABINE HEINEMANN

Abstract

Italy in everyday life contexts is especially famous for its food, with Germany, France, the United Kingdom, the US and Canada being the most important sales markets apart from Italy itself. Domestic producers benefit from the country-of-origin effect, as the image of Italy is an important feature for the respective product categories (in terms of quality promise, emotional added value); the image related to the product includes national stereotypes evoked by associative patterns. In the present study Italian(-sounding) brand names patented in Germany and France are firstly analysed with regard to their morphological structure and their fitting accuracy for the respective product categories. Secondly the frames evoked by them are highlighted and compared to those activated by other components of brand communication. Against the background of the respective frames a more substantiated evaluation of Italian-sounding brand names seems possible.

Keywords

Italian sounding, country-of-origin effect, associative network, connotation, frame.

1. Country-of-Origin Effect

Italy is renowned for its fashion, design, art, culture, sports cars and cuisine. The food industry in Italy is particularly vital to exports, with Germany, France, the United Kingdom, the USA and Canada being the most important sales markets. If the image of a country is an important distinctive feature for a product category, then the community creates a particularly strong link between country of origin

and perceived quality. This can be used strategically in that the brand can be represented with emotional and qualitative added value.[1] Foreign companies try to maximise profits by using the country-of-origin effect – with the products often not reaching the quality of authentic Italian products.[2] In these cases the halo effect is played on, by which the image of the (supposed) country of origin is transferred to the characteristics of the product, which can lead to a positive attitude towards the product (cf. Meffert, Burmann & Becker 2010: 86–87).

Italian food products, especially everyday food like pizza and pasta, are considered quintessential Italian dishes and are identified with Italy and the Italian lifestyle, particularly from the external perspective. As Italy is a popular vacation destination, not only authenticity or product quality are associated with Italy, but also positive holiday memories and further associations, such as romanticism or quality of life, which make up the economically essential emotional added value.

2. Associative Networks

For the description of brand knowledge or meaning within marketing, associative networks as described in cognitive psychology are adopted.[3] These networks are thought to build up the so-called semantic memory (cf. Aaker & Joachimsthaler 2000, 2009; Esch 2004).

In their model of brand leadership, Aaker & Joachimsthaler (2009) hypothesise that brand identity covers more levels, including a core identity that evokes two to four associations, such as product features, the relative price or the usage of the product (cf. also Schmidt 2015: 46; Baumgarth 2014: 94). Following Aaker (1991), Esch (2004: 55–70) describes brand image as conditioned by

the kind, strength, number, uniqueness, verbal or non-verbal representation, relevance and accessibility of the associations. Brand identity, in contrast, is seen as the sum of the essential and characteristic features of a brand (cf. also Kovács 2016: 268–269, for cognitive maps see pp. 271–273). A special form of associative networks is represented by brand schemas which can be defined as larger, more complex knowledge units which bundle the typical characteristics and fixed, standardised ideas with regard to a brand present in society (Baumgarth 2014: 96).

Considering the internal structure of associative networks, Franzen & Bouwman (2001: 102) point out that they 'are rather vague on what it is exactly that nodes represent (characteristics, concepts or schemes), and how these representations are mutually interconnected and organised'. Kastens & Lux (2014) adapt the network structure as well.[4] They assume a stable core meaning; at the same time, however, they suggest that the meaning of a brand has to be negotiated in society.[5] Companies can give meaning to a brand name by a referencing act and thus can trigger frames and scripts, i.e. everyday knowledge concerning certain concepts or knowledge with regard to stereotyped processes or situations. The respective referent is a member of an often prototypically organised product category (Baumgarth 2014: 94–95).

The aspects of brand description presented so far show that knowledge is organised and activated following associationistic principles. However, the denomination as semantic memory in this context is misleading.

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1. Cf. the contributions in Papadopuolos & Heslop (2014); Verlegh & Steenkamp (1999: 527, 538); Berndt, Fantapié Altobelli & Sander (2010: 246, 260–261); Baumgarth (2014: 289–294); Moon & Jain (2002: 121–128); Franzen & Bouwman (2001: 186–187; see p. 180 for cultural associations).

2. The economic damage for Italy and the regional producers is enormous (cf. Magagnoli 2013). Unfortunately a protection for *Made in Italy* outside Italy does not exist, but within the borders of the EU, at least partial protection is guaranteed. The respective products often deviate in taste and quality from the authentic products. For a detailed discussion see for example Bertoli & Resciniti (2012) and Mararazzo (2012).

3. For a detailed overview see Franzen & Bouwman (2001: 144–158); cf. also Schmidt (2015: 46–52).

4. Cf. also Kovács (2016) for an overview of the different approaches for associative networks.

5. Kastens (2016: 242, referring to Kastens & Lux 2014) develops an *Interaktionsmodell Markendiskursraum* (*MDR* 'interactive model of brand discourse space'). The reference to a linguistic description in the authors' approach – which requires a focus on the brand name – is not always clear.

3. Linguistic Analysis

From a linguistic point of view, product or brand names have an individualising and identifying function,[6] in that they refer to one single object, but at the same time to the individual identical products of a product type. Therefore they are to be situated on the continuum between proper names and common nouns, or rather in the periphery of *nomina propria*, which are typically monoreferential, work as a label and may at best have connotations (cf. Nübling 2012: 48–49, 267; for associations, see also 13–17, 28–29).[7] As for other linguistic signs, the language user, as in language acquisition, has to learn the meaning through linguistic contexts and unequivocal referencing.

3.1. A Complex Semiotic Model and the Concept of Frame

Within cognitive semantics, associative network structures anchored on the conceptual level are taken into consideration by Blank (1997: 55–102; 2001: 7–10, 129–139) in his complex semiotic model, which shows a rather broad concept of meaning. While cognitive network models can show privileged structures in the lexicon, and as such provide a modelling of the mental lexicon, they cannot describe lexical meaning. Meaning in these models is conceptualised on the encyclopaedic level exclusively – the complete knowledge base with regard to a concept is stored together, including not only individual experiences or associations, but all group- and culture-specific knowledge that is universally experienced and communicable. The linguistic level recedes into the background, as the knowledge about the word is also seen as part of the meaning, despite it being strictly related to the individual historical language. Blank sees a close connection between the language-specific sememic knowledge on the level of the linguistic sign and the extralinguistic encyclopaedic, conceptual recall, but they nevertheless represent separable constituents of meaning. The sememic knowledge is definable as that part of the encyclopaedic recall which is responsible for the delimitation of the words in the lexicon. Hence, the knowledge regarding meaning consists of a sememic and an encyclopaedic part, which is to be separated from the purely lexical knowledge, which concerns the external word-presentation (including diasystematic marking), the internal word-presentation (for instance category, gender, polysemy, word family) and syntagmatic relationships (i.e. collocations, word formation).

Thus, the language-specific semantic features form the central part of the meaning, i.e. the denotation. Anything beyond this can be designated as connotation. A lexeme like the German *Autobahn* ('motorway') can be described sememically as a wide road for fast-moving traffic without intersections and with a limited number of places at which drivers can enter and leave it, and can thus be differentiated from *Landstraße* ('highway'), *Feldweg* ('dirt track') or *Allee* ('avenue'). The knowledge about the design of the motorway exits, the colour of the signs, service areas, speed limit or differences to motorways in other countries is encyclopaedic.[8] In addition, there are connotations on an associative-intuitive level which are marked by subjective impressions – such as 'noise', 'traffic jam' – and supplement the denotation as stable word meaning (cf. in detail Blank 1997: 76–89).

Within economics, it is especially the encyclopaedic knowledge (to be split into world knowledge and connotations) that is to be examined;[9]

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6. Thus, naming means 'semiotising' a brand (cf. Danesi 2011: 176).

7. Brand names show lexematic traits; they can be fully arbitrary, such as (German) *Kaba* (cacao powder), or motivated, as with *Abflussfrei* ('free drain', cleaning product for clearing drain blockages; Platen 1997). For certain product categories, the brand name is highly important: 'Commodity-type products, such as beer, shampoo, gasoline, cigarettes, fast food, soft drinks, detergent, ice cream, and toothpaste, rely heavily on the communicative powers of their advertising and brand names. In order to differentiate itself, each brand has to rely heavily on what it *connotes* or *means symbolically* in the eyes of consumers' (Durgee & Stuart 1987: 16).

8. Cf. Kovács (2016: 278) with regard to an easier and more hierarchical way of structuring brand knowledge when compared to networks.

9. In marketing literature direct and indirect associations are divided – e.g. for *BMW* German as a direct association would itself evoke German craftmanship, the latter being an indirect association (e.g. Baumgarth 2014: 94–95; Franzen & Bouwman 2001: 56–57).

linguistically speaking, what is focussed is/are the particular frame(s) evoked by a single brand name. But the mere discussion of the brand name is not sufficient, as the brand communication may confirm the respective frame(s) or contradict them by evoking one or more divergent frames.

On the conceptual level frames can be described as 'frameworks of knowledge or coherent schematizations of experience' (Fillmore 1985: 223) or similarly 'as a data-structure for representing a stereotyped situation' (Minsky 1975: 212). For Fillmore not only the context relatedness of linguistic signs is of primary importance, but also the worldly experience which is the basis for their (correct) interpretation. Visual or auditive data can be linked to frames, too, and activate further stereotyped information. Following Minsky, frames are (variable) knowledge structures located on different levels of abstraction, so for example for the frame CHILDREN'S BIRTHDAY PARTY information like GIFTS, BIRTHDAY CAKE, GAMES, BEVERAGES are on a rather abstract level. Therefore, they are filled with prototypical default values and need not be expressed syntactically. In contrast, more concrete concepts such as LEMONADE (as beverage) cannot be presupposed (cf. Ziem 2008: 93–105; Fraas 2013: 265). Language users not only command concept-related knowledge which is tied to lexical or morphological entities; complex concepts are also important, as they embed less abstract frames in higher-order contexts. Hence, every word evokes a frame related to default values, which themselves build up frames. Activated frames have a regulative function, which, of course, also holds for the context of advertising, where frames are consciously evoked by the choice of elements to operate a positive modelling of the reduced reality (which is not expressed linguistically, but constructed as a cognitive effect).[10] In this context the studies of both Ziem (2012) and Joy, Sherry & Deschenes (2009) are interesting. Ziem, on his part, examines the discrepancies provoked by the central word of headlines (e.g. *Klassenerster* in an Opel advertise-

ment) and the visual element (in this case the car) that allows the referential unambiguousness; the conventionalised knowledge related to *Klassenerster* refers to the school context ('best pupil'). The adaptation of this frame to a car shows the context-relatedness of linguistic signs and the need to construct the linguistic meaning, which shows the importance of the extralinguistic context and the background knowledge as part of the frame (Ziem 2012: 65–74). The superposition or fusion of the two frames (in the terminology of blending theory: input spaces) has as a result a new concept with emergent characteristics (blended space).[11] Mental spaces develop in the context of interpreting and comprise only the information needed , so mental spaces do not correspond to frames, but can be equated in this specific context for the generation of meaning.

A similar example is given by Joy, Sherry & Deschenes (2009), who analyse different advertisements, one being particularly interesting as both in the tagline and the visual presentation different frames are evoked, confirmed and complemented. The advertisement is for a Hummer, the tagline is 'Truck Shui'. The picture shows a yellow Hummer presented on a light-coloured plain with blue sky in the background. The word *truck* evokes the frames STABILITY/POWER and AMERICA, whereas *shui* refers to HARMONY and the ALIGNMENT OF OBJECTS representing the principle of positive energy flows and CHINA; in addition, blue is one of the favourite colours in Western countries and yellow is associated with ancient Chinese emperors. As the example shows, not only can visual representation prompt blends, but also the interpretation presupposes a certain need for or awareness of cross-cultural understanding (Joy, Sherry & Deschenes 2009: 39, 46–48). Conceptual blends can be described in terms of networks with four main types (simplex, mirror, single-scope and double-scope networks). The discussed advertisement is an example of a double-scope network, where the frames of both concepts are brought into the new

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10. The effect of framing can be seen, for instance, in a more positive appraisement for the utterance '75% lean' (for beef) compared to '25% fatty' with regard to taste (Ziem & Fritsche 2008: 265). Cf. Klein (2018) for similar processes in political communication.

11. For the blending theory, which is closely related to the frame theory but points to the possible combination of frames, cf. Fauconnier (2001); Fauconnier & Turner (1998); Turner (2008).

construct, reflecting salient aspects of the input spaces.[12]

On the basis of the significance of brand-specific frames, below, firstly, a choice of brand names is analysed with regard to morphology and meaning,[13] including the individual fit as to the respective product category. Secondly, the frames as evoked by the brand communication (and so not only by the name) will be examined for two products which profit at least in part from the country-of-origin effect. So, the main question for the brand communication is whether the frame(s) evoked by the brand name is/are the same as the one(s) activated by the packaging, the advertisement etc. or not. The idea of blending, though mainly adapted to metaphorical contexts, can be fructified here, too.

3.2. An Analysis of Brand Names in German and French

For possible brand names the DPMA (Deutsches Patent- und Markenamt) and INPI (Institut National de la Propriété Industrielle) registers of patented brand names for the various food categories were referred to (July 2019). As some producers, especially German ones such as Bahlsen, Dr. Oetker, Zott, Ehrmann, Dallmayr and Griesson have (or had) numerous brand names registered, including a large number of Italian-sounding names, the focus for the following (generalisable) remarks will be on a couple of producers and some typically formed brand names.[14]

Starting from product categories that Italy is renowned for, it is interesting that often the name of the category is used as part of the product name, as can be seen from the range *Bella Pasta* of Bernbacher or *la Bella pizza Italiana* of Panzani (launched only three years ago but already withdrawn from the market) or *Pesto gusto*, also of Panzani.[15] With the immediate reference to the product category (*pasta*, *pizza*, *pesto*) an important semantic reference is given. The examples reveal that typically pseudo-Italian brand names include words a person without Italian language skills might know (such as *bella*, *pizza*, *pasta*, etc.) or link to a similar sounding word of the native language, as in the case of *tomato al gusto* of Knorr, with *tomato* evoking the German *Tomate*. While these consumers might associate 'Italy', 'holiday' or 'good food', people with some language skills may know that the Italian word for *Tomate* is *pomodoro* and they might also perceive the whole syntagmatic structure as not Italian or at least as somewhat strange, and consequently associate 'falsification' or 'poor quality'.

In France, (pseudo-)Italian product names can be found almost exclusively in the field of *pizza* and *pasta*. Together with *la Bella pizza Italiana*, the product category named *Delizza* (of Dr. Oetker, probably pronounced [deli'dza] vs. Italian *pizza* ['pittsa]) is also an interesting example. As for *pizza*, the added *bella* and *Italiana*, which are semantically clear, are Italian lexemes, too. However, the nominal phrase as such is not appropriate – a *pizza* is *per se* Italian and at best *buona* ('good'), but not *bella* ('nice'); for *Italiana* the use of the uppercase letter is unusual both in Italian and French. *Delizza* is not even an Italian word (cf. *delizia*), but probably picks up both *pizza* and

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12. Cf. Fauconnier & Turner (1998: 157), also for the automatically operating processes such as composition, completion and elaboration as well as for the different optimality principles.

13. Therefore no French or German speakers have been involved for the validation of possible associations. Furthermore, associations probably differ between various groups of speakers, as these depend not only on the command of Italian, but also on the awareness of the product and its brand communication (for the time that the product exists or only parts of it) and on the personal experiences had with the particular product (or also other products of the same company).

14. For the patented brands and brand names for Germany and France cf. the internet sites of the DPMA (https://register.dpma.de/DPMAregister/uebersicht) and INPI (https://bases-marques.inpi.fr/). For the problem of Italian sounding cf. www.italian-sounding.de; Magagnoli (2013); Carreño & Vergano (2016); Dünnebacke (2017) for further details. Cf. also Rieger (2008: 156; 2013) with regard to the importance of known elements in product names; cf. also Ronneberger-Sibold (2007); for the transparency of brand names cf. Cotticelli Kurras (2013: 261–272). For the formation of brand names and associations evoked by certain elements cf. Nübling (2012: 267–275); cf. Lerman (2007) for a psycholinguistic analysis, also Ghontijo & Zhang (2007: 23, 33–35). As alluded to above in marketing for the coinage of a brand name it is suitable that it evokes positive images or at least can be loaded with the desired content, as in the case of artificial names (cf. Kircher 2005: 591).

15. For a detailed analysis concerning the designation of the product category *pasta* and the respective products of German and French producers cf. Heinemann (2017).

French *délice.* By the blending, the product name becomes motivated. The designation *Ristorante* for the German range, linguistically speaking, at first glance seems to be acceptable; the name is related to German *Restaurant* (itself a loanword from French) despite a myriad of *pizzerie* in Germany. However, Italian *ristorante* in the lexicon is to be differentiated from *pizzeria*, *trattoria*, *osteria* and also *tavola calda.* Thus, the meaning of *ristorante* is much more restricted than that of German *Restaurant.* In addition, the designation *Restaurant* includes an upgrading, as going to a restaurant is a kind of luxury – this applies to the Italian range of products, too (*Cameo Ristorante*). Interestingly, encyclopaedically speaking, a frame is constructed which does not correspond to that of Italian language users: *pizza* is eaten in a *pizzeria* or as fast food (like *pizza al taglio* or *pizza a portafoglio,* especially in Naples). The recipes are also different from what one would expect from an Italian *pizza*: *Pizza Barbecue, Pizza bolognese e formaggi* or *Pizza Mozzarella* – with *mozzarella* being an essential part of a *pizza* (!) – are hardly to be found in Italy.

For the French *pesto* sector, the denomination *pesto gusto* as the name for the product category of *pesti* produced by Panzani is interesting. Similar to the aforementioned example, for the denomination *tomato al gusto,* the element *gusto* (French *goût*) seems to be perceived as comprehensible – in Italian though the designation makes little sense: consumers presuppose that *pesto* is tasty.

The same branding strategies are applied to coffee specialities, where quality and expert knowledge are associated with the Italian denominations, e.g. *Dallmayr Espresso Palazzo* or *Crema d'Oro Intensa* – the latter case will be examined in more detail below.

It is striking that, in Germany, different dairy and biscuit products have pseudo-Italian brand names, too, although Italy is known neither for its cookies (rather for its pastry, *merendine* and, regionally, chocolate) nor for special dairy products (apart from cheese), so that a possible exploitation of the country-of-origin effect does not make much sense here and even seems to be rather problematic. Nevertheless, the Bavarian company Zott for example has/had an abundance of products in its assortment with pseudo-Italian names such as *Ricottino, Milcino, Carabella, Bavierino, PannaZotta, Quarcotta, Vanibella, Venezio,*[16] *Cremabella, Cremore, Zottarella* etc. Whereas the formations *Ricottino, Quarcotta* and *Zottarella* recall the Italian designations (and cheeses) *ricotta* and *mozzarella,* respectively, and with that achieve an upgrading, formations with *(-)bella* show a certain productivity of the Italian adjective – but, as indicated for other cases, the nominal phrases do not make much sense. The formations *Cremabella* or *Cremore* with the lexeme *crema* can be analysed morphologically by the average consumer, with *crema* referring to the product or at least its consistency.[17] It seems that the product name is intended to evoke some sort of Italianness (at least for the sound), although a direct connection with Italy for the product itself cannot be established.

The same strategy seems to be the basis for the various products of the German company Bahlsen (like Griesson-de Beukelaer) which have an Italian-, French- or English-sounding name. In France there are only the brand names *Palmito, Tosca, Triscotte, Grani, Biscoto* (LU), *Chocorico* (St Michel) or *Carmelissimo, Croquantino, Rollissimmo, Crescendo* or *Cafeccini* (Delacre), which can be classified as (pseudo-)Italian,[18] while for Bahlsen there are several products such as *Pangani, Schokini* and *Fortuna* or *Bambini,* all launched in the 1950s and 1960s, when Germans spent their first holidays in Italy.[19] Especially in the 1970s and 1980s, the number of products with foreign-sounding names was rather high, with several names being

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16. While brand names with toponyms profit from the prestige and the local stereotypes of the respective town etc. (Gabriel 2003: 220–221), it seems doubtful that this is also true for alienated toponyms (cf. Italian *Venezia,* though the average user might not be aware of the difference visible in this example, all the more, as the German name is *Venedig*).

17. However, not always can the meaning of the individual brand names be completely analysed or remotivated – in *Milcino,* the base is supposedly German *Milch* ('milk'), for *Bavierino* it will be *Baviera* ('Bavaria', referring perhaps to the dessert *Bayrisch Crème*), in *Vanibella* it is *Vanille* (English '*vanilla*').

18. Several brand names, such as *Messino Duo, Ventura, Deloba, Noelino* (on the basis of French *Noël*?), are registered for the international market.

19. The cited brand names are still registered, although the tendencies described hold for formerly existing brand names (and their respective brands), too.

appellatives in Italian, such as *Contessa*, *Paradiso*, *Amato* or *Graffiti* not having a direct relation to the product category; Italian(-sounding) names such as *Cremetti*, *Grandessa*, *Conditola*, *Intermezzo*, *Concerto*, *Freschini*, *Mio* or *Crispini* are newer. Of particular note are formations which also a person without Italian language skills might perceive as not being Italian, for instance the rather new *Waffeletti*, *Mürbetti*, *Softini* or *Knusperia*. As with the latter examples, the suffixes *-etti*, *-ini*, *-eria* are often used (also with an additional plural-*s* as in the hybrid formation *Croissinis*, which is evidently based on French *croissant*). The stem is recognisable as German *mürb* ('crumbly'), *knusp(rig)* ('crunchy') and English *soft* (cf. also *Gustino Soft Cake* with *gustino* based on *gusto* 'taste') and offer the possibility of a semantic interpretation with an idea of the product being evoked.[20]

Probably for these products emotion-based associations related to Italy (fun, summer, holiday) or perhaps also exoticism are dominant here; also the playful use of language might be the underlying basis for these names. This seems to be relevant for the fruit gum products of Haribo, too, as fruit gum is not a typical Italian product either. Following Ronneberger-Sibold & Wahl (2014: 589), in these cases one can speak of emotional branding. Creations like *Pasta Frutta* or *Pasta Basta* on the visual level show resemblance to real *pasta*, *Tropi Frutti* or *Tutti Candi*, like *Fruiteria*, *Milifrutti* or *Zitronetti*, allow an interpretation with regard to (tropical) fruits and sweets.

As mentioned before, apart from the name as such, the brand communication is of significance, too, because packaging, advertising etc. reveal if the reference to Italy is intended or if the brand name is chosen only to elicit an idea of exoticism (as for example for majority of the products of Haribo). In what follows, two advertising campaigns (and especially the TV commercials) are examined, both concerning products that Italy is especially renowned for, i.e. *pizza* and coffee. Hence, for the analysis the focus will be on possible divergences in framing as the predominance of the frame ITALY can be expected.

The first case is given with the advertising of the French *la Bella pizza Italiana* (2017) by Panzani.[21] In the commercial of interest here (http://www.packshotmag.com/films/panzani-la-bella-pizza-italiana/) different elements evoking the frame ITALY are used, such as the linguistic signs *cuisson au feu de bois* ('wood-fired') or the introducing comment 'Pour trouver la meilleure pizza, pourquoi aller en Italie?' ('to find the best pizza, why go to Italy?'). On the visual level, at the beginning of the advert, a man using a *pizza* shovel normally used in *pizzerie* to put the *pizza* into the oven and take it out is shown, and in the background oil, tomatoes, several *mozzarella* balls, etc. can be seen. The presented *pizza* is covered with tomatoes, basil and hard cheese shavings. Further, the process of *pizza* making is demonstrated (including the throwing of the *pizza*). The background music, though, is not Italian and the group of young people shows no reference to Italy. The packaging faded in bears the mark 'produite en Italie' ('made in Italy') together with the Italian tricolour – this is particularly interesting as the company is France-based. The frames evoked are undoubtedly ITALY (or ITALIAN LIFESTYLE) and YOUNG RELAXED URBAN LIFE (young people, English music in the background, modern spacious apartment).

The second example taken into consideration is *Dallmayr crema d'Oro* with an advertising campaign comprising print advertisements and television commercials. The adverts have Moritz Bleibtreu, a popular German actor, drinking his *caffè* (notably referred to as *espresso* in German) at

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20. For names such as *Kordelli* or *Welloni*, both designations for types of pasta, the hybrid character might lead to a less positive perception of the product as the product category is a typically Italian one. Cf. the works of Cotticelli Kurras (2014) and Ronneberger-Sibold & Wahl (2014) for associations in general on the basis of the Maslow pyramid or hierarchy of need. Cotticelli Kurras (2014: 452–453) splits up the pyramid, differentiating connotation domains and related associations (e.g. the connotation domain *Curiosity* covers detail knowledge such as 'the world', 'exotic', 'international', 'progress', 'magic' and evokes associations such as 'internationality', 'modern world', 'mobility'; linguistically this is expressed by the use of elements of foreign languages in brand names or hybrid names). For the evaluation of brand names with regard to their formation (and 'Italianness') cf. Rieger (2008: 156–165). For shortcomings of word association tests cf. Aitchison (2002: 99–103).

21. The name of the company reflects, up to today, the founder's origin, and also the logo with the colours green, white and red alludes to Italy. In the 1950s and 1960s instead of *pâte* the Italian *pasta* was regularly used; references such as *a l'italiana di lusso* in the tagline were frequent. Linguistically this is a mix of *à l'italienne* and *all'italiana*; *di lusso* is probably intended as 'luxury', *pasta di lusso* seems rather strange.

the Dallmayr store (in the city centre of Munich). Apart from the logo of Dallmayr the text elements say 'Veni. Vidi. Wie in Italien' ('Veni. Vidi. As in Italy.')[22] and 'Aroma: Sì! – Qualität: Ja!' ('Aroma: yes! – Quality: yes!'). The slogan is 'Dolce vita in Dallmayr Qualität' ('dolce vita in Dallmayr quality')[23] and summarises the two frames evoked by the advertisement, as with both ITALY and GERMANY the stereotypical features are activated, highlighting the important aspects of indulgence (Italy) and high quality (Germany).[24] The photo of the advertisement with Bleibtreu sitting in the corner of the café might be intended to give a similar superposition of the frames, but this is detectable only for those who have some knowledge concerning Italian coffee culture – for instance, in Italy it is rather unusual to sit down just for the consumption of a coffee, which instead is normally drunk at the bar in a couple of minutes. The other advertisement shows Bleibtreu sitting on his Vespa with a cup of coffee in his hand – with the Vespa being further evidence of the ITALY frame. Considering the commercial (autumn 2018), the atmosphere of Italian lifestyle is unmistakably at the centre of interest (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G1NdnctQ5mE), but the idea of combining the two frames is once again essential. This is valid for the background music, which at the beginning is reminiscent of singer-songwriter Paolo Conte, but then turns into the jingle of Dallmayr. The commercial starts with Bleibtreu arriving on his Vespa at the Dallmayr shop with many people greeting in Italian (even Italianising his first name: 'Ciao Maurizio, come stai?' ('Hey Moritz, how are you?')). Entering the café he asks the *barista* why all the people outside were talking to him in Italian; the barista prepares the coffee with a typical filter holder espresso machine and after taking a sip of it at the bar, Bleibtreu says 'ach so' ('got it'). The people outside and inside are sitting at tables or at the bar, and – following the intention of Dallmayr – represent Italian guests who come to the Dallmayr café because of the good coffee they love so much in their home country (cf. the comment on the part of Dallmayr concerning the criticism of some viewers on YouTube). The commercial offers Italian atmosphere in a German environment; for people not familiar with Italian coffee culture the scenery might be acceptable as a typically Italian one. For those who have spent a bit of time in Italy, though, the differences become clear at once. This shows in a rather ideal manner the culture relatedness of frames as indicated by Fillmore.[25] The superposition of the two frames leads to a new idea, the one of high-quality coffee with Italian aroma which promises a bit of Italian lifestyle to be experienced in Munich (and at home). The emergent construct embeds structures from both frames. Though normally referred to in the context of metaphorical language use, the adaptation of the concept of a blended space seems appropriate also for examples like the Dallmayr advertisement (and for the *pizza* of Panzani, but less clearly). There are several linguistic, but also visible and auditive elements which evoke the central frames which help stabilise the blended mental space. The acceptance of the new structure depends not only on the linguistic elements used and the command of Italian, but also on the knowledge about Italian coffee culture and stereotyped behaviour patterns.

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22.   Of course, *veni* and *vidi* are Latin and allude to the exclamation 'Veni, vidi, vici' of Caesar.

23.   The noun phrase *dolce vita* seems a bit strange, as it does not have much to do with drinking a coffee and refers to the Italian 1960s (and especially a film by Federico Fellini).

24.   As for the *pizza* of Panzani, the quality of the product is especially highlighted, which seems a bit presumptuous (cf. 'la meilleure pizza', 'Qualität: ja') and as if the foreign copies of Italian products were better than the originals.

25.   The website shows the whole range of *d'Oro* products. So, for *crema d'Oro intensa* the text refers to *Cappuccino*, *Latte Macchiato* – the latter rarely to be found in Italy – and *Caffè Crema*, a Swiss coffee speciality. For *crema d'Oro mild & fein* the (non-Italian) beverages *Caffè Crema*, *Café Crème* and *Schümli* are indicated (all of them naming the same coffee speciality!). Finally, the *Selektion des Jahres 2020* ('selection of the year 2020') of the d'Oro assortment is *d'Oro Mexiko*, with a raspberry red packaging showing a *sombrero*. Perhaps the idea of this assortment is to bundle international coffee specialities under the (pseudo-)Italian name as Germans have a higher awareness of Italian coffee specialities than of others. In addition, the brand name (*crema d'Oro*) is a good example of the continuous, striking use of *crema* in (German) advertising contexts, an element not used in the context of Italian coffee culture as it is self-evident nowadays (cf. the invention of a coffee machine by Gaggia in the 1940s, naming the coffee *caffè crema espresso* applied to what is known as *caffè* (*espresso*) today). The same holds for *barista*, who in Italy is normally referred to as the person preparing the different coffee specialities at a bar, although he also needs to have knowledge of roasting (but doesn't do it); in Germany the *barista* is seen as the absolute expert, and so is mentioned in advertising to underline the quality of a coffee product (cf. the mark of '*barista* – long roasting time' on the package of *crema d'Oro intensa*).

For the average user the brand communication probably seems coherent and therefore the use of a pseudo-Italian brand name (probably not perceived as such) will encounter a high degree of acceptance for the product.

4. Concluding Remarks

Summing up, it can be concluded that the semantic content of brand names sounding Italian is in some cases analysable. In the associative field for products of a category that Italy is known for, one has to distinguish between products with an Italian brand name – for most language users presumably evoking the direct association 'Italy', and linked to this the indirect association 'good quality' – as is the case with authentic Italian products, and products with a pseudo-Italian or hybrid name at worst leading to the association 'bad quality'. In addition, both the brand name and the related

communication activate one or more frames which might lead to blended spaces that can be defined as brand-specific frames. For product categories such as *pizza*, *pasta* or coffee the ITALY frame seems to be central, as they are in competition with genuine Italian products – hence, the brand communication seems coherent with regard to the product category. Consequently, for other categories such as cookies, dairy products or fruit gum it is almost always the brand name only that evokes the frame ITALY, whereas the brand communication does not confirm this frame, but rather highlights associations like 'fun', 'exotism' etc. These are not Italy-specific, but emphasise the emotions which the manufacturer intends to be related to the product.

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Entrepreneurial Naming and Scaling of Urban Places

The Case of Nya Hovås

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Abstract

In this paper we investigate Nya Hovås, a completely new neighbourhood in Gothenburg, where the construction has been accompanied by an extensive and expensive advertising campaign. For this purpose, we draw upon a multi-pronged theoretical framework that brings together Lefebvre's (1991) notions of conceived, perceived and lived space, with current sociolinguistic work on scale (Carr & Lempert 2016) and Harvey's (1989) critical insights about urban development as produced through public-private partnership. With the help of these theoretical tools, this paper analyses the processes of *naming, branding* and *signing* used by the entrepreneurs in order to increase Nya Hovås' value and attractiveness. The argument of the paper is that the 'newness' of the neighbourhood is conceived and perceived on three different scales: (1) on a spatial scale Nya Hovås indexes international flair and globality through textual, graphic and architectural resources; (2) on a temporal scale, Nya Hovås is created as a new and liberal form of the old and conservative high-end Hovås, and (3) on a socioeconomic scale, Nya Hovås is conceived as a mixed-use urban neighbourhood. However, the perceived and lived space signals exclusivity and cultural homogeneity. Ultimately, the entrepreneurial place-making of Nya Hovås is both profiting on and contributing to urban polarization.

Keywords

Urban entrepreneurialism, Nya Hovås, place-making, signing, onomastics.

Introduction

'Linnégatan in the countryside', 'Sea and nature, and the best of the city' and 'The advantages of the big city and the small-town'. These were the initial slogans for Nya Hovås, a brand new neighbourhood built in the wealthy and racially white southern suburbia of Gothenburg. Since the creation of this new urban area began, when few people knew about this place at all, an intensive marketing campaign has aimed at locating this new place in people's imaginary. In this process, references were frequently made to existing places, ranging from the popular Gothenburg neighbourhood Linnéstaden with the high street Linnégatan, to international metropoles such as New York and Dubai. As the neighbourhood was being created outside the actual city borders, the initial slogans tried, on the one hand, to connect it to the city, and on the other, to underline the qualities of the countryside and closeness to the sea. As a result of this tension between the urban and the rural, Nya Hovås has been conceptualized very differently by different constituencies: as an urban neighbourhood by some entrepreneurs, as a highway juncture by the municipal authorities, or as a shopping mall by Google.

It is precisely the multiplicity of (often contradictory) representations of Nya Hovås that we aim to investigate in this paper, focusing in particular on the relationship between the creation of meaning, the production of value and the negotiations of power relationship. For this purpose, we draw upon Henri Lefebvre's well-known tripartite distinction between conceived, perceived and lived space. More specifically, we are inspired by Giorgia Aiello's (2013) operationalization of Lefebvre's ideas to a case of 'urban regeneration' in Leeds. Indeed, Aiello discusses the refurbishing of an existing urban neighbourhood, the deindustrialized and depopulated waterfront of Leeds. In contrast, the case we discuss here is the creation of a completely new neighbourhood situated 12 kilometers south of Gothenburg city center. These differences notwithstanding, the semiotic processes of place-making can be captured through a similar analytical toolkit that distinguishes between (1) *conceived space*, which is produced by the communicative strategies and tools used by the entrepreneur to produce a new top-down vision of place, (2) *perceived space*, which accounts for the actual and

physical materialization of the place, and (3) *lived space*, which describes the meeting point of the planned vision and its materialization in the daily life of the neighbourhood (adapted from Aiello 2013: 2, 6). Needless to say, while this distinction is analytically appealing in order to flesh out different semiotic processes of place-making, the three dimensions of space are bound together in a dialectic relationship. As David Harvey (1989: 5) puts it, 'urbanisation should, rather, be regarded as a spatially grounded social process in which a wide range of different actors with quite different objectives and agendas interact through a particular configuration of interlocking spatial practices'.

Nya Hovås presents a particularly interesting case of urbanization because we are following in real time the discursive process through which different social actors compete with each other in making Nya Hovås a place with specific meanings and values. The focus of this paper is on the main stages of the place-making process as it manifests itself in the *naming*, *signing* and *branding* performed by the principal entrepreneur, Next Step Group. In other words, our analysis concentrates on the conceived and perceived spaces in Lefebvre's typology. We are cognizant, however, that new inhabitants and visitors to Nya Hovås will shape and mark the place with their lifestyle and participate in the negotiation of its identity, value and function. The lived space will eventually change the perceived and conceived space. This is however going to be investigated in a following paper.

In what follows, we begin with presenting the conceptual and methodological framework that underpins the paper; we then move on to analyse the naming, signing and branding of the neighbourhood; we end with some concluding remarks and a discussion of how the creation of Nya Hovås should be seen in relation to the development of Gothenburg as a whole and then risks contributing to urban polarization.

1. Conceptual Framework and Note on Method and Data Collection

The notion of *urban village* originally described poor people moving from rural areas into cheap

inner-city quarters that had been left after the middle-classes had relocated to the suburbs (Crow 2009). However, 'the distinctive quarters of cities that have been created to service the consumption patterns of the service class, constitute the most notable contemporary expression of the urban village' (Crow 2009: 104). As will be demonstrated by our analysis, the urban village of Nya Hovås appears to be constructed principally for white Swedish (upper) middle-class people. This applies to both younger generations leaving the inner city for a family life in the countryside, and older generations of villa-dwellers that seek an urban ambience and lifestyle without leaving the countryside.

In this paper, we argue that the creation of Nya Hovås as an urban village or a new urban neighbourhood shall be seen as an expression of *urban entrepreneurialism* and Harvey's (1989) idea that urban development increasingly is produced through public-private partnerships. Previous work on urban entrepreneurialism in Gothenburg shows how such partnerships have contributed to the creation of a new public image of post-industrial Gothenburg, and a redistribution and repurposing of public space in line with the interests of investors and middle-class consumers (Franzén, Hertting & Thörn 2016). Building on this work, we suggest that scales and scalar work are relevant conceptual tools for analyzing how such partnerships work to increase a place's value, attraction and competitiveness. Drawing on Carr & Lempert's (2016) account of scale, Järlehed & Moriarty (2018: 30) define *scalar work* as 'the social practice we engage in when we imagine something as something else (newer-older, better-worse, etc.), as well as when we position something or someone on a scale – be it spatial, temporal or socioeconomic – and ascribe particular meaning to this position'. In this sense, scale offers a fine-grained analytical tool through which to operationalize Lefebvre's theoretical ideas of conceived and perceived space. More specifically, our analysis will show that the entrepreneur's production of the conceived and perceived space of Nya Hovås involves the very imagining of this neighbourhood as 'new', both in relation to the existing close-by neighbourhood of Hovås and in the sense of a 'new' form of urban settlement and life-style. Moreover, scale helps us

capture the positioning of the area in spatial and socioeconomic terms: at the same time as local and international/cosmopolitan, and as wealthy and safe.

Scale-making hence produces certain ways of seeing and being, and excludes others. Or, as argued by Blommaert (2007), scale always operates as a stratified and stratifying mechanism in social interaction. The analysis of the production of the conceived and perceived space of Nya Hovås clearly shows how the scalar work builds on and reproduces patterns of social inequality, as well as dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. The multimodal communication we analyze demonstrates how a wide range of semiotic resources are deployed within this process. Furthermore, we suggest that the purpose of what we term *entrepreneurial scaling* is to upscale and increase the value of a place, its inhabitants and activities by constructing a new public image. As already said, it takes the form of public-private partnerships and Franzén, Hertting & Thörn (2016: 25) identify two principal motives behind these partnerships: an economic motive to make profit and, linked to it, a symbolic motive to strengthen the attractiveness and competitiveness of a certain place and its trademark. The two motives are thought to reinforce each other. The property owners coordinate the store-keepers to make them contribute to the production of a common public image of the neighbourhood. This is supposed to increase the value of the properties and businesses. The attractiveness for the city lies in increased tax revenues from both housing and commerce.

In Nya Hovås, the principal entrepreneur Next Step Group owns all commercial buildings and decides which commercial actors can establish their businesses in the area; the retailers need to sign a document called *Nya Hovås Kvaliteter: En småskalig blandstad i världsklass* ('The Qualities of Nya Hovås: A world class mixed-use city in small scale'). This document establishes the values that the store-keepers are supposed to reproduce and transmit. The commercial vision is formulated in the following way:

> a 'Linnégatan in the countryside' with small personal specialist shops cooperating with retailers on a slightly larger scale and

a number of exclusive stores. This commercial mix in combination with the city environment as a whole will make *Nya Hovås* a local center, a destination even for people from other places.

In order to implement the motive and vision, a common set of strategies has been developed, and these are 'strikingly visual' (Franzén, Hertting and Thörn 2016: 25). For our analysis of Nya Hovås we concentrate on the choice of names and languages, visual design and thematization, selection of commercial establishments, architecture and advertising campaigns.

1.1. Methodological Considerations

Since this study investigates the relationships between public language displays, on the one hand, and social actors, structures and processes of change, on the other, we have made a photo documentation of commercial enterprises (such as companies, shops, restaurants) in Nya Hovås during the period 2016–2019. Based on a multimodal approach to signage (Kress 2010; Kress & van Leeuwen 1996 and 2001), all visible inscriptions and graphic design of totally 81 storefronts have been analysed, within the frame of ethnographic linguistic landscape studies (Shohamy, Ben-Rafael & Barni 2010). This approach allows us to give an account of how public language displays interact with socioeconomic structures and the built environment. We have also analysed street signs in the Nya Hovås neighbourhood, in addition to advertising and official documents distributed by the entrepreneurs, both in public space and on web pages. Furthermore, we have taken part of decision minutes from the Name Drafting Committee of Gothenburg regarding decisions on names in Nya Hovås. The names displayed in the area are analysed within the frame of onomastic studies (cf. Puzey 2016; Sandst 2016).

Along with participatory observations in the neighbourhood, we have conducted situated recorded interviews with different categories of informants. We have interviewed storekeepers of five businesses, and in order to voice people's lived experiences of languages in public space and their experiences of the new area, we have conducted open interviews with five, both young and old,

residents in the area. We have also interviewed the architect from the City Planning Office who worked with the original planning of Nya Hovås, two representatives of the main entrepreneur, Next Step Group, and Löfgren branding, the brand development agency that initially was contracted for marketing the project, as well as one representative from the Name Drafting Committee of Gothenburg and another from the local history society.

2. Analysis of the Urban Entrepreneurial Strategies Used in the Production of Nya Hovås

In order to realize the vision of Nya Hovås, a set of strategies have been developed.

2.1. Blurring of Boundaries and Roles

In an initial plan of the area (provided by Löfgren Branding), the municipality and the private entrepreneurs have divided the different building sectors between themselves. The municipal authorities are only part of the building plan dedicated to building housing. The other part of the plan is projecting commerce and culture and only involves private entrepreneurs and the housing cooperative HSB.

However, the public program of the co-working-office *The House*, which in the plan is presented as a place for culture, basically includes a series of talks about entrepreneurship, social media, design and mindfulness, plus kick-offs and afterwork events (see The House). In a newspaper piece from 2016, one of the two owners of Next Step Group, Jacob Torell, further refers to schools, together with offices and shops as 'commercial space' (cited by Mark Isitt in the newspaper Göteborgs-Posten 2016-08-20). This signals that the private actors are taking over some of the responsibilities that in Sweden normally are ascribed to public authorities. It can further be seen as contributing to what Leeman and Modan (2009: 338) describe as the 'blurring of the boundaries between culture and consumption':

Culture is used both to frame public space and to legitimate the appropriation of that space by private and commercial interests (Zukin 1998). As cities and themed environments become sites of "shopertainment" (Hannigan 1998), consumption becomes culture, and culture becomes consumption.

According to the representative of Next Step Group whom we interviewed in 2017, Next Step Group maintains a continuous dialogue with both the local district council Askim-Frölunda-Högsbo and the city council. At the same time, however, she said that 'the municipality isn't visible in this part of town…' and that 'since we [Next Step Group] are so public… we have become some sort of a civic office'. According to Franzén, Hertting & Thörn (2016: 45) the possibility to hold the public authorities accountable for the development of public space is a central democratic function. Although Next Step Group see themselves as a civic office, they are not entitled to take over such responsibility from the municipality. As a result, when something goes wrong or a new inhabitant in the area wants to file a complaint, there is no established process for this.

2.2. What's in a Name? *Nya Hovås*

Since the neighbourhood was created from scratch, it is unsurprising that the choice of name became an issue of paramount importance. By naming, space can be given meaning and become a place (Cresswell 2015). Moreover, the naming of a place is always a socially embedded act that involves power relations (Vuolteenaho & Berg 2009: 9). Hence, tracing the process of naming can shed light on power negotiations and contestations. The naming of places is furthermore one of the primary means of attempting to construct demarcated spatial identities. Toponyms convert and stabilize geographical localities into places with values and capabilities. The analysis of which toponyms are selected to identify and locate a place, and which places are selected to be identified through different kinds of public and commercial signs, allows insight into the dominant forces at play in the landscape (Mitchell 2008: 43).

The entrepreneurs contracted the brand development agency Löfgren Branding, who intro-duced the name *Nya Hovås*. Johan Löfgren at Löfgren branding (interviewed in October 2017) sustained that the name's connotation is sometimes more important than the actual denotation. He emphasized that the associations that a name raises are important for the neighbourhood's identity and brand. According to the map and the city authorities, the place where the new area is built is called *Brottkärr* or *Brottkärrsmotet* ('Brottkärr junction'). So one would have expected the new neighbourhood to be given the same name, but, according to Löfgren, this would not have been viable as a selling name because it did not sound fancy enough. Another possibility would have been to connect to the neighboring but quite unknown areas Kopparkärret or Lyckhem.

Yet, the brand development agency chose the name *Nya Hovås* in order to connect to the prestigious and older neighbourhood Hovås, north of Nya Hovås, and thereby imbue the new neighbourhood with 'the sense of luxury' associated with *Hovås,* as Johan Löfgren put it. Morever, while the affluent area of Hovås is well-known in Gothenburg and Sweden, *Brottkärr* or *Lyckhem* are unknown to a broader audience. Put differently, through the (synechdocic) relation to *Hovås*, the new neighbourhood of Nya Hovås is filled with high values and connotations. Proof of this is that brokers immediately started to use the name and advertised housing objects in nearby areas as situated in Nya Hovås (Hemnet).

However, the Name Drafting Committee of Gothenburg rejected the name with the argument that there is no such name as *Gamla Hovås* ('Old Hovås'). It should be mentioned for contextual purposes that the Name Drafting Committee in Gothenburg comprises a group of local politicians that suggest and decide upon official names for urban places, and to understand their reasoning, it is important to be familiar with the Swedish name law, a part of the Swedish Historic Environment Act. In Swedish state and local government operations 'good place name practice' (*god ortnamnssed*) is to be observed. Emphasis is placed on linguistic correctness, but even stronger on the importance of preserving place names as part of the nation's cultural heritage. The result of the committee's decision led to a conflict between the consortium and the Name Drafting Committee, in the sense

that the name *Nya Hovås* now exists on a commercial level but is (still) not accepted as an official name. This kind of tension between two identical names is well known in Scandinavian context where an explanatory supplement has been used to distinguish localities, cf. Jørgensen (1977).

2.3. *Nya Hovås* as Trademark: Privatization of Public Space

An important challenge for entrepreneurial place-making and branding is to achieve a stabilized and naturalized popular understanding of the place that is in line with the entrepreneurs' vision. Medway and Warnaby (2014) contend that trademarks and brands work in a similar way to place names in the sense that both contribute to simplifying and fixing a complex and fluid social reality. They further say that: 'Whilst place brands per se are far more than their logos and slogans, it is these that represent the most visible aspect of place marketing efforts' (2014: 153).

In 2012, Nya Hovås was one of the first Swedish neighbourhoods to register its place name as trademark (PRV). As a general tendency, we interpret this as a sign of an increased privatization of public space (cf. Sassen 2016).

The name *nya Hovås* was registered with lowercase *n* but is now generally written with a capital *N*: *Nya Hovås*. This signals an increased social recognition of the place name. At the same time, however, in 2012 the consortium registered a logo that after a couple of years was replaced by a new one which was never registered (Fig. 1). This logo was designed by Milk and consists of a white heart with *nya Hovås* written in red letters. According to Next Step Group, the heart was chosen because it is 'inviting and friendly' and 'for making reference to New York' (interview December 2017). In a second interview, they added that it corresponds to the idea of Nya Hovås as 'a destination', where 'everything fits into the heart': service, businesses, flats and inhabitants (interview May 2019). These ideas are consistent with Jaworski's (2015: 228) description of the widespread graphic and visual play with the heart as a semiotic strategy 'linking commerce with affect'. However, surprisingly, Next Step Group was not aware of the fact that the heart logo in use is not registered as a trademark. Neither did they know that the one registered is running out in 2022 if it is not renewed. These shifting writing practices and logo designs indicate that the status and value of both the place name *Nya Hovås* and the brand *nya Hovås* are still somewhat open to debate.

2.4. Selective Historicization as Place-Branding Tool

The conflict between the consortium and the Name Drafting Committee escalated when names were needed for new streets and housing areas in the neighbourhood. This disagreement illustrates the often contested nature of scalar work (Järlehed & Moriarty 2018), when different constituencies are reimagined and repositioned in temporal, spa-

Figure 1. The registered logo of *nya Hovås* (left) and the non-registered but used logo (right).

tial and socioeconomic terms. As mentioned by Azaryahu (2009), street names and the version of history they introduce into the public sphere, belong to the semiotic makeup of local and national identity and the structure of power and authority. They inscribe an official version of history into the cityscape, and introduce this version of history into networks of social communication. They connote a certain ideology about what should be remembered and where, and contribute to the production of conceived space. In other words, street names express the structures of power (Azaryahu 1996: 321).

The Name Drafting Committee suggested creating new street names out of old local names, such as names of old farms and cottages with the purpose of describing the history of the area and remembering former inhabitants. Examples are: *Kunga-Amandas Gränd* 'King-Amanda's alley' and *Petter-Jons Gränd* 'Petter-Jon's alley'. The consortium, however, was dissatisfied. Through naming they wanted to proclaim the beginning of a new urban era and therefore they preferred names associated with modern global values, for example

Figure 2. The not officially accepted name *Hovås Hills* is used in social media.

names with the Swedish generics *allé* 'boulevard', *stråk* 'street, path' and *esplanad* 'avenue' in order to upscale the area and to fulfill the commercial vision. Those generics are popular in many new urban areas in Sweden (Nyström 2013). However, the Name Drafting Committee rejected most of the consortium's suggestions. The consortium also suggested that the newly built-up area that carries the official name *Uggleberget* 'Owl mountain' should be named *Hovås Hills* (in English) and wanted to add a sign with the name (similar to the Nya Hovås sign, see below) on the mountain. Again, this was rejected with reference to good place name-practice, which includes avoiding anglicisms. However, *Hovås Hills* is used today by a housing society situated on the hill, thus existing on a commercial level and being used in social media (see Fig. 2).

A fundamental idea in the Nya Hovås project was the new commercial center formation, something that seemed to be lacking in neighbouring areas and which would increase the area's attractiveness. According to Next Step Group, urban naming should strengthen the center formation. The socially charged notion of *allé* ('boulevard') became actualized. Here too, *Linnégatan* was a model. For this future boulevard the consortium suggested the name *Nya Hovås Allé*, which was rejected on the grounds that *Nya Hovås* is not an official name. Instead, as a political compromise, *Hovås Allé* was agreed on. The planning also included a square, for which the consortium suggested the name *Hovås Torg* 'Hovås square'. The name was not accepted since it was argued that the square is located too far from Hovås and hence considered misleading. Instead the committee voted for *Åsarnas torg* 'The square of the ridges', derived from several surrounding names ending with -*ås* 'ridge'. This name was introduced by the local history society and seems to be appreciated by people living in the neighboring areas (Interview with the chairperson of the local history society, March 2019). Next Step Group disliked the name, arguing that people living and working in Nya Hovås use the name *Spektrumtorget* 'Spektrum square' after the house called *Spektrumhuset* at the intended square. Spektrumhuset is supposed to be an architectural icon in the neighbourhood; it houses a private school

and, at the street level, a high-end restaurant, several exclusive shops, a yoga studio, several beauty parlors and a bowling alley. According to the architect website: 'As the name suggests, the building accommodates a spectrum ('Spektrum') of businesses, which together creates a dynamic and lively building for all generations' (Semrén-Månsson). Thus, the naming is well-reasoned and connected to place branding, and at the same time it reflects the spectacular design of the building: the facade is made up by lamellas of golden metal with the purpose of regulating sunlight and both naming and design contribute to a symbolic infrastructure. It is interesting to notice how the use of names – *Åsarnas torg* versus *Spektrumtorget* – is an element in constructing a sense of 'we-ness' and belonging (Anthias 2009), and also mediating the conflict between new and old residents in the area. These examples underscore what Vuolteenaho & Ainiala describe as the 'blurring of the paradigmatic dichotomy drawn between the spheres of official and commercial naming' (2009: 232).

Nya Hovås' rural history does not fit into the vision of this new, urban area. Instead, Next Step Group wants to highlight another, more urban and international, history. The so-called *Kodak-*

huset is a landmark in the neighbourhood. It was built by Kodak in 1982, but due to the failing market, Kodak left Gothenburg in 1989. In 2006, Next Step Group took over the house and asked the writer and photographer Jan Jörnmark to describe the house's roots and history which resulted in an exhibition about Kodak's history, the city of Rochester (where Kodak's head office was located) and also the city planning in Nya Hovås (Jörnmark 2016). Through this exhibition, Nya Hovås was placed in an urban and international context. When Next Step Group took over the house, they changed the name to *Origohuset*. However, that name was never really used, and in 2018 Next Step Group changed it back to *Kodakhuset*. This renaming was performed as a way to show that the entrepreneur had listened to the people: in Next Step Group's advertising campaigns, the change of name is highlighted as an example of a successful dialogue with the inhabitants (Fig. 3). The public recognition and symbolic value of the name is further reflected in the launch of the unofficial name *SoKo* 'south of Kodakhuset'. Next Step Group is currently using it in social media and it is also visible on brass plaques on the building indicating the direction to offices.

Figure 3. Detail from brochure explaining the motive behind the name change from *Origohuset* to *Kodakhuset*.

The toponymic inscriptions in the landscape reflects the conflict between the Name Drafting Committee and some of the people who already lived in the area, on the one hand, and Next Step Group and the consortium on the other, and we can observe an opposition between the urban and the rural, the local and the global, and commercial interests vs. tradition-bound values. Consistently, different visions exist about the history of the area where Nya Hovås is being built. What existed before the establishment of the new neighbourhood? When we asked the entrepreneurs if someone lived there before, one of them answered:

> No. When I began working here, there was the Kodak house and there was the traffic junction. And then, there were two villas here, and there, where The House stands today, there was such a dilapidated small, what everyone called 'the drug house'... so it was very easy in that way. There were no great natural values but just a thoroughfare… (interview May 2019).

However, this discursive construction of Nya Hovås as a place without a (valuable) history does not remain uncontested. An old lady living in the area next to the new neighbourhood, and engaged in the local history society, told us about unheard protests and families which had been displaced. Indeed, on the 14th of November 2010, the city's largest newspaper published an editorial with the title: 'Does the building committee have any backbone?' The following day the city's building committee was to decide on the future of a family living in a house situated on Björklundavägen in Hovås, more or less where Next Step Group's headquarters, The House, is situated today. Consisting of a mother and father with two children, the family had been living in the house for generations and was now threatened with expropriation, which was eventually executed.

2.5. The Rhetorical and Performative Value of Newness and Mixedness

Above we saw how the first part of the place-name, *Nya* 'new', was chosen to create expectations for the newly built area, and how it distances the name and the place from the traditional conservative

lifestyle and values associated with neighbouring Hovås. The value of newness also emerges in the interview we made with one of the new residents in the neighbourhood. When we asked her what she liked about the neighbourhood, she replied: 'It's modern, super modern. It's fresh in the sense that it is not the old stuff that has always been there.'

From a more global point of view, we see how newness functions on three different scales: On a geographic and spatial scale, there is an old Hovås situated a few kilometers north of Nya Hovås. On a temporal scale, this version of Hovås pretends to do away with some of the qualities attached to the history of Hovås and add new ones. And on a socioeconomic scale, the neighbourhood addresses and attracts new groups of inhabitants, workers and consumers. However, as shown in the last section above, newness inherently implies oldness and history. It is symptomatic that Sharon Zukin begins her work of the gentrification of New York with a quote from Edward Said's *Beginnings*: 'Is the beginning of a given work it's [sic] real beginning, or is there some other secret point that more authentically starts the work off?' (Zukin 2010 [2011 in Swedish]). When a place is exploited by men, there are always competing interests regarding what parts of the history should be made visible, and what should be hidden.

It is therefore illustrative to see how the value of newness was also central when *AB Hofås Villastad* was established by private entrepreneurs in 1906. Three years earlier, a new railway had been built between Gothenburg and the prominent seaside resort Särö, some 25 km south of Hovås, and a group of entrepreneurs saw the potential for exploiting the land in Hovås and making a profit from selling new houses (Det Gamla Göteborg 2017). However, both cases of exploitation depended on the prior planning and establishment of infrastructure provided by the public authorities. The area where Nya Hovås is being constructed today, was planned for collective housing and communications already in the 1990s (interview with Barbro Sundström, former planner of the Gothenburg City Planning Office, March 2019; interview with the chairperson of the local history society, March 2019). The entrepreneurs further depended on financial resources and good contacts with the local political elite (interview

with Barbro Sundström, March 2019). What we see is how the discourse of newness effectively hides parts of the history of the place: the public planning work; the former inhabitants; the economic and social capital of the two young entrepreneurs, which they had inherited from their parents.

In a similar vein, one of the key words used for describing the neighbourhood is *mixed*. The slogan-like caption 'En småskalig blandstad i världsklass', a small-scale world-class mixed city, is repeatedly used by all of the entrepreneurs involved to take part in the exploitation and marketing of Nya Hovås, i.e. in the production of its conceived space. The entrepreneur is here echoing the explicit ambitions of the City Planning Office. With a view to the commercial exploitation of the area, the Authority clearly states that it needs to assure social mixing, offering housing for people with different income, background and age (Gothenburg City Planning Authority 2011: 8, 2014: 1). However, during our many visits and walks through the area we rarely saw any people with migrant background or heard any other languages than Swedish (except for the Polish and Russian construction workers). This impression is confirmed by both municipal statistics and our interviews with shop owners in Nya Hovås: the neighbourhood has a very homogeneous population. The percentage of inhabitants with foreign background is among the lowest in the city at the same time that the levels of income and education are among the highest.

Hence, it is perhaps not strange that Next Step Group hesitated somewhat when we asked them in what sense Nya Hovås should be seen as 'mixed'. In our first interview in November 2017, they took a quite defensive stance and stated that 'the concept of *blandstad* is overused, we don't really like it anymore, it is easy to criticize, we'll probably phase it out, it changes all the time and everyone uses it, what does it really mean?'. However, the word *mixed* has continued being used and we therefore asked them again in May 2019. This time, they explained that it should not be seen as referring to the people living in the neighbourhood, but to the commercial offer and architecture. As pointed out by Loretta Lees (2008), the idea of mixed(-use) cities and neighbourhoods is used as a key rheto-

rical device in contemporary processes of urban regeneration all over the Western world. In practice, however, it rarely leads to social mixing but rather to increased gentrification and segregation. Our analysis of the initial stages of the place-making process in Nya Hovås shows how the entrepreneur-lead production of the conceived space, i.e. Next Step Group's communicative strategies and tools, sometimes clashes with the actual materialization of the space, i.e the production of the perceived space. And how this – as illustrated by the renaming of Kodakhuset and the comment cited above regarding the meaning of the word *mixed* – sometimes makes the entrepreneur reconsider their communicative strategies.

2.6. Selective Indexing of Globality and Locality – the Symbolic Use of Toponyms

It is striking how already existing well-known place names are used in advertising campaigns to imagine and position the new area of Nya Hovås.

Figure 4. At an initial phase in Nya Hovås this text was to be read: 'The cranes in Dubai are a bit taller and a bit more numerous'.

Figure 5. The commercial names are in prestigious, often European, languages with a more symbolic than informative value.

In both traditional and new media as well as in public spaces, this area is affiliated with global glamorous places like New York, Hollywood, Marseille and Dubai, thus indicating urban coolness and international flair.

The commercial names in the area (see Fig. 5) are well thought out and shed further light on how the act of naming is used for commercial purposes. Creativity and linguistic diversity are characteristic features of this type of names (Moriarty & Järlehed 2019), and the obvious and expected tendency is that shops and other businesses in Nya Hovås have names in prestigious, often European, languages in order to upscale the shopping mall. The names are mainly in English (or names that give an English impression), but in the namescape we also find commercial names in Italian, French and even Japanese with a more symbolic than informative value (Spolsky 2009: 33). As mentioned by Sjöblom (2008: 362), the language choice may 'convey meanings

which are not present in the actual words that the name includes'. For instance, in Nya Hovås we find *Sociale Boqueria* designating a new restaurant, which is a compound of Italian and Catalan. While Italian is carrying high prestige and symbolic function in gastronomic contexts (Järlehed, Lykke Nielsen & Rosendal 2018), according to the manager of the restaurant (personal communication in April 2019), *Boqueria* is an indexical wink to the world famous market hall in Barcelona, Mercat de San Josep de la Boqueria, this way adding to the cosmopolitan aura of the neighbourhood. However, the socioeconomic upscaling of the neighbourhood not only involves international markers; some commercial names deploy Swedish to connect to local values: the name of the fishmonger, *158:ans fisk* (containing the name of the local highway 158) locates the shop as a place on the Swedish west coast which indicates quality when it comes to food, and in particular sea-food.

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2.7. The Hollywood-Sign as Mobile Place-Maker

One of the first manifestations indexing that something new was going on in the area, was the erection of a three meters high and ten meters broad sign, displaying the name *Nya Hovås* with huge white capital letters. The size, colour and typographic shape of the sign makes an intertextual link to the world-famous Hollywood sign, thereby establishing a particular indexicality that includes creativity, entertainment, fame and dreams. The sign was designed by the Communication Group of the consortium, which is composed by the Marketing Directors of the housing companies plus the design agency Sturm & Drang. According to Next Step Group, the aim of using the sign was to 'stick out a little, to suggest cheekiness, world class' (Interview December 2017). Next Step Group further explained that the sign was going to move along with the building process, and that they were not sure about its final destination.

The Hollywood sign in Nya Hovås can be compared with the parallel and popular initiative to erect a Hollywood sign displaying the name of *Hisingen* on Ramberget, a centrally located hill in Gothenburg. The campaign was driven by a desire to increase the visibility and status of the island Hisingen, which comprises a large part of the city and a large portion of immigrant and working class people. Even though the campaign had gathered 10,000 signatures, in 2016 it was turned down by the city authorities on the grounds that the sign would cause irreparable damages to the hill (GöteborgDirekt 2016-03-25). When we asked Next Step Group if they had permission for putting up such a big sign, they answered: 'Have we asked for permission, I wonder? [*laughter*] It's our land' (interview December 2017).

When first erected in 1923, the Hollywood sign read *Hollywoodland*. The generic *-land* was very popular at the beginning of the 20th century and was 'referring to a special dreamlike place' and 'a general feel-good association' (Braudy 2011: 80), capitalized by Disneyland and many others. The huge sign was put up as an advertisement for a local real estate development and hence the letters were placed facing east 'where [according to Leo

Braudy] the buyers would presumably be coming from' (Braudy 2011: 80). Although the Hollywood sign today is permanent and considered an American icon, it was first thought of as a temporary structure with a specific purpose: to draw attention to and market new land for economic investments. Interestingly, this is very similar to how the Nya Hovås sign has been used.

Since its first placement along the highway exit, the sign has been moved at least twice to new places (Fig. 6). The logic behind the relocation seems to be the marking of the current frontier of the exploitation process, and hence the expansion of Nya Hovås. It was first placed near the southward highway exit, thus addressing potential investors, clients and residents travelling out of town. The second placement marked the expansion up on the southern hill, Uggleberget, and served to point out the centre of the neighbourhood for the new residents – the sign was then accompanied by the entrepreneur's public office. The current placement indicates that the neighbourhood is expanding eastwards. It also highlights the construction site of Nodi, a wooden office building that is marketed as the new architectural gem of Nya Hovås (Lokalguiden).

The Hollywood sign is perhaps the most spectacular of all the different urban entrepreneurial resources deployed by Next Step Group. It fully qualifies as an expression of the consistent preferences for 'quotation and fiction rather than invention and function, and, finally, for medium over message and image over substance' (Harvey 1989: 11) that characterize urban entrepreneurialism.

3. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

We want to conclude going back to Harvey's seminal piece on urban entrepreneurialism, with which we opened this paper. One of his central arguments is that 'the activity of that public-private partnership is entrepreneurial precisely because it is speculative in execution and design and therefore dogged by all the difficulties and dangers which attach to speculative as opposed to rationally planned and coordinated development' (Harvey 1989: 7). Next Step Group's use of different resources
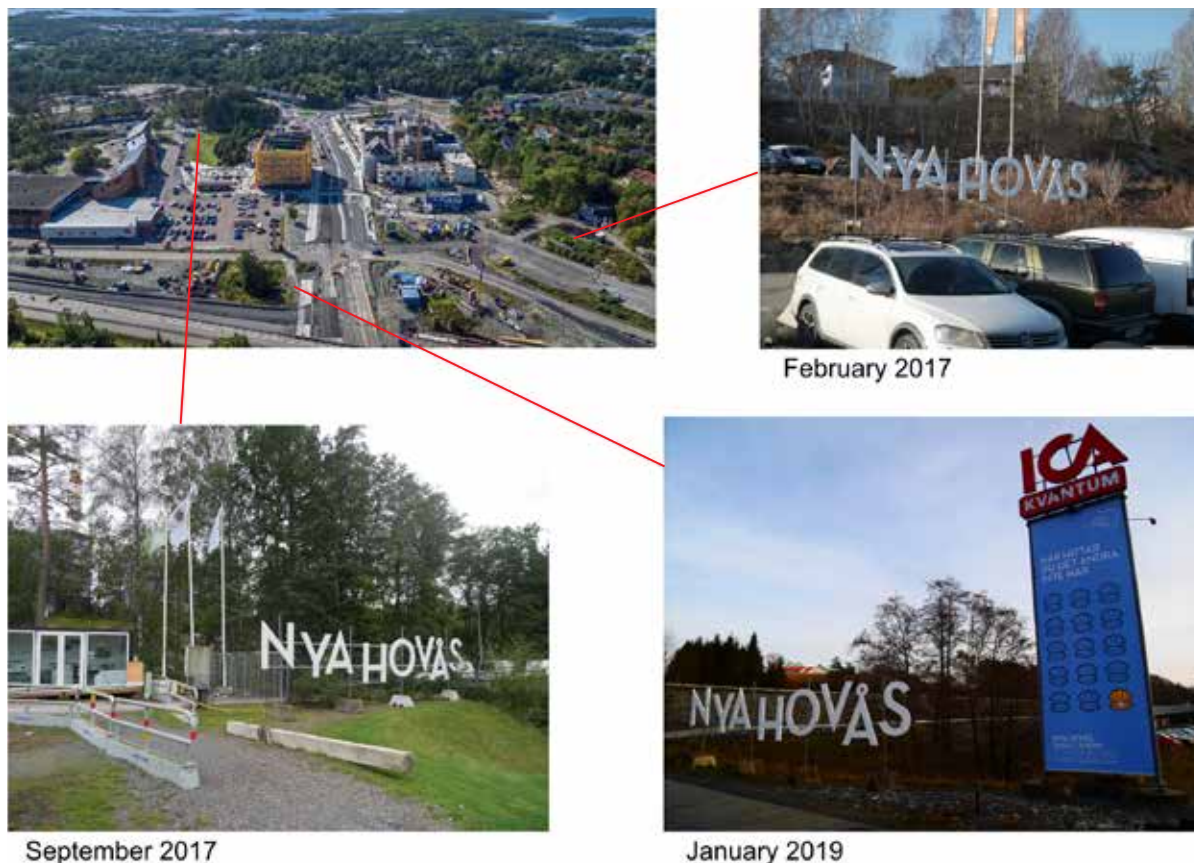
Figure 6. The strategic replacing of the Hollywood sign.

such as names (*Nya Hovås*, *Kodakhuset*), toponymic references, the Hollywood sign, the logo, and the notion of *blandstad* 'mixed city' is speculative and lighthearted. The use of these resources is not planned and coordinated with the public authorities; rather, they are used as Next Step Group see fit for each situation.

Throughout the analysis above, we have seen how the performative value of newness is crucial for the making of Nya Hovås, and how it permeates most of the naming and branding work. However, as Lefebvre (1996: 151) argues, 'the architect, the planner, the sociologist, the economist, the philosopher or the politician cannot out of nothingness create new forms and relations'. What is presented and seen as 'new' always builds on existing forms and relations. In this paper, we have highlighted some of these, such as the entrepreneurial work that lay ground for the 'old' neighbourhood of Hovås already a century ago, the municipal planning work of the 1990s and the (small but real) protests expressed

by a family living in the place where Next Step Group's headquarters are based today. These are all silenced in the entrepreneur's marketing work, which instead highlights the successful processes of dialogue with inhabitants in the surrounding area that have accompanied the production of the new neighbourhood.

At the same time, the entrepreneur-generated conceived space is adapted to their interpretation of changes in the perceived space (Lefebvre 1991; see Aiello 2013). We see for instance how Next Step Group adapted the second round of construction to the demand for smaller flats, how they renamed *Origohuset* to *Kodakhuset*, and how, in an interview, they considered doing away with the notion of *blandstad* or mixed city.

We also see signs of dissolution of the boundaries between private/public and culture/consumption and how Nya Hovås' image is built upon a handpicked selection of material and immaterial promotional and design resources. Along with the location and the housing prices, these choices indi-

rectly regulate the selection of inhabitants, store keepers and visitors. In the end, this is a place for a selected few, an 'elite sink' (Tonkiss 2013: 80) in a city plagued by segregation (Andersson, Bråmå & Hogdal 2009; Göteborgs Stad 2017). Importantly then, the different neighbourhoods that make up the city of Gothenburg are interlinked by a fine network of socioeconomic relations. This is also how the City Planning Office conceives the different areas of the city that are subjected to planning for future development and exploitation: 'Coming development schemes and decisions on infrastructure investments within the planning area not only affects Askim but also affects the Gothenburg region and thus has significance for the expansion of the whole of Gothenburg' (City Planning Office 2011: 1). With the words of Tonkiss (2013: 80) 'the spatial geography of urban affluence […] is characterized not simply by the segregation of the poor, but also by the sequestration of the rich. This "bifurcated" model of urban polarization produces ghetto effects at both ends of the income spectrum'. Hence, a critical examination of the entrepreneurial place-making of Nya Hovås needs to look at it as both profiting on and contributing to urban polarization, where the financial and planning resources spent on this neighbourhood risk undermining the development of other poorer areas.

To conclude, on a spatial scale Nya Hovås indexes international flair and globality through textual, graphic and architectural resources. On a temporal scale, Nya Hovås is created as a new and liberal form of the old and conservative high-end Hovås. On a socioeconomic scale, finally, Nya Hovås is conceived as a mixed-use urban neighbourhood. However, the perceived and lived space signals exclusivity and cultural homogeneity.

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Russian Ergonyms as an Object of Linguistic Reflexion

IRINA KRYUKOVA

Abstract

The article is devoted to linguistic reflexion as the attitude of naming subjects and addressees towards ergonyms (company names). This attitude is contained in metalinguistic speech acts, so-called reflexives. The purpose of this study is to determine the emotional evaluation of ergonyms encrypted in the reflexives of Russian native speakers. The analysis is based on value judgments about ergonyms which have been taken from critical reports in the media, from companies' presentations, interviews with business owners, various internet forums where users discuss probable names for companies, etc. The reflexives differ in the subject of the speech (authors' and addressees'). The purpose of authors' reflexives is to explicate the process of the ergonym's invention and/or to reveal the exact reasons that have made brand owners choose a certain name for it. The purpose of addressees' reflexives is to give the evaluation of the ergonyms' phonetic form, meaning, the pleasantness of the name's associations. The comparison of authors' and addressees' reflexives leads to the detection of those cases when the expectations of naming subjects and addressees do not match. Such mismatches may be regarded as nominative failures which may result in business failures.

Introduction

The generic term *ergonym* refers to a large and diverse group of names. According to the frequently quoted definition from the dictionary of Russian onomastic terms by Podolskaya, the ergonym is 'a proper name of some business group of people, including unions, organizations, institutions, corporations, enterprises, societies, establishments, clubs, etc.' (Podolskaya 1988: 151). As for ergonymy, it is determined as the whole range of ergonyms. It follows from this definition that ergonyms are not only the names of commercial enterprises, but also names of political parties, religious organizations, sports teams, creative collectives, and such. However, considering the so-called "nominative boom", which happened after Podolskaya's dictionary was released, the attention to commercial nomination shown by so many scholars seems legitimate. The object of my study is not commercial ergonyms themselves but rather the statements of Russian native speakers about them.

Linguists have been wondering for a while about the ways people evaluate their own speech behavior and the speech behavior of others. This sphere of research interests is referred to as folk linguistics (Hoenigswald 1966: 17). Within the framework of this sphere, scholars study linguistic reflexion. This term stands for any evaluative attitude to any fact of a language that is expressed in a text. The unit of the study of linguistic reflexion is called a reflexive, which 'stands for relatively complete metalinguistic utterances containing a commentary on a current lexical item' (Vepreva 2005: 76). From this point, ergonyms have never been an object of study.

Meanwhile, Russian native speakers constantly evaluate the emergence of new ergonyms (company names) as well as their placement on signs and billboards (Kryukova 2008). They hypothesize about the origins of the names and the reasons that stimulated various rebranding cases. Some statements also express the evaluation of the ergonyms' phonetic image and the associations they evoke. This indicates that ergonyms are subjected to linguistic reflexion.

In this study, I approach linguistic reflexion as the attitude of naming subjects and addressees towards company names. This attitude is contained in metalinguistic speech acts, so-called reflexives.

These value judgments (reflexives) differ in the subject of the speech (authors' and addressees'), emotional charge (positive or negative), and in volume (primary and secondary reflexives).

A primary reflexive consists of a brief comment included in a more complex speech act with a different subject matter (analytical and critical reports, satirical pieces, funnies, comedy stand-ups, interviews, TV debates, etc.).

Apart from that, primary reflexives include brief comments on ergonyms, which Internet users share: *lyrical Ruslan and Lyudmila*, *nostalgic Sport-kulttovary*, *illiterate Shikolad*, *inspiring Nadezhda*, *fancy Glamour*, *funny Uzbek Kolya*, *vague SQ*, etc.

Secondary reflexives represent self-contained speech acts with a distinct idea and a complex structure. They contain a comprehensive and well-founded value judgment on a misuse case of generally accepted company naming techniques. There are more expanded speech acts by famous Russian writers and publicists devoted to the reactions of addressees to the names.

The purpose of this report is to determine the emotional evaluation of ergonyms encrypted in the reflexives of Russian native speakers. This will enable us to measure the commercial effectiveness of the company names under study, as well as to identify new naming techniques. The analysis is based on value judgments about ergonyms which have been taken from critical reports in the media, from companies' presentations, interviews with business owners and participants in advertising campaigns, various internet forums where users discuss probable names for companies, etc. All in all, we have analyzed over 500 reflexives of various types.

Now, let us have a look at the evaluative statements on ergonyms made by name authors and addressees. We have used negative and positive as well as primary and secondary reflexives to illustrate these phenomena.

1. Authors' Reflexives

The purpose of authors' reflexives is to explicate the process of the ergonym's invention and the discussion that preceded the final choice, or/and

to reveal the exact reasons that have made brand owners choose a certain name.

In spite of the fact that there are dozens of naming agencies operating in Russia nowadays, most business owners prefer to name their enterprises themselves. As a rule, they are not ready to spend extra money on professional services and prefer to rely on their personal taste and intuition. After all, they are proud and happy about their choice and willing to explicate the process of the name's creation. They may reveal it in special public groups on companies' websites.

The analysis of positive authors' reflexives enables us to determine transparent and disguised advertising strategies of the naming parties. Those reflexives allow us to understand the reasons behind the authors' name choices. There are two groups of authors' reflexives which differ in topical reference:

1. Semantization of ergonyms. This group is the largest, and for good reason. According to the studies of Russian marketing experts, speakers of French and English are more inclined to value the phonetic form of a word, when for Russians, graphic image and semantic clarity come first (Name, Sister! 2016: 22). In other words, when selecting a name for a company, its creators pay attention to both its looks in print and its actual meaning or probable interpretation.

The choice of semantization means depends on the type of ergonym (motivated or unmotivated):

a) the demonstration of an associative link of the name with the words of a natural language (this is especially important because a Russian person does not like to deal with unmotivated words).

> *OVTA. We really like this word. It doesn't mean a thing in any existing language but it's an anagram of the Russian AVTO (AUTO), and it was formed by changing the places of the 1st and the 4th letters, which gives a hint about what the company is dealing with* (1).[1]

b) bringing the words of the natural language that have served as the basis of the name to their initial meanings.

> *The essence of the meaning of the name DIRECT BENEFIT was in the fact that all the participants of the process benefitted: readers benefitted from useful articles and coupons, business centers benefitted from low rents, and we also benefitted from ad sales in our magazine. We combined all those things and got it – the direct benefit* (2).

c) the explanation of the origin of a name or its translation if it was taken from a foreign language, unknown to the addressee.

> *Boosta.ru. When I invented Boosta.ru, I thought of the initial meaning of the word's root: boost. That's what we do, we increase conversion, raise the numbers. All I had to do is to add another letter.*

> *Metallekt. This name was formed via the combination of two stems, the basis of our business: metal and intellect* (3).

d) the explanation of the motives underlying the choice of an anthroponym as the basis of the name. For example, sometimes a historic and cultural anthroponym is used to establish a direct link between a famous person and the company's business area.

> *Landau Interactive. As soon as our company develops and sells creative concepts, and our main power is our ideas we decided to name it after a scientist. We took Lev Landau. First, it's just a nice word. Second, Landau himself had a brain that was way above average, and his image is literally iconic* (2).

If the name of the owner becomes the name of his or her enterprise, it is usually not explained. As a rule, these people represent a large business, and they are not afraid to link their own names to the

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1. Hereinafter the figure in brackets stands for the number in the Sources of Illustrative Material Section.

commercial success of their companies. They are confident about their future. For example:

> It's not a secret that Kaspersky Antivirus Software and all the other products of Kaspersky Labs are named after the founder of the company Eugene Kaspersky (4).

This kind of reflexion is not characteristic of small and middle businesses. If there is a connection between the names of the owner and his or her company, it is not likely to be revealed – probably because there is a chance of commercial failure.

It is noteworthy that the semantization of an ergonym is often connected with one of the two qualifiers:

– it is pointed out that it is easy to pronounce, sometimes in various languages (*It sounds good in different languages, and it's easy to read*; or: *It's easy to spell it in a phone talk*; *It's good for a radio announcement*);

– the name is unique, authentic (*We're not connected to any point on the map*; or: *There's no other name like this, so it was easy to register*, etc.).

2. The second class of authorial reflexives is developed around the explication of the circumstances under which the choice of an ergonym was made. There are two types of such reflexives:

a) a memoir story about a sudden event that determined the author's decision.

> We were at a confectionary in Hamburg, me and my husband, and we were thinking of how we could turn my astonishing baking skills into money. We looked at a shop sign across the road, it said Konditorei. We just made it sound more Russian, and that's how we got Konditoria (2).

The analysis has shown that the choice of small and middle-size company names is often made by chance. Actually, chance means a lot in Russian culture. The studies of my postgraduates have proven that it is often referred to even when a child's name is chosen: some see a name at a poster or hear it from a stranger passing by, or in a dream, and so on (Boikova 2017: 13).

b) a consequent presentation of several stages of the naming process. This is a long and detailed story of how the name of a company has been delivered. It's usually characteristic of big companies.

For example, the founders of *ABBYY*, a famous Russian company whose business area is data processing, optical character recognition, and the development of digital dictionaries, told a long story of how their name was invented. The story comprised several stages: the awareness of the need to change the old inauthentic brand *BitSoftWare* → random picking of characters in *CorelDRAW* → testing two of the chosen variants, *ABBYY* and *ADDYY*, on the employees → the appointment of the winner, *ABBYY* → the development of the word's definition and the name's legend, according to which it means 'clear-eyed' in the Miao-Yao protolanguage. The story of a name's origin often contains the explanation of the difficulties connected with the picking of a website address.

> It was crucially important for us to make the name of the product and internet address look the same; or: We were looking for a vacant address, and it made our task even more difficult for it reduced the number of good names for the business (5).

2. Addressees' Reflexives

The purpose of addressees' reflexives is to give a critical evaluation of the ergonyms' phonetic form, meaning, the pleasantness of the name's associations, its correspondence to the rules of the Russian language and moral standards.

It's not easy to find positive addressees' reflexives, like, for example: *We like the name DIRECT BENEFIT, we use it in everyday conversations: Hey, DIRECT BENEFIT has arrived!* (2)

In most cases, a good working company name is taken as a norm; it doesn't need to be discussed.

Basically, all addressees' reflexives are negative. Until 2015, a famous writer or publicist could issue an essay on a funny or ridiculous name. That could work out as negative publicity.

Komsomolskaya Pravda, a famous and very popular Russian newspaper, used to have a special

section named *Antireklama* ('Subvertisement'). It was fully devoted to bad commercial names. Nowadays, such name shaming for business purposes is prohibited by the Russian advertisement law. Nevertheless, it doesn't stop internet users from sharing negative information about various brands. This data became the basis for my analysis of addressees' reflexives.

Addressees' reflexives point out the violation of the four basic naming rules: truthfulness (the correspondence of the name to the business area of the company); grammatical accuracy (the correspondence of the name to the rules of the language); connotative positivity, briefness, and pronounceability. Let's overview the most vivid examples.

Concerning truthfulness and connotative positivity, there are the names derived from mythonyms without any particular connection to the real myths. Such names are popular especially in service industries (shops, cafés, etc.).

For example, the reaction of the public to such names displays a mismatch of authors' and addressees' academic knowledge:

> There's a store for pregnant women in the city of Voronezh, called Medea. It's obvious that the owners don't have any idea that Medea strangled her children. Or: Cyclops Security Company. How much can they see with one eye, I wonder? Or: There's a fur coat store called Athena's Furs. It's interesting, what kind of furs is meant? As you see, there are contradictions between the companies' names and their business areas (6).

Addressees often attach evaluative reactions to the reflexives referring to folklore or fictional characters:

> A shoe shop in St. Petersburg named The Little Mermaid. Who made it? I cannot imagine the degree of their ignorance if they didn't know that mermaids don't have feet! Or maybe, they sell swim fins? Or: There's a kids' outfit store in Kiev called Mowgli. Judging by its name, I can guess all they sell is loincloths (7).

Certain naming traditions have developed in Russia. Sometimes, we can define an object by its name. Addressees are sensitive to the violation of

these traditional naming techniques. For example, funeral companies operating in many Russian cities are named *Pamyat* ('memory'). If this name is assigned to some other kind of business, it triggers unpleasant associations: *The firm which organizes excursions to a famous underground Salt Museum is called Pamyat. It's a good word but smells a bit of a cemetery* (8).

The violation of Russian spelling rules is another popular target for addressees' reflexives. Parents usually criticize such names when it comes to baby stores (in English perhaps **Kidz Clothz, *Reincout*):

> How am I supposed to tell my kids that there are two types of grammar? There's one which is taught at school and the other, for ads. If it turns into a habit, you'll get an irresponsible child (9).

There are also addressees' reflexives which refer to the violation of the rules of briefness and pronounceability. In the first case, people complain about the length of a name:

> The Community Council at the Office of the Moscow Mayor for the Issues of the City Development and its Architectural-Artistic Appearance. That's what I call a long name! (10)

In the second case, they criticize acronyms consisting only of consonants*: RUP «BRTPC» i UO «NCHTDM»* [*РУП «БРТПЦ» и УО «НЦХТДМ»*]. *Try to pronounce them! You'll fail!* (11)

This is how the Russian speakers' collective image of an ideally shaped and meaningful ergonym is formed.

3. Nominative failure

The comparison of authors' and addressees' reflexives leads to the detection of those cases when the expectations of naming subjects and addressees do not match. Such mismatches may be regarded as some kind of nominative failure, which we consider to be a form of communicative failure. This approach is based on an onomastic provision that naming is an act of communication, which is con-

trolled and evaluated by a certain addressee of the name or its bearer as well as the society at large (Golomidova 1998: 45; Kryukova 2012: 8). Researchers refer full or partial misunderstanding to one of such communicative failures. It is observed when the reaction of an addressee is different from one expected by the addresser (Bosco & al. 2006: 1404). In such cases, 'an undesirable emotional effect unexpected by the addresser often appears, like resentment, irritation, dismay' (Yermakova & Zemskaya 1993: 35).

Taking this into consideration, we have determined the types of these failures. Nominative failures are detected via the comparison of authors' and addressees' reflexives to one and the same name. In the material under study, we have identified about 100 nominative failures, which can be grouped broadly into three types. Let us list them in the order of their frequency and give the most obvious examples:

1. Phonosemantic failures. The authors of unmotivated names are often sure of the profitability of the ergonym's phonetic associations, which may give an addressee the chance to see something meaningful in something completely vague. At the same time, addressees may focus on the sound form.

> *Neaktor. We associate this name with a reactor because our system is a source of energy for work* (12).

However, as it has been said, the graphic image is more valuable for Russian speakers than how a name is read aloud. For instance, this kind of reaction is quite typical:

> *After a couple of time you pronounce it like nyaktor, you'll never be able to compare it to a reactor, seriously* (12).

2. Cultural failures. Failures of this type are connected with the misunderstanding or unwillingness to understand the cultural background of the ergonym while creating it.

For example, there was a café in Samara called *Jyli-Byli*. It's a common starting phrase for Russian folk tales, like 'Once upon a time'. The owners explained their choice of the name by a figurative

connection with ethnic and cultural associations of Russians:

> *Jyli-Byli is not only another of your granny's stories but also a chain of taverns. We are all about the great Russian spirit, from the outfits of our waiters to a clay pot of spicy solyanka* (13).

Here, I'd like to mention the double-sided semantics of advertising names (Kryukova 2008: 397). If a name is written on a billboard, it is associated with the meanings of the separate words it comprises, rather than being seen as a set phrase (a starting phrase of a Russian tale in this case). These words denote *to live* in the past tense: 'they used to be'.

Here is a typical reaction of an addressee:

> *I never had enough courage to have a bite in Jyli-Byli restaurant. It's like more for those who had and stopped living* (7).

3. Spelling failures. As I already said, the violation of spelling rules for advertising purposes usually triggers a negative reaction among Russian speakers. However, naming subjects often imply some additional meaning which is usually not accurately recognized by addressees.

For example, there is a café in Saint Petersburg called *Borjch*. It is a misspelling of *borsch*, the famous Russian soup. Its owners are great fans of the Strugatski brothers, Russian science fiction writers. The name was taken from their novel *Roadside Picnic*, the story behind the movie *Stalker* directed by Tarkovsky. There was a café there named likewise. This is how the owners explain the name:

> *It's not necessary to explain the origin of the name of Borjch Café and Bar for those who love the books by the Strugatski brothers. It could be a favourite place for a company of stalkers having a bite after a raid; those who haven't had proper home cooking and a friendly hug for so long. The café is decorated in the way you would surely see how we love space fiction* (14).

In reality, the Strugatskis' fans do not prevail in the number of those who pay a visit, and there are even less of them among those who just pass by

and see the sign. In this case, the graphic image is what makes a difference and stimulates the reactions of addressees.

> *I've seen a sign saying "Borjch" recently. Well, it's so much shame about how they spell in Russian nowadays, and it's getting worse* (15).

Nominative failures may result in business failures.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, I'd like to say that the linguistic reflexion of ergonym authors contains mostly the origins of the name. It acts as a means of transparent and camouflaged advertising when the very first thing that addressees see is the name's graphic image, associative background, spelling, and pronounceability.

In total, this material makes a contribution to the linguistic portrait of a mass/collective subject of the advertising nomination and the mass addressee.

In perspective, I see the next stage of the work as the comparative studies of various nations' linguistic reflexion to ergonyms, circulating in various cultures. The actuality of this study can be viewed from two sides:

– from the side of onomastics as this data widens our knowledge of the processes of proper name invention and perception;

– for economics as it may serve as a warning of the risks connected with brand promotion and advertising products in other cultures.

5. Acknowledgements

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Remarks on Nomination between Ergonymy and Toponymy

L'Aixtase, Aixagone, Aix & Terra

ANTJE LOBIN

Abstract

This article deals with shop and restaurant names in which toponyms or their components are interwoven in various ways, and for which an attempt of formal systematization is worthwhile, e.g. in Aix-en-Provence: *Aixagone* (Fr. *hexagone*), *Aix & Terra* (Fr. *et cetera*), *L'Aixtase* (Fr. *extase*). The present study aims to contribute to a better understanding of a category of nomination that has been neglected so far. The sample comprises 37 names that have been collected in Aix-en-Provence and in the surrounding area in the region Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur. In our context, both shop and restaurant names are considered ergonyms, although it should be kept in mind that, strictly speaking, they occupy an interface position between the names of commercial products and house names. In functional terms, parallels can be drawn between the names of commercial products and the names of modern restaurants and shops. Moreover, the names in which toponyms are integrated contain an indication of the origin as a reference to the place and as an anchor of identity. This expression of a local orientation counteracts the current trend towards globalization and deserves further attention.

1. Introduction

Underlying this study is the observation that the names of shops and restaurants in Aix-en-Provence and in the surrounding area in the region Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur reflect a high level of creativity, in the sense that toponyms or their components are interwoven in the names in various ways. This category of nomination has been neglected so far and deserves a closer look and an attempt of formal systematization.

A preliminary question concerns the onymic status of names of shops and restaurants. There is no fundamental agreement on their onymic classification in onomastics. In the present context, both are subsumed among ergonyms, even though they occupy an interface position between the names of commercial products and house names. Concerning roadhouse names and their onymic classification as ergonyms the historical dimension plays an important role. While historical roadhouse names are stationary and have developed from the house name, thus fulfilling the classical characteristics of a toponym, modern restaurant names are no longer bound to a specific location and can be regarded as business names (Nübling, Fahlbusch & Heuser 2015: 253).

In functional terms, parallels can be drawn between the names of commercial products and the names of modern restaurants and shops. The names of both categories have to be distinctive and fulfill a warranty and guarantee function (Koß 1996: 1644–1645). Platen (1997: 45), in turn, distinguishes the following functions with regard to ergonyms: originality, information, expressivity and valorization. These different functions cannot be separated from each other, they rather interact in ergonyms and can be combined in multiple ways. In line with Platen (1997: 63), who considers valorizing or upvaluing a product a basic commercial requirement, Schmitt (2007: 99) emphasizes the role of names in the communication of values:

> In an economic context name-giving is always customer oriented, both because the emotive and appellative functions of signs play a special role in unidirectional communication, and because, either implicitly

or explicitly, the names are meant to evoke certain values and images.

It must be kept in mind that the process of valorizing, whether through naming or through other advertising measures, is a multi-faceted phenomenon. In the present case, the reference to a particular city or village in the names of shops and restaurants represents a specific added value which serves identification.

2. Global vs. Local Branding

In our globalized time, brand management is highly determined by an international environment in which *the global consumer* with homogeneous needs and similar brand preferences at cross-national level is promoted. In this context, global brand value is created through increased standardization of strategies (Geigenmüller 2003: 2). Platen points out the significance of a brand in the context of globalization:

> Global branding, the establishing of a globally recognized brand, is the commercial myth of our time and has become the magic formula of modern marketing in the eyes of the producers. (Platen 1997: 147; my translation)

The names of the companies *Mc Donald's*, *Starbucks* and *Kentucky Fried Chicken* with their stores that look the same everywhere might serve as examples.

However, for quite some time now, contrary to the globalization trend, a regional consciousness in the sense of a focus on regions – and reference levels below – as points of orientation and identity has developed (Geigenmüller 2003: 2). This increasingly important market position of regional brands in contrast to international and global brands has been observed by Latour:

> By no means will it only be global brands that will help to achieve strategic business objectives in the future. Regional brands as well as products that are appealing to members of specific cultural groups will co-exist with global brands […] by positioning them accordingly. (Latour 1992: 143; my translation)

From a linguistic perspective, in a study on brand names, Zilg (2015: 398) showed that the latter may include toponyms that convey locality at different levels. Locality can either be expressed by the use of a country name (*Ital Nature* (It.), *Espanut* (Sp.), *Douce France* (Fr.)) or the name of a region (*Cochon d'Aquitaine* (Fr.)). Furthermore, it can be expressed by the use of certain appellatives (*I Sapori delle Regioni* (It.), *Regioliva* (Sp.), *L'Épicier de nos Régions* (Fr.)) and deictic elements (*Qui per te* (It.), *El pan hecho aqui* (Sp.), *Saveurs d'ici* (Fr.)).

Additionally, with regard to *places* in a wider sense, marketing has become more and more popular over the past decade. With respect to the added value that is expected from a differentiation of places Ashworth & Kavaratzis (2019: 1) argue:

> Places have long felt a need to differentiate themselves from each other in order to assert their individuality and distinctive characteristics in pursuit of various economic, political or socio-psychological objectives.

The concept of *place* is a polysemic one. According to Papadopoulos & al. (2011: 89), it

> […] can refer to a room, building, home, neighbourhood, community, city, subnational region, country, supranational region, or the entire world. The mental images of places that are evoked may refer to actual locations as well as imaginary places that one conjures up in the mind, which means that places are often (always, some would argue) socially constructed.

A number of disciplines deal with the concept of *place*, each of them from their own perspective. Besides Marketing, Papadopoulos & al. (2011) name Geography, Sociology and Anthropology, Environmental Psychology and Social Psychology. The practice of place marketing has developed over time. According to Ashworth & Kavaratzis (2019: 4–6), *place branding* is a complex subject and encompasses different approaches, e.g. 1) *Place of Origin Branding*, 2) *Nation Branding*, 3) *Destination Branding*, 4) *Culture/Entertainment Branding*, and 5) *Integrated Place Branding*.

Place of Origin Branding regards the usage of the place of origin in branding a product. Advantage is taken from the qualities, images and often the stereotypes of the place and the people living there for commercial purposes. Like *Place of Origin Branding*, the concept of *Nation Branding* has developed in marketing. The major interest of branding a nation lies in the positive effects on tourism development as well as in the attraction of foreign investment. *Destination Branding* focuses on the role of branding in tourist marketing. *Culture* or *Entertainment Branding* is concerned with the effects of cultural and entertainment branding on the physical, economic and, in some cases, social environment of cities. Its emergence is strongly related to the growing importance of the cultural, leisure and entertainment industries within the contemporary economy, both for tourists and for the local population. Finally, *Integrated Place Branding* deals with the possibilities of using branding (especially corporate branding) as an approach to integrate, guide and focus place management (Ashworth & Kavaratzis 2019: 4–6).

In the present context, we will focus on the toponyms of the cities and villages of Aix-en-Provence, Cassis, L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue and Sanary-sur-Mer and on their appearance in shop and restaurant names.

3. The Sample

Shop and restaurant names, in which toponyms or their components are often and in many different ways interwoven, are worth an attempt of systematization. The impulse for the compilation of the material came from personal observations. The first finds were then extended by a systematic search in the Yellow Pages. As a result, this search in the Yellow Pages of the cities and villages of Aix-en-Provence, Cassis, L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue and Sanary-sur-Mer has produced the sample in Table 1. For additional evidence we have integrated names which we came across in Dijon, a city in the east of France, in our sample.

Table 1. Sample of shop and restaurant names.

Aix-en-Provence	L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue
AIXAGONE	DOMAINE LA PETITE ISLE
AIX'N BIO	ISLO
AIX-PRESSO	LA BRASSERIE DE L'ISLE
AIX & TERRA	LE PARADIS DE LA SORGUE
L'AIXCALE	L'IDISLE
L'AIXCENTRE	L'ISLE DE BEAUTÉ
L'AIXTASE	L'ISLE AUX PIZZAS
L'AIXTRA	L'ISLE Ô DÉLICE
LAUTRAIX	M'ISLE PÂTES
LE CARRÉ D'AIX	**Sanary-sur-Mer**
LE RENDEZ-VOUS AIXOIS	LE SANA'BEACH
LES TERRASSES D'AIX	SANARY PIZZA
ROYAIXMIR	**Dijon**
Tattoo Aixtrême Piercing	BUFFET DE DIJON
Cassis	DIJ'ON CYCLES
Bo Cassis	DIJON FOOD
K6 OPTIC	DIJON-PLAT-NET.COM
K6 Pull In	LE BISTRO DIJONNAIS
OK6	LES BURGERS DIJONNAIS
	THAI & DIJON
	VAPO'DIJ

Table 2. Regular word formation.

Name	Word formation pattern	Fre-quency
SANARY PIZZA	compound: Top_{Comp} + N	4
BO CASSIS	compound: Adj + Top_{Comp}	2
LE CARRÉ D'AIX	compound: N + prep + Top_{Comp}	4
LE RENDEZ-VOUS AIXOIS	compound: N + $\text{Adj}_{\text{Affil}}$	3

Whereas the name *Thai & Dijon* can somehow be considered a regular coordination, the name *Aix'n Bio* containing the toponym *Aix* and the affixoid *bio* belongs to the category of blending (cf. 5). This is mainly due to the shortening of the word *and*. The toponym can also be integrated in shop and restaurant names as abbreviation by means of a letter/number combination, as in *OK6*, *K6 Pull In* and *K6 Optic*, all referring to *Cassis*. Strictly speaking, these letter/number combination are not a method for expanding French vocabulary, as no new signified corresponds to the signifier. However, they are very common in computer mediated communication. Finally, the name *Dijon-Plat-Net.Com* is almost a link to a website. It contains a wordplay, as the component *plat* [pla] of *plat-net* [planɛt] 'planet' means 'dish', which is suitable for the nomination of a restaurant.

In the following presentation, we first look at names that follow regular word formation rules, before we focus on creations that differ from them.

4. Patterns According to French Word Formation Rules

In line with the regular word formation patterns of French, the toponym (TOP) or a component of it (Top_{Comp}) may be combined with a noun or an adjective, as in *Sanary Pizza* or *Bo Cassis* (> *beau* 'beautiful'). The toponym can also be included in the pattern N + prep + Top_{Comp}, which is the case of *Le Carré d'Aix*. A further relevant creation technique consists in the combination of N + Adj, where the adjective is derived from the name of the place (*Le Rendez-vous Aixois*). Table 2 serves as a summary and indicates the respective frequencies:

5. Blending

Ronneberger-Sibold (2004) has developed a typology of blending techniques that are scaled according to the relative transparency of the resulting blends (Ronneberger-Sibold 2004: 575–592). She defines *blending* as 'a deliberate creation of a new word out of two (or rarely more) previously existing ones in a way which differs from the rules or patterns of regular compounding' (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 157). The main output characteristics of blendings are certain sound shapes and a reduced transparency compared to regular compounds. The latter reaches from slight obscuration to complete opacity, depending on the applied blending technique (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 161).

Complete blendings show the highest degree of transparency, as the constituents are fully contained in the blend. They can either appear as *telescope blends*, in which the blended elements are jux-

taposed like in a compound with an overlap of the end of the first constituent and the beginning of the second. Alternatively, they appear as *inclusive blends*, where one constituent is contained in the other(s) as part of its sound chain. This is usually 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 (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 170). The study has revealed that for Aix-en-Provence as well as for l'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue this is a very popular naming type (see Table 3.).

Table 3. Inclusive blendings: Aix-en-Provence.

INCLUSIVE BLENDINGS	
L'AIXTASE *extase* [ɛkstaz]	*ex → Aix*
L'AIXTRA *extra* [ɛkstʀa]	
TATTOO AIXTRÊME PIERCING *extrême* [ɛkstʀɛm]	
AIX-PRESSO *expresso* [ɛkspʀeso]	
AIXAGONE *hexagone* [ɛgzagɔn ; -go]	*hex(a)*; rupture of morphemic structure

The nouns and adjectives *extase*, *extra*, *extrême* express the very high degree that serves the purpose of upvaluing that is typical of ad communication. In all these creations, *Aix-* substitutes the latin *ex-*. Contrary to this pattern, the morphemic structure is ruptured in the commercial name *Aixagone*, which designates a polygon with six sides and in which the Greek *hexa* 'six' has been substituted by part of the toponym.

Table 4. Inclusive blendings: L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue.

INCLUSIVE BLENDINGS	
DOMAINE LA PETITE ISLE	*île → isle*
LA BRASSERIE DE L'ISLE	
L'ISLE DE BEAUTÉ	
L'ISLE Ô DÉLICE	
L'ISLE AUX PIZZAS	
L'IDISLE	*idylle*; rupture of morphemic structure
M'ISLE PÂTES	*mille*; rupture of morphemic structure
L'ISLO	*îlot*, L'Ilo

In five names, the noun *île* has been substituted by the component of the toponym *isle*, which also corresponds to the old French form of *island*. The name *L'Idisle*, that is homophone to *l'idylle* 'the idyll' can be considered a successful word play. Originally, an idyll was a short poem, descriptive of rustic life, written in the style of Theocritus' short pastoral poems, the *Idylls*. Later, it adopted the meaning of 'a carefree or lighthearted experience', which is a very suitable argument in the context of advertisement. Equally successful is the name *M'Isle Pâtes* for a pasta merchant, which is nearly homophone to the French *mille-pattes* 'millipede'. Finally, the restaurant name *Islo* is interesting, as it is a homophone of both, the French noun *îlot* and the Occitan town name *L'Ilo*.

In *contour blends*, one element fulfills the function of the *matrix word*. This element is primary for the analysis, although it is normally not entirely included in the blend. Nonetheless, it can be determined by relevant phonological features, such as overall rhythmical contour, stressed vowels and, in most cases, the rest of its rhyme. The second element is inserted either in the pretonic part or in the rhyme of the matrix word (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 170). The restaurant name *L'Aixcale* with the matrix word being *escale* [ɛskal] ('stop-over') as well as the name *Aix & Terra*, the matrix of which is the expression *et cetera* [ɛtseteʀa], are examples of this category.

Semi-complete blends consist of a full constituent and some fragments of a second one (or seldom of more constituents). Since 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, 173–174). The names *Le Sana'Beach* (*Sana(ry)* + *beach*), *Vapo'Dij* (*vapo(ter)* + *Dij(on)*) and *Lautraix* (*l'autr(e)* + *Aix*) are such *semi-complete blendings*. However, in the case of *Lautraix* it has to be considered that the word-final schwa of *l'autre* is only pronounced, when it is followed by a consonant-initial word. This is notably the case of the address of the website of the restaurant that reads as follows: *L'autre restaurant*. As can be seen, in *semi-complete blendings* the position of the toponym is variable.

The cases in which all constituents of a blend are shortened mark the end of the transparency scale.

In the so-called *fragment blends* mostly only small fragments are left. The recoverability of the blended elements depends on the segmental length as well as on the distribution of the fragments in the blended words. This technique allows the creation of opaque neologisms with certain evocative sound shapes (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 174–175). *Royaixmir* is a name that presumably belongs to this category.

6. Closing Remarks

Modern shop and restaurant names containing the name of the city or village where they are located (or part(s) of it), thus favoring identification, have not yet been studied to a greater extent. Hence, the primary aim of this case study was to contribute to a better understanding of a category of commercial nomination that has so far been neglected. As we have seen, the interface of ergonyms and toponyms reveals interesting findings. The analysis of the creation patterns of the 37 names shows that names created by means of blending techniques predominate by far compared to those following regular word formation rules. In our case, *inclusive blendings* represent the most popular procedure.

In addition to the formation patterns presented here, an analysis at a larger scale would be interesting and necessary. This holds especially true for the productivity of the different techniques. Furthermore, an empirical study may focus on the question to what degree a toponym might be shortened or defamiliarized to still fulfil its identification function within a given shop or restaurant name.

In a wider framework, Ashworth & Kavaratzis (2019: 7) state:

> Place branding can be […] the means for achieving community development, reinforcing local identity and identification of the citizens with their city and activating all social forces to avoid social exclusion and unrest.

This is certainly also valuable for shop and restaurant names including toponyms.

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Trade Marks with Multiple Messages

A Problem of Distinctiveness[1]

ERIKA LUNELL

Abstract

The essential function of a trade mark is to guarantee the identity of the origin of the marked goods or services to the consumer or end user. For this, it must have distinctive character. Some trade marks may, however, convey other messages, in addition to the trade mark message. This is often the case with unconventional trade marks, such as shape marks and colour marks, because of the nature of those trade mark objects. The problem with several messages may, however, also arise in connection with conventional trade marks, such as descriptive word marks and slogans. It may be difficult to establish distinctiveness in relation to such marks, since the consumers do not easily perceive them as indicating commercial origin. In some cases there may also be a public interest that the potential trade mark object should be freely used by all. The problems with registering trade marks with multiple messages in the European Union will be dealt with in this article, with a focus on how the balancing of different interests has been done by the legislator and in case-law.

Keywords

Distinctiveness, word mark, slogan, unconventional trade mark, EU trade mark.

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1. This article is based on the lecture: 'Trade marks – names, but not only names', given in the 6th International Conference on Names in the Economy (NITE 6), Uppsala, 3–5 June 2019.

Introduction

Words, in different forms and combinations, are frequently used as trade marks. Many of the trade marks we encounter in our everyday lives arise from the names of the founders of enterprises or stem from other personal names. Personal names can also be hidden in acronyms.[2] These trade marks, together with other word marks and figurative marks, for example logotypes, are usually referred to as conventional or traditional trade marks. However, the types of signs that are considered as being capable of constituting trade marks have expanded beyond words and figurative devices. The concept of a trade mark nowadays also includes shape marks, colour marks and sound marks. The latter are usually referred to as unconventional, or non-traditional, trade marks, together with position marks, pattern marks, motion marks, multimedia marks and hologram marks, which are all in practice being registered as trade marks.[3] Thus, signs that are not visually perceptible, such as sound or scent marks, belong to this group of unconventional trade marks, as do other non-word marks, which convey other messages, besides the trade mark message.[4] Word marks may also differ from the traditional notion of what a trade mark may be, because of multiple messages. This is, for example, the case with slogans and titles of films and books.[5]

It is not necessary that a sign solely performs the function as a trade mark. The general requirement for trade mark protection – that the sign is capable of distinguishing the goods or services of one undertaking from those of other undertakings – may however be more difficult to fulfil for marks that have other functions than indicating commercial origin and thus convey several messages. Problems connected with the requirement of distinctiveness in relation to such marks will be dealt with in this article, which will also provide a general presentation of the basic legal framework of trade marks from a European perspective. The general requirements for registering European Union trade marks in accordance with the rules of the EU Trade Mark Regulation (the Regulation)[6] will be presented, as well as the corresponding rules in the EU Trade Mark Directive (the Directive)[7] and some relevant case-law, especially from the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU). Special focus will be placed on the protectability of word marks consisting of several words, while some comparison will be made with unconventional trade marks in this respect. There will finally be a discussion around the CJEU's attempts to reconcile the interests of consumers with policy considerations within an interpretation of lack of distinctiveness as grounds for refusal of a trade mark.

1. General Requirements for Protection

A trade mark may consist of any sign, in particular, words, including personal names, or designs, letters, numerals, colours, the shape of goods or of the packaging of goods, or sounds, according to Article 4 of the Regulation and Article 3 of the Directive.[8] The list is not exhaustive, and the CJEU has also accepted other types of signs than the ones mentioned, for example the layout of a retail store.[9] However, there are two requirements that such a sign has to fulfil

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2. For example, *DK* in the fashion trade mark *DKNY* stands for its founder Donna Karan in New York, and the trade mark *IKEA* stands for its founder Ingvar Kamprad in Elmtaryd Agunnaryd.

3. Guidelines for Examination of European Union Trade Marks (Guidelines) (01/10/2017), Part B, Examination, Section 4, Absolute Grounds for Refusal, Chapter 2.

4. See more about unconventional trade marks, Lunell 2007.

5. Slogans and titles of films and books are examples of word marks that have been considered to be new types of marks. See further Standing Committee on the law of Trademarks, Industrial Designs and Geographical indications, (01/09/2006), SCT/16/12, New types of marks, WIPO.

6. Regulation (EU) 2017/1001 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 14 June 2017 on the European Union trade mark (the Regulation).

7. Directive (EU) 2015/2436 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 December 2015 to approximate the laws of the Member States relating to trade marks (the Directive).

8. Regarding EU trade marks, colours and sounds were specifically added to the non-exhaustive list on 1 October 2017, when the new trade mark Regulation entered into force. Colours and sounds were also added as trade mark objects at the national level due to the latest trade mark Directive, which was to be transposed into the Member States national trade mark laws at the latest by 14 January 2019.

9. Case C-421/13 (Apple Store). See about the case Nordell 2016: 331–346.

to be registered as an EU trade mark at the European Union Intellectual Property Office (EUIPO) or as a national trade mark at national offices in the Member States. The first is that it must be capable of distinguishing the goods or services of one undertaking from those of other undertakings. The other is that it must be capable of being represented in the Register of European Union trade marks or in the national trade mark registers, in a manner which enables the competent authorities and the public to determine the clear and precise subject matter of the protection afforded to its proprietor.

A sign can be represented in the register in any appropriate form, by graphic means or by using generally available technology, as long as the representation is clear, precise, self-contained, easily accessible, intelligible, durable and objective.[10] Some unconventional trade marks, especially those that are not perceived visually, have been problematic to represent by graphic means. Although graphical representation as a general requirement has been abolished,[11] it is still problematic to adequately represent some unconventional trade marks, such as scent marks.[12] This problem does not exist for word or figurative marks. However, the requirement of distinctiveness may in practice be problematic to fulfil for all types of marks, and will hence be addressed below.

2. Inherent Distinctiveness – General Remarks

The essential function of a trade mark is to guarantee the identity of the origin of the marked goods or services to the consumer or end user by enabling him or her, without any possibility of confusion, to distinguish such goods or services from those with another origin.[13] A trade mark must, in other words, have a distinctive character to be able to be registered. Such distinctiveness is assessed by reference to goods or services with regard to which registration is sought and to the relevant public's perception of that sign.[14] That means the presumed expectations of 'an average consumer who is reasonably well-informed and reasonably observant and circumspect'.[15] Account should also be taken of the fact that the average consumer only rarely is in a position to make a direct comparison between the different marks and that the consumer's degree of attention may also vary depending on the category of goods.[16] If it is presumed that the trade mark will function as a source identifier for the consumer, it is said to have inherent distinctiveness. Regarding word marks, this may be the case with original or unusual words, as well as common words with no connection to the goods or services in question.[17]

2.1. Descriptive Marks

EU trade marks are excluded from protection if they are devoid of any distinctive character, descriptive or customary, according to Article 7(1) (b), (c) and (d) of the Regulation. Corresponding rules for national trade marks are to be found in Article 4(1)(b)–(d) of the Directive.[18] The CJEU has held that it is appropriate to interpret each of the absolute grounds for refusal in light of the general interests, which underlie each of them.[19] The general interest underlying the requirement of distinctiveness in para (b) is – in accordance with the essential function of a trade mark – to guarantee the identity of the origin of the marked

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10. Recital 10 in the Regulation and recital 13 in the Directive, which reiterates the so called *Sieckmann criteria* that were first formulated by the CJEU in Case C-273/00 (Sieckmann). See more about the case Lunell 2003: 124–135.

11. For EU trademarks on 1 October 2017 and for national trade marks after transposition of the Directive.

12. See further Lunell 2017: 444–446.

13. Case C-39/97 (Canon), para 28. Trade marks may also have other functions, such as guaranteeing the quality of the marked goods or services and those of communication, advertising and investment. See e.g. Joined Cases C-236/08 to C-238/08 (Google France), para 77.

14. Case C-398/08 P (Vorsprung durch Technik), paras 33-34, Case C-311/11 P (Wir machen das Besondere einfach), para 24.

15. Case C-210/96 (Gut Springenheide & Tusky), para 31 and Case C-299/99 (Philips), para 63.

16. Case C-342/97 (Lloyd), para 26.

17. The word mark APPLE has, for example, been registered for computers.

18. These absolute grounds for refusal may, however, be overcome if the mark acquires distinctive character through use (see further chapter 4).

19. Case C-329/02 P (SAT.1), para 25.

product to the consumer or end user by enabling him or her, without any possibility or confusion, to distinguish the product from others, which have another origin.[20] The interest of the consumer is thus in focus.

A sign must be refused as descriptive, according to para (c), if it has a meaning which is immediately perceived by the relevant public as providing information about characteristics of the goods or services applied for, such as the quality, quantity, intended purpose, value or geographical origin. Descriptiveness is usually raised as a ground for refusal of registration of word marks, but may also be applicable in relation to other types of marks. The reference base for a word mark is the ordinary understanding by the relevant public of the word in question, which can be corroborated by dictionary entries.

The CJEU has held that there is public interest underlying para (c) that exclusive trade mark rights should not exist for purely descriptive signs, which other traders might wish to use as well.[21] The name of the colour *green* would therefore, for example, be refused registration for tea since the word describes a specific kind of tea.[22] It is not necessary that the mark is already used for descriptive purposes, but the relationship between the sign and the goods or services must be sufficiently direct and specific for a sign to be caught by the prohibition.[23] Moreover, it is enough if at least one of the possible meanings of a word designates a characteristic of the goods or services concerned. In other words, a word does not cease to be descriptive because it can have several meanings.[24]

There is a certain overlap between the grounds for refusal in paras (b) and (c). Descriptive marks are, by their nature, incapable of distinguishing the goods of one undertaking from those of another.[25] A trade mark may, however, lack distinctive character also in other situations, for example when it is not clearly descriptive with regard to the goods or services provided.[26] The CJEU has, however, declared that the criterion according to which trade marks should be possible to be freely used by all is not the yardstick against which para (b) should be interpreted.[27]

There is also some overlap between paras (c) and (d). The latter provision excludes from registration signs that consist exclusively of words or indications that have become customary in the current language or in the bona fide and established practices of trade for the goods or services sought.[28] However, such signs are excluded from registration because of their current usage.[29] In some cases trade marks become customary after the filing date. Marks that are perceived by the consumers as common names of the goods they were originally registered as trade marks for, so called *generic marks*, may then be subject to revocation.[30]

2.2. Unconventional Trade Marks

With regard to unconventional trade marks that consist of inherent characteristics of the goods,

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20. Case C-37/03 P (BioID), para 60 and Case C-304/06 P (Eurohypo), para 56.

21. Joined Cases C-108/97 and C-109/97 (Chiemsee), para 25.

22. See Guidelines 01/10/2017, Part B, Section 4, Chapter 4, pp 3–20, 22–24.

23. Case T-19/04 (Paperlab), para 25.

24. Case C-191/01 P (Doublemint), para 32.

25. Ibid, para 19.

26. Case C-363/99 (Postkantoor), para 86.

27. See concerning word marks, e.g. Case C-329/02 P (SAT.1), para 36 and Case C-37/03 P (BioID), para 62. See further Handler 2005: 306–312.

28. Para (d) covers e.g. words that originally had no meaning or another meaning, certain abbrevations that have entered informal and figurative elements that have become the standard designation for goods or services for which registration is sought, such as the silhouette of a knife and fork for restaurant services.

29. See Guidelines 01/10/2017, Part B, Section 4, Chapter 5, pp 1-5. See further about distinctive character, descriptive and generic trade marks Holmqvist 1999 and Nordell 2004: 211–224, 231–238.

30. Article 58(1)(b) of the Regulation. An example is the registration of the word mark STIMULATION that was partially cancelled on the ground that it had become a term customarily used for inter alia energy and sports drinks. See further Decision of the Cancellation Division of 30 January 2007, Reference number 1020 C (Stimulation). See also Article 20(a) of the Directive.

there are difficulties in establishing distinctive character because of their very nature. This is, for example, the case with marks consisting of a single abstract colour or the shape of goods or their packaging, where the colour or shape may also give a decorative or functional message.[31] Those other messages make it more difficult for the consumer to perceive them as trade marks. The CJEU has established that this does not justify laying down stricter criteria than the criterion of distinctiveness as interpreted in the case-law on other categories of trade mark.[32] However, the CJEU has also recognised that the relevant public's perception is not necessarily the same in relation to unconventional trade mark objects, and it could therefore prove more difficult to establish distinctiveness in relation to such types of marks.[33]

In relation to three-dimensional shapes as trade marks, the CJEU has accordingly formulated that only a mark which departs significantly from the norm or customs of the sector and thereby fulfils its essential function of indicating origin, is not devoid of distinctive character.[34] This test of distinctiveness, which was originally formulated in relation to the shape of a package, has subsequently been applied in relation to other types of unconventional trade mark objects, such as the shape of a product, position marks, pattern marks, and the layout of a retail store.[35] A mark that differs too little from an ordinary example of the goods will then be denied registration, for example, a flashlight that looks just like a new variant of flashlights.[36] The CJEU has held that para (c) also has significance for the three-dimensional shape of product trade marks, so that descriptiveness occasionally may be a ground for refusal also

in relation to shape marks, in cases where the consumers view the shape as a mere representation of the product.[37] As with word marks, concerns regarding competition are, however, not considered as relevant when assessing distinctiveness in the context of para (b).[38]

Regarding abstract colour marks, colours per se, the CJEU has taken into account the fact that the number of colours available as trade marks in reality is limited, since the consumer is rarely in a position to direct compare products in various shades of colour and therefore can not easily distinguish different nuances.[39] The CJEU accordingly has concluded that the interest in availability of colours for competitors should be considered when assessing distinctive character for an abstract colour mark.[40] The CJEU has hence, in the case of colour marks, derogated from its own established rule that competition concerns should not be taken into account within an assessment of distinctive character. This could compensate for the fact that colours rarely are classified as descriptive.[41] A consequence of the fact that the 'need to keep free' is taken into account in the evaluation is that abstract colour marks generally are considered to lack inherent distinctiveness.

Difficulties in establishing distinctive character may also exist in relation to word marks that give multiple messages, such as marks consisting of surnames. Again, the CJEU has held that stricter general criteria for assessment of distinctive character based on, for example, number of persons with the same name, cannot be applied for such trade marks.[42] Trade marks consisting of several words will be addressed in chapter 3.

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31. See also concerning multiple messages McCutcheon 2004: 165–167.

32. Joined Cases C-217/13 and 218/13 (Oberbank), para 47, Case C-136/02 P (Mag-Lite), para 30.

33. Case C-144/06 P (Tabs), para 36, Case C-104/01 (Libertel), para 65.

34. Case C-136/02 P (Mag-Lite), para 31.

35. See concerning the shape of a package, Case C-218/01 (Henkel) and the following cases e.g. Case C-421/13 (Apple Store), Case C-445/02 P (Glaverbel I), Case C-521/13 P (Think Schuhwerk). See further Lunell 2017: 448.

36. Case C-136/02 P (Mag-Lite), para 31.

37. Joined cases C-53/01 to C-55/01 (Linde), paras 70 and 77.

38. C-173/04 P (Deutsche SiSi-Werke), para 63.

39. Case C-104/01 (Libertel), para 47.

40. Ibid, paras 54 and 60.

41. See Kur & Senftleben 2017: 112.

42. Case C-404/02 (Nichols), paras 25–26.

2.3. The EU Trade Mark's Unitary Character

An EU trade mark shall, as a general rule, have a unitary character. This means that it shall have equal effect throughout the European Union, according to Article 1(2) of the Regulation. As a consequence, registration of an EU trade mark has to be refused even if the grounds for refusal are obtained only from part of the Union, according to Article 7(2) of the Regulation. When it comes to word marks, or figurative marks with word elements, it is necessary to investigate the potential meaning in all official languages spoken in the Member States.[43]

In the case Ellos, a Swedish company sought to register the word mark ELLOS for inter alia clothing, footwear and headgear.[44] The General Court of the European Union (GCEU) found that the word *ellos*, as the third person plural pronoun in the Spanish language, may be used in the Spanish-speaking part of the EU, to designate the purpose of the goods, namely clothing, footwear, headgear for male consumers.[45] The link between the meaning of the word *ellos*, on the one hand, and clothing, footwear, headgear, on the other, was therefore considered as sufficiently close to fall under the prohibition laid down in Article 7(1)(c) and 7(2) of the Regulation.[46]

For national trade marks, the CJEU has held that Article 4(1)(b) and (c) of the Directive does not preclude the registration in a Member State, as a national trade mark, of a term borrowed from the language of another Member State in which it is devoid of distinctive character or descriptive of the goods or services for which registration is sought, unless the relevant parties in the Member State in which registration is sought are capable of identifying the meaning of the term. The word mark MATRATZEN, which means 'mattresses' in Ger-

man, has for example been registered in Spain for mattresses.[47]

In comparison, in the case of non-word marks, it may be assumed that the assessment of their distinctiveness will be the same throughout the EU, unless there is concrete evidence to the contrary. This is due to the fact that such signs generally create the same impression in the mind of the consumers throughout the Union, for example, a sign consisting of a pattern or a colour applied to the goods themselves. Accordingly, if an unconventional trade mark is devoid of distinctive character, it is usually so for the whole of the EU.[48]

3. The Distinctiveness Requirement in Relation to Certain Types of Word Marks

A trade mark may consist of a combination of elements. The CJEU has held that the average consumer normally perceives a trade mark as a whole and does not proceed to analyse its various details. Thus, in order to assess whether or not a trade mark has any distinctive character, the overall impression given by it must be considered.[49] While the elements as such may be non-distinctive or descriptive with regard to the goods or services they designate, their combination may be protected, depending on the circumstances.

3.1. Compound Word Marks

Concerning trade marks composed of two or more words, so called *compound word marks*, Article 7(1)(c) of the Regulation and Article 4(1)(c) of the Directive will not apply when there is an unusual nature of the combination of the descriptive words, which gives something more than the sum of its parts. An example is the word mark BABY-DRY,

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43. Kur & Senftleben 2017: 118–120.

44. Case T-219/00 (Ellos).

45. Ibid, paras 33–35.

46. Ibid, para 37.

47. Case C-421/04 (Matratzen), para 26.

48. Case T-141/06, paras 36–38 as well as C-513/07 P (Glaverbel II).

49. See in relation to a word mark Case C-104/00 P (Companyline), para 24 and in relation to a three-dimensional sign Case C-445/13 P (Voss), paras 105–106.

which was accepted by the CJEU as a trade mark for babies' nappies, as the syntactically unusual juxtaposition of the words was not considered to be a familiar expression in the English language for the goods.[50] In comparison, the word mark BIO-MILD for yoghurt being mild and biological was denied registration because of descriptiveness.[51]

An objection under para (b) would instead apply in those cases where the compound word mark is not clearly descriptive but still is devoid of distinctive character. An example is the figurative mark *Fikapaus* – which contains the Swedish words *fika* ('have, e.g., a cup of coffee or tea') and *paus* ('pause, break') – which was considered to lack distinctive character in relation to inter alia coffee blends, coffee and coffee beverages, from the perspective of a Swedish consumer.[52]

The presence of additional figurative elements to the word/words in a mark can change the perception of the mark taken as a whole.[53] If non-standard characters, stylisation, layout, a graphic feature or a colour are also used in the mark, it will be considered as a figurative mark.[54] An example is the trade mark *Europig*. The word mark EUROPIG was denied registration for inter alia meat and meat pies because of lack of distinctive character. It was said to consist exclusively of indications that can describe certain characteristics of the products at issue. The relevant public could, in other words, take the sign to be an indication that it concerns products derived from pigs originating from Europe.[55] The neologism *europig* was furthermore considered to be common.[56] However, when the words were combined with colours (blue, white and red) and some minor figurative elements, the mark taken as a whole was considered to have distinctive character and possible to register as a figurative mark.[57]

3.2. Advertising Slogans

It is well established case-law that marks comprised of signs that are also used as advertising slogans are not as such excluded from registration.[58] The CJEU has considered it inappropriate to apply to those marks criteria which are stricter than those applicable to other types of signs.[59] Accordingly, a slogan may be registered as a trade mark if it has the capacity to individualise the goods or services of one undertaking, and is not descriptive or devoid of distinctive character for another reason. The fact that the slogan gives an advertising message may, however, in some cases affect the evaluation. Distinctive character may be lacking if the slogan serves a promotional function, in order to recommend the quality of the product in question, and if the importance of that function is not manifestly secondary to its function as a trade mark.[60]

An example of the latter is the slogan 'play to win', which a company sought to register as an EU trade mark for computer hardware and software, peripheral devices and controllers and connectors, for video and computer gaming and their manuals, with the words in the colours blue and black. With respect to the goods at issue, EUIPO's First Board of Appeal found that all the goods may be used in the context of computer and video gaming and that the consumers would understand the expression 'play to win', as a clear and unequivocal promotional incitement to play using these goods in

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50. Case C-383/99 P (Baby-Dry), para 43. See more about Baby-Dry and subsequent decisions from the CJEU on descriptiveness: Nordell 2008: 83–105.

51. Case C-265/00 (Biomild).

52. Decision of the Second Board of Appeal of 12 May 2015, in Case R 1427/2014-2 (Fikapaus).

53. Case T-207/06 (Europig), para 41.

54. Article 3(3)(b) of the Commission Implementing Regulation (EU) 2018/626 of 5 March 2018 laying down detailed rules for implementing certain provisions of the Regulation.

55. Case T-207/06 (Europig), para 34.

56. Ibid, para 35.

57. CTM No 004818043 (Europig).

58. Case C-517/99 (Bravo), para 40, Case C-64/02 P (Das Prinzip der Bequemlichkeit), para 41.

59. Case C-64/02 P (Das Prinzip der Bequemlichkeit), paras 32 and 33 and Case C-398/08 P (Vorsprung durch Technik), para 36.

60. Case C-64/02 P (Das Prinzip der Bequemlichkeit), para 35.

order to win.[61] The Board therefore concluded that the mark applied for was incapable of performing the essential function of a trade mark, in at least the English-speaking part of the European Union, and rejected the mark pursuant to Article 7(1)(b) and 7(2) of the Regulation.[62]

It is recognised by the CJEU that it may be more difficult to establish distinctiveness in relation to an advertising slogan, since consumers are not in the habit of making assumptions about the commercial origin of goods or services on the basis of such indications. This is a problem that slogans share with unconventional trade marks, such as abstract colour marks. The fact that a phrase is commonly used in advertising is, however, not a situation that should be taken into account when assessing distinctive character of a slogan according to para (b).[63]

The level of attention of the relevant consumers is likely to be relatively low when it comes to a merely promotional indication.[64] Thus, the CJEU has required that the slogan possesses a certain originality or resonance, requiring at least some interpretation by the relevant public to be registered directly.[65] The slogan 'wet dust can't fly' has, for example, been registered for cleaning preparations, appliances and services, as it was not considered to describe the way in which those goods and services operate but instead to have a degree of originality, which made it easy to remember.[66]

4. Distinctiveness Through Use

Lack of distinctiveness, including descriptive or generic character, as a ground for refusal, may be overcome if the mark acquires distinctive character through use, according to Article 7(3) of the Regulation and Article 4(4) of the Directive. The burden of proof is borne by the proprietor of the mark, which invokes distinctive character. The distinctiveness is, as previously mentioned, assessed in light of how an average consumer of the goods or services in question – who is reasonably well-informed, observant and circumspect – perceives the mark which is subject to a trade mark application.[67] The mark must be perceived as indicating commercial origin for it to be established on the market. A prerequisite for this is that the mark has been used as a source identifier, that is as a trade mark, but it is enough that the mark has been used as a component of or in conjunction with another trade mark.[68]

4.1. A Required Degree of Knowledge?

The CJEU gave some indications on the degree of knowledge required among the relevant public for a descriptive mark to be registered as a trade mark in the Chiemsee case.[69] The underlying dispute in the national court between the undertaking Windsurfing Chiemsee Produktions- und Vertriebs GmbH (Windsurfing Chiemsee) and the undertakings Boots- und Segelzubehör Walter Huber und Franz Attenberger concerned the fact that the latter used the name of the lake Chiemsee in their sales of sportswear. The same geographical name had already been registered as a figurative mark by Windsurfing Chiemsee. The question raised was whether it is possible to have an exclusive right to a geographical name,[70] and the Land-

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61. Decision of the First Board of Appeal of 16 October 2018, in Case R 2731/2017-1 (Play to win), paras 43–47.

62. Ibid, para 60.

63. Case C-64/02 P (Das Prinzip der Bequemlichkeit), paras 37–46.

64. Case T-473/08 (Thinking ahead), para 33.

65. Case C-398/08 P (Vorsprung durch Technik), paras 56, 57.

66. Case T-133/13 (Wet dust can't fly), para 50.

67. Case C-210/96 (Gut Springenheide & Tusky), para 31, Case C-342/97 (Lloyd), para 26 and Case C-299/99 (Philips), para 63.

68. Case C-353/03, (Have a break), para 30 and Case C-24/05 P, (Werther´s Original), paras 57–59.

69. Joined Cases C-108/97 and C-109/97 (Chiemsee).

70. Geographical names are regulated in Art 4(1)(c) of the Directive. According to this provision, a trade mark must not be registered if it consists 'exclusively of signs or indications which may serve, in trade, to designate the kind, quality, quantity, intended purpose, value, geographical origin, or the time of production of the goods or of rendering of the service, or other characteristics of the goods or service'.

gericht in München referred a number of questions in this connection to the CJEU, which delivered its decision on 4 May 1999.

The CJEU noted first that a geographical name may be registered as a trade mark if, following use which has been made of it, it has come to identify the goods in respect of which registration is applied for as originating from a particular undertaking. When that is the case the geographical name is no longer purely descriptive, since it has gained a new significance – a secondary meaning – which justifies its registration as a trade mark.[71] The CJEU further clarified that the importance of keeping the geographical name available for use by other undertakings should not lead to any differentiation regarding the required distinctiveness.[72] However, a highly descriptive mark (represented in the case of a very well known geographical name) was said to acquire distinctive character only if there has been long-standing and intensive use of the mark by the undertaking applying for registration.[73]

The CJEU held that in determining whether a mark has acquired distinctive character following the use made thereof, the competent authority must make an 'overall assessment' of the evidence.[74] In this process, the following may, according to the CJEU, be taken into account:

> [T]he market share held by the mark, how intensive, geographically widespread and long-standing use of the mark has been, the amount invested by the undertaking in promoting the mark, the proportion of the relevant class of persons who, because of the mark, identify goods as originating from a particular undertaking, and statements from chambers of commerce and industry or other trade and professional associations.[75]

The CJEU stated that:

> if, on the basis of those factors, the competent authority finds that the relevant class of persons, or at least a significant proportion thereof, identify goods as originating from a particular undertaking because of the trade mark, it must hold that the requirement for registering the mark […] is satisfied.[76]

The Court held that general, abstract data, such as knowledge held by predetermined percentages of the relevant part of the public, cannot be used to decide when the mark has acquired sufficient distinctive character. However, the Court noted that EU law does not preclude the competent authority, in particularly difficult cases, from using a market survey as guidance for its judgment, subject to its own national law.[77]

Since the CJEU has not clarified what constitutes a 'significant proportion' or defined a norm to follow in determining whether a sign shall be considered to have acquired protection through use in a specific case, it has been left to the national authorities to decide whether market surveys with percentages should be used and, if so, what percentages should be required.[78] However, the CJEU has added that a consumer survey cannot be the only decisive criterion to support the conclusion that a distinctive character has been acquired through use.[79]

4.2. The Territorial Scope

Concerning the geographical territory within which a national trade mark has to be established, the CJEU stated in the Europolis case that the registration of a trade mark can be allowed on the basis of

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71. Joined Cases C-108/97 and C-109/97 (Chiemsee), para 47.

72. Ibid, para 48. The CJEU has argued similarly in relation to an abstract colour mark in Joined Cases C-217/13 and 218/13 (Oberbank) paras 47–49.

73. Joined Cases C-108/97 and C-109/97 (Chiemsee), para 50.

74. Ibid, para 49.

75. Ibid, para 51.

76. Ibid, para 52.

77. Ibid, paras 52, 53.

78. In Sweden, where market surveys frequently are used to prove that a certain sign has acquired distinctive character through use, a mark can normally be established if it is known by approximately one-third (30–35 per cent) of the relevant part of the public. See further Pehrson 2007: 157, 168, and Lunell 2008: 113–120.

79. Joined Cases C-217/13 and C-218/13 (Oberbank), para 48, regarding a contourless colour mark. Compare Joined Cases C-108/97 and C-109/97 (Chiemsee), para 52.

Article 4(4) of the Directive only if it is proven that the trade mark has acquired distinctive character via use throughout the part of the territory of the Member State in which there is a ground for refusal.[80] The CJEU stated further that the linguistic areas in a Member State or, as in the specific case in Benelux, must be taken into account in the assessment of distinctiveness. The grounds for refusal found in the case in the main proceedings existed only in the part of Benelux where Dutch is spoken. Hence, the CJEU found that it must be established that the mark had acquired distinctive character via use throughout that linguistic area.[81]

The Swedish Court of Patent Appeals addressed the question of whether it is sufficient to claim acquired distinctiveness amongst a geographically restricted class of consumers if the market for the product or service in question is limited to that locality or region.[82] In the case, the applicant sought to register five figurative marks, consisting of the names of different parts of central Stockholm (including, for example, the word mark SÖDER-MALMSNYTT MED GAMLA STAN) for newspapers containing information about and relevant to the respective areas of Stockholm. The applicant argued primarily that the marks had inherent distinctive character and, in the alternative, that they had acquired distinctive character amongst a significant proportion of the relevant class of persons, namely residents of the particular areas of Stockholm, or at least residents in central Stockholm.

Only one of the marks was considered by the court to be inherently distinctive. The applicant's evidence, consisting of market surveys in particular, showed use of the marks in the respective parts of Stockholm only. The court found that the market surveys were not representative of the relevant class of consumers, neither with respect to their composition nor to their geographical coverage. Also, the evidence failed to demonstrate that the marks were perceived as source identifiers for the

goods or services in question. Accordingly, the marks were not considered to have acquired distinctive character.

Regarding an EU trade mark, the distinctive character acquired through use must be demonstrated in the substantial part of EU where it was devoid of any such character under Article 7(1)(b), (c) and (d) of the Regulation. In the case of Options, a company sought to register the word mark OPTIONS as an EU trade mark for insurance, warranty, financing, hire-purchase and lease-purchase services. It was denied registration since it lacked distinctiveness in English and French. Even if the mark had acquired distinctiveness via use in the United Kingdom, the mark had not been used in such a way that it had acquired a distinctive character in a substantial part of France.[83]

Concerning unconventional trade marks in general, it is often necessary for the applicant to show that the mark has acquired distinctive character through use before registration. As mentioned above, if an unconventional mark is devoid of distinctive character as a result of other functions inherent in the trade mark object, it is usually so for the whole of the EU. Therefore, such a mark must, as a rule, also have become distinctive through use in the whole Union for it to be registered.[84] However, it is not required that the party with the burden of proving that the mark has acquired distinctive character provides evidence for each individual Member State.[85]

4.3. Special Grounds for Refusal

In relation to unconventional trade marks, it is also pertinent to take into consideration the preliminary grounds for refusal in Article 7(1)(e) of the Regulation and Article 4(1)(e) of the Directive. These provisions exclude from registration signs that consist exclusively of: (i) the shape or another characteristic that results from the nature of the

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80. Case C-108/05 (Europolis), paras 19–23.

81. Ibid, paras 24–28.

82. Joined Cases No 05-404 to 05-407 and 05-410, *Södermalmsnytt med Gamla Stan*, Patentbesvärsrätten (PBR) (Court of Patent Appeals) [2008].

83. Case T-91/99 (Options).

84. Case T-141/06, paras 36-38 as well as Case C-513/07 P (Glaverbel II).

85. See Case C-98/11 P (Lindt v OHIM), para 62.

goods themselves; (ii) the shape or another characteristic of goods that is necessary to obtain a technical result; or (iii) the shape or another characteristic of the goods that gives substantial value to the goods.[86] These grounds are not possible to overcome by demonstrating that the sign has in fact acquired distinctive character through use.[87] They are applicable to 'shapes' or 'another characteristic of goods'. The latter could include unconventional trade mark objects that constitute inherent characteristics of a product, such as colour, sound and smell.[88]

Three-dimensional objects, such as a loudspeaker or a chair, may often be protected by several intellectual property rights, such as patents, designs or copyright. In relation to shapes as trade marks, the public interest underlying the said provision is to prevent the exclusive and permanent rights that a trade mark confers from serving to extend the life of other intellectual property rights which are protected for a shorter period of time.[89] The rationale for the preliminary grounds for refusal is also to prevent trade mark protection from granting its proprietor a monopoly on technical solutions or functional characteristics of a product which a user is likely to seek in the products of competitors.[90] Even though this rationale originally was formulated by the CJEU in relation to shapes as trade marks, it may also apply in relation to other inherent characteristics of the goods.[91]

For word marks, there is, foremost, an interplay between copyright and trade mark law that might be relevant. Even a short phrase may be protected by copyright law, if it is original in the sense that it is its author's own intellectual creation.[92] Since it is required that a slogan possesses a certain originality or resonance to be registered directly

as a trade mark, that slogan could, for example, fulfil the requirements for copyright protection as well. This could also be the case for famous story or book titles as trade marks. For figurative marks not only copyright but also design law could be relevant. If a trade mark incorporates work that previously enjoyed copyright protection it may in some cases be possible to invoke the provision in Article 7(1)(f) of the Regulation or Article 4(1)(f) of the Directive, which holds that signs that are contrary to public policy or accepted principles of morality should not be registered. These grounds for refusal are not possible to overcome by use.

5. Concluding Remarks

It is not necessary that a sign is only perceived as indicating origin. However, it is more problematic to register marks that have other functions than the basic trade mark function and hence give multiple messages. These marks often lack inherent distinctiveness since consumers do not easily perceive them as source identifiers. There are also considerations of public interest that favour limiting the registrability of such signs, to enable them to be freely used by all traders. Such considerations lay, for example, behind the absolute grounds for refusal concerning descriptive marks.

Competition concerns are, however, not to be taken into account in an evaluation of distinctiveness, unless it concerns abstract colour marks. This scheme has been criticized in the literature and it has been suggested that the courts and trade mark offices should be able to give a comprehensive analysis of all interests involved when assessing distinctive character in a specific case. This could, for example, be valuable for signs where the borderline

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86.   The formulation 'another characteristic' was added on 1 October 2017, when the new Regulation entered into force. A similar formulation can be found in Article 4(1)(e) of the Directive, which was to be transposed into the Member States national trade mark laws at the latest by 14 January 2019.

87.   The registration of a three-dimensional sign consisting of the Lego brick (which had acquired distinctive character in the EU) has, for example, been declared invalid with respect to construction toys, as the mark consisted exclusively of the shape of goods which was necessary to obtain a technical result. See the Case C-48/09 P (Lego brick).

88.   For example the scent for a perfume or the sound of the engine of a motorbike for the goods motorbikes. See Guidelines 01/10/2017, Part B, Section 4, Chapter 6, pp 5, 9.

89.   Case C-48/09 P (Lego brick), para 45, Case C-205/13 (Hauck), paras 19–20. See also Case T-508/08 (Bang & Olufsen), para 65, concerning the representation of a loudspeaker.

90.   Case C-299/99 (Philips), para 78.

91.   Lunell 2017: 465–467.

92.   Case C-5/08 (Infopaq), para 37.

between descriptive and indistinctive elements is not clear, as could be the case with marks consisting of the shape of goods or compound word marks.[93]

Competition concerns also lay behind the preliminary grounds for refusal that are applicable to the shape or other characteristics of the goods as trade marks. For word marks and ordinary figurative marks there do not exist any such preliminary grounds for refusal. This means that it is, in principle, possible to register any such mark after it has acquired distinctive character through use, unless it infringes on somebody else's rights. The need to keep certain word marks and figurative marks to be freely used by all is, in general, less in comparison with inherent characteristics of the goods.[94] Even for word and figurative marks it could, however, be discussed whether it should be possible to get trade mark protection indefinitely, in a specific case. If, for example, a highly descriptive or generic mark acquires distinctive character after long-standing and intense use of the mark, it could be argued that the negative effect on other traders remains, irrespective of whether the consumers have come to understand the mark as indicating trade origin.[95]

Another example concerns culturally valuable signs, comprising the situation where an author's or painter's creation, which forms part of the cultural heritage, is used as a trade mark once its original copyright protection has expired.[96] Registration of such marks may be denied on the basis of public policy or accepted principles of morality, but only in specific cases.[97] When such a work has passed into the public domain a finding of non-distinctiveness for a potential trade mark will otherwise often be likely.[98]

In a few cases there could, however, be an adequate solution to take the need to keep a mark free into account when assessing also distinctive character of a mark. This could in turn lead to a differentiation regarding the required distinctiveness after use of the mark, with an absolute bar against registration if policy considerations outweigh consumer interests in singular cases.[99] In this way, there could be a fair balancing of interests in each specific case.

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93.   It could also be valuable for single letters as trade marks. See further Handler 2005: 312, and Kur & Senftleben 2017: 110–116.

94.   In the latter situation trade mark protection could, in practice, lead to a monopoly on the production of goods. See Schovsbo 1996: 531.

95.   There may, however, be limitations of the effects of such a trade mark registration in accordance with Article 14 of the Directive and Article 14 of the Regulation.

96.   For example when part of a poem is used as an advertising slogan. Compare the Opinion of Advocate General Ruiz-Jarabo Colomer, concerning a sound mark, in Case C-283/01 (Shield Mark), para 52.

97.   Compare Case E-5/16 (Vigeland), paras 82–102.

98.   Compare Guidelines 01/10/2017, Part B, Section 4, Chapter 3, p 5. An example from Sweden concerns Joined Cases No 08-005, 08-007 and 08-050, *Hip, hip, hurra!*, Patentbesvärsrätten (PBR) (Court of Patent Appeals) [2010], where lack of distinctiveness was found by the court in relation to figurative marks containing reproductions of famous paintings.

99.   This scheme was previously established in the case law of some Member States, such as Sweden. See Holmqvist 1999: 110, 114–122.

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The Mental and Neural Representation of Names

A Cognitive and Economic Point of View[1]

KATALIN RESZEGI

Abstract

Interest in the study of proper names is a relatively late phenomenon in the fields of psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics. By now, however, a significant number of studies have been conducted related to this word group indicating that the category of proper names is also not unified in itself, even though it exhibits certain special features compared to common nouns. The neural aspects and psycholinguistic attributes of larger name types – personal names, place names, and brand names – reveal differences. Brand names seem to have a special neurolinguistic and psycholinguistic status: they appear to be located in the mental space between common nouns and personal names, in the mental lexicon. Moreover, emotional and graphic information are also central in the mental representation of the elements of this name category. It was also found, however, that the two main types of brand names – coined brand names and common word brand names – are represented and processed differently in the mind. In my paper, after providing an overview of the key lessons learned from these experimental results, I present a semantic theory, the functional-cognitive model of meaning that enables us to interpret these differences. I also outline how we may describe the meaning of the different types of proper names in this model. Taking into account the complex mental representation of names, we may also interpret the functioning of names (especially but not exclusively brand names) as economic devices, while also noting that different name types show differences in this respect.

Keywords

Neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, meaning structure of proper names, ideal brand name.

1. Introduction

This paper demonstrates that research in neuro-linguistics and psycholinguistics on proper names, more specifically on brand names holds great bene-fits for other scientific fields and also has many practical applications. This kind of research, espe-cially when comparing brand names with other proper names, can help us to approach some old linguistic questions from a new point of view. Be-sides, linguistic (neuro- and psycholinguistic) ana-lysis of brand names provides useful knowledge for creating effective new names. Generalizing from the idea of Vitevitch and Donoso (2012), this kind of 'observation is important for developing brand names that have a higher likelihood of being suc-cessful in the market, especially in tough economic times, and may be useful in developing automatic brand name generators' (2012: 697).

The first half of the paper (section 2) provides an overview of the research that has been done on proper names in the fields of neurolinguistics and psycholinguistics paying special attention to brand names, while focusing mainly on general, theore-tical aspects, but also suggesting possible practical usage of these results. These studies are well-known within the given scientific field, but they are less known for experts in other areas of linguistics, among them onomasticians. This first part is fol-lowed by an even more theoretical section (section 3) in which I will demonstrate how knowledge of the mental representation of names can be used to shed new light on issues of name theory, such as the classification of common nouns and proper names and the meaning of proper names. I approach these issues from the point of view of functional-cogni-tive linguistics using a broadened frame.

2. Mental and Neural Representation of Names

Interest in the study of proper names is a relatively late phenomenon in the fields of psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics. By now, however, a signifi-cant number of studies have been conducted re-lated to this word group (cf. e.g. Valentine, Brennen & Brédart 1996, Yen 2006, Müller 2010, Brédart 2016, Reszegi 2016). Besides behavioral experi-ments (such as lexical decision tasks, priming and reaction time studies), studying patients with brain lesions as well as electrophysiological and imaging procedures are also among the methods that are used to explore the mental and neural correlates of the processing of proper names.

2.1. Common Nouns vs. Proper Names

It is generally believed, based on studies conduc-ted in psycholinguistics, that the recall of proper names involves more difficulties than that of com-mon nouns; various disfluencies (e.g. a tip-of-the-tongue state (TOT), that occurs when a speaker knows a word but cannot retrieve its phonological form from memory) and mistakes (speech errors) occur in a higher proportion relating to them, and with age this phenomenon presents itself more intensively. Cognitive psychologists account for this phenomenon by a combination of factors: a) the special semantic status of Western-culture personal names, i.e., based on the name one can-not infer the physical or mental properties of the name-bearer; b) proper names cannot be substi-tuted with a synonymous pair; c) among proper names there is a larger phonotactical variability; and d) the lower frequency of personal names.

Based on these assumptions, researchers had expected that recognizing proper names would need more time in lexical decision tasks as well. In these experiments, participants had to decide about each item on a random list of words whether it was an appellative or a proper name.[2] It turned out, however, that decisions on proper names were made signi-ficantly faster in both visual and auditory modali-ties (Müller 2010: 352–353, Yen 2006: 125–127). Although results contradict expectations concerning pace there is a difference between the two categories, which could be explained by the assumption of the special processing of proper names.

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2. There are many factors that may predict the speed and the accuracy of spoken word recognition, such as word frequen-cy, familiarity, neighborhood effect, word length, imageability, concreteness, age of acquisition, etc., and it seems that even the word class might have an effect on it.

Studying patients with aphasia[3] revealed that the impairment in the recall of proper names and common nouns may occur even independently of each other (double dissociation). There are cases where the patient's spontaneous speech production and interpretation may be deemed to be intact and it is only the recall of proper names that causes a problem. At the same time, it also happens that the recall of the common noun category may be impaired severely and only the recall of proper names remains intact (cf. Warrington & McCarty 1987); although it is more problematic to judge these examples since they appear in people with severe anomic aphasia. Moreover, there seems to be no major similarities between the different cases.

Examinations at the neural level, also found that there are partially different activation patterns for proper names and common nouns. Lexical processing is typically associated with the left hemisphere. However, results obtained by studies carried out using imaging procedures may indicate that proper names have a somewhat more bilateral and extended neural representation. A study of speakers of Mandarin Chinese using fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging) found that listening to proper names activates not only the usual brain areas in the left cerebral hemisphere, but also other regions of that hemisphere (regions within the precentral gyrus, superior temporal gyrus, subcortical regions) and certain regions of the right cerebral hemisphere (Müller 2010: 355). Extended neural representations of proper names are corroborated by other studies using imaging procedures and electrophysiological techniques as well (cf. e.g. Yamadori & al. 2002, Otsuka & al. 2005, Gorno-Tempini & al. 2001; Pisoni & al. 2015 and Semenza 2011 emphasized the role of the left anterior temporal pole and the left inferior frontal gyrus). This activity pattern was registered not only in the case of English-language speakers, but was also found in Italian, Japanese and Chinese-language speakers (Yen 2006: 129). The role played by these brain areas in naming is, however, controversial.

Although there are differences among research results that consider areas supposed to be engaged with the processing of proper names and common nouns, all such research found a kind of dissociation between them. Summarizing these results, it can be said, that common nouns and proper names are represented in partially different ways, and also to some extent processed differently in the mental and neural system.

2.2. Name Types, with a Special Attention to Brand Names

When neurolinguists and psycholinguists examine the processing of proper names, they usually deal with personal names and generalize these results to the entire proper name category. However, when different name classes were involved in the experiments, it was found that the category of proper names is not unified in itself. The neural aspects and psycholinguistic attributes of larger name types – personal names, place names, and brand names – reveal differences. Personal names and place names, although they activate slightly different brain areas, were found to elicit quite similar responses in behavioral experiments and neuroimaging studies (Yen 2006). Nevertheless, brand names – that have come into the focus of attention only recently (cf. e.g. Gontijo & al. 2002, Lowrey, Shrum & Dubitsky 2003, Crutch & Warrington 2004) – seem to have a special neurolinguistic and psycholinguistic status.[4]

On the one hand, brand names (names for abstract products – bank and insurance services, airlines, e.g. *Cathay* – and concrete products such as soft drinks and computers, e.g. *Coke, Kodak, Acer*) function similarly to common nouns in the sense of the choice reaction time compared with other proper name types. On the other hand, however, Gontijo and her colleagues employing the hemi-field tachistoscopic paradigm[5] pointed out a larger right hemisphere involvement in the

3. Aphasia is an acquired language disorder that results from damage to portions of the brain that are responsible for language. Aphasia often affects only word-retrieval, it is called anomia.

4. Several studies deal with the neural representation of brands in general. For an overview of the current application of neuroscience to marketing (consumer neuroscience) see Plassmann, Ramsøy & Milosavljevic 2012.

5. The subject of the experiment is asked to fixate straight ahead on the center of a screen while visual stimuli are shown either on the left or the right side of the screen for about 0.15 seconds. This brief exposure is long enough for participants to perceive the stimuli, but short enough to prevent eye movements. In this way, all stimuli presented to the left visual field goes to the right visual cortex and the stimuli presented to the right visual field goes to the left visual cortex (due to the crossover of the visual pathways).

processing of brand names than in the case of common nouns, which shows brand names similar to proper names (2002: 330–340, Gontijo & Zhang 2007: 25–32). Based on these and some other findings (cf. Cheung, Chan & Sze 2010, investigating the EEG coherence pattern associated with brand names), brand names appear to be located between common nouns and proper names (personal names and place names) in mental space, in the mental lexicon. The special neuropsychological status of brand names is also supported by the fact that emotional and graphic information is central in the mental representation of the elements of this name category.

Nevertheless, it was also found that the two main types of brand names – coined brand names[6] and common word brand names – are represented and processed differently in the mind. Based on this difference, studies in psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics try to account for which linguistic features make brand names easy to remember, recognizable and attractive, and based on this research, studies attempt to determine the features of an ideal brand name. And that is the point where linguistics and marketing meet, contrary to their different approach to their topic. As Rivkin and Sutherland explain it:

> To linguists, a brand name is neither good nor bad but only another neutral object of study. To marketers, who are seldom academics, names are value-laden, and what determines good or bad is pragmatic and functional: names either sell goods or services, or they do not. Linguists acquire knowledge; naming makes use of it. For the latter, no linguistic terrain goes unexplored: each is relevant directly or indirectly. (2004: 13).

The importance of a good brand name for marketers can be well documented by the fact that creating names became a profession, namers create 'verbal identity' for products (Lutwak 2014), and

there are even specializations within this field (e.g. pharma namers, cf. Gabler 2015).

2.3. Processing of Brand Names and the Features of Good Brand Names

Different linguistic features (phonetic and phonological, semantic characteristics, even features of the written form) of the brand name may have an effect on its processing.

Considering the phonetic features, sound symbolism can be used mostly in the case of coined names, which means that sounds can convey meaning about the product.[7] Richard R. Klink (2000) pointed out that sound symbolism has a relatively large implication for the processing of unknown opac names: both the vowels (front vs. back) and consonants (stops vs. fricatives) of name forms were found to convey product-related information. Unknown products with invented non-transparent brand names containing front vowel sounds, as opposed to back vowels, are perceived as smaller, lighter (relative to darker), milder, thinner, softer, faster, colder, more bitter, more feminine, friendlier, weaker, lighter (relative to heavier), and prettier. In Yorkston and Menon's experiments, the car of a fictitious automobile brand was rated as larger (leg room, trunk space) when it was named as *Bromley*, compared with *Brimley* (Yorkston & Menon 2004, Armstrong 2010: 194). Consonants also evoke associations: brand names containing fricatives (*f, s, v,* and *z*), as opposed to stops (*p, t, b, d, g,* and *k*), are perceived as smaller, faster, lighter (relative to heavier), sharper, softer, and more feminine.[8] Initial plosives (*k, g*) also enhance memory for the brands (Vanden Bergh & al. 1984).[9] Besides, voiceless stops were found to be more alive, daring, but associated with less luxury compared with voiced pairs. For instance, the first voiceless plosive of *Pentium* conveys energy, power and dynamism (Gabler 2015, Klink 2000: 10, Shrum & Lowrey 2007, Lowrey & Shrum 2007; for intercultural studies on phonetic

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6. Coined names are names that do not have a common word-based semantic meaning.

7. This effect can be traced back to mammals: besides visual means, animals also use acoustic frequency to convey messages about size, aggression, dominance etc. (Ohala 1984).

8. Abel and Glinert (2008: 1866) analyzed the sound symbolic effect of names of cancer medications in the United States and found that voiceless consonants (*p, t, k, f, s*) may convey meaning such as 'fast-acting' and 'less invasive'.

9. Studies on brand names have suggested that orthography can moderate the sound symbolic effects of invented product labels (e.g. Doyle & Bottomley 2011).

symbolism cf. Shrum & al. 2012, Kuehnl & Mantau 2013).[10] Sounds are also associated with emotional states. Yorkston and Menon (2004) pointed out that consumers gather and process this kind of information in an automatic manner. Results support the effects of phonetic symbolism even in children: at around age five, children prefer words as brand names whose attributes connoted by the vowels are congruent with the product attributes (Baxter & Lowrey 2011).[11]

Besides phonetic and phonological features, the characteristics of the written form, the spelling, also influence name-processing. Brand names have a consistent visual representation that is an integral part of the representation of the names, and which could be incorporated into people's retrieval strategies (Gontijo & Zhang 2007: 26–27). The effect of capitalizing was also discovered in further research: brand names were recognized faster if they were presented in their familiar upper-case format (*IBM, VOGUE, SONY*), compared with their lowercase one (ibm, vouge, sony), while common nouns do not have this effect (cf. e.g. Gontijo & al. 2002). Today there is a trend to convert brand names to their lowercase format (leaving only the initial capitalized, e.g. *Walmart* instead of *WALMART*; or using all-lowercase format, e.g. *facebook, amazon*), which could be an attempt to make brands appear friendlier (Perea & al. 2015, Xu, Chen & Liu 2017). It was also pointed out that unusual spelling (e.g. *Kool-Aid*) also has a positive effect on remembering less familiar brands (Lowrey, Shrum & Dubitsky 2003).

Semantic features of the names were found to have an impact on the processing of new brand names as well: semantic appositeness, fitting between the brand name and product attributes or product function can improve the sense of familiarity. Hillenbrand and his colleagues (2013) examined the effects of a) combinations of words referring to the advantages of the product (e.g. *Slimfast*), b) non-existing forms including real morphemes with decipherable meaning hinting at the benefits (e.g. *Duracell*), c) words with no

relation to product's benefit (e.g. *Apple, Orange*), d) non-existing morpheme combination with no indication (e.g. *MetLife*) and e) non-words without any decipherable meaning (Hillenbrand's example, *Yahoo!* is controversial; see rather, e.g. *ixxéo* – the coined name of a naming company in Switzerland) on people's perception. Using new fictive investment (mutual fund) names, this investigation pointed out the advantages of names that have an explicit or decipherable lexical meaning relating to the product (category a and category b). These names were preferred by the participants both in an expectation identifying task and in a reaction time experiment. This advantage was registered in the neural system also: these name forms trigger a much more heightened brain response in areas related to decision making than do brand names that do not contain such clues.

Based on fMRI, Hillenbrand & al. (2013) found differences even between these two categories (a and b) and pointed out the special preference of the so-called suggestive brand names (category b). There are different brain circuits involved in (economic) decision making (that is, deciding between two or more brands) in the cases of the two name types. The 'reasoning chain' (prefrontal cortex, middle frontal gyrus, inferior frontal gyrus, inferior parietal lobule – associated with rational, conscious processing, Cooper & Knutson 2007) was activated by the elements of category a, i.e., brand names that consisted of words that hint at the expected benefit from the corresponding product explicitly. While the 'emotional chain' (posterior cingulate, superior parietal lobule, temporal lobe, superior frontal gyrus – associated with emotional processing, Koenig & al. 2005) showed greater activation during processing nonword morpheme combinations with a decipherable hint at the expected benefits (category b). Evidence suggests that the emotional system could be more powerful than its rational counterpart (Hillenbrand & al. 2013: 304–306).

Psychological experiments also revealed the emotional power of metaphorical names. Meta-

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10. Klink assumes that sound symbolism may have greater implication for the branding of services than for goods (2000: 18).

11. Some naming companies, especially in the field of pharmaceutical naming, avoid semantically grounded names and create only 'visual and aural names', i.e. word-like names based on the phonotactical features of the given language and sound symbolism (cf. Gabler 2015).

phors seem to play a unique social and emotional role in our lives. It was found that processing a metaphor instead of a literal statement enhances our ability to find out what a person is thinking or feeling because metaphors create a sense of intimacy and improve our understanding of others' emotions (Bowes & Katz 2015). Even metaphorical names could entice us to 'dig deeper and try to understand the story they start' (Zamora 2018), and as a consequence, we may feel closer to the issuer, to the brand. (To see how marketing industry can shape one's behavior by using metaphors cf. Zaltman & Zaltman 2008).[12]

There is quite a lot of information available today on mental representation of brand names. Based on such, one can conclude that there is no direct formula for an ideal brand name, the preferable phonetic, orthographic and semantic features are determined by the characteristics of the product and what the image marketers wish to suggest. As Kovács (2019: 43) summarizes, features of a 'good' brand name cannot be defined on its own, without context, but only in a given time, in a given market.

Based on this brief overview, it is clear that there are still many open questions connected to brand names and even proper names in general. Looking at phonological aspects, it would be useful to know, for instance, what kind of other sound related effects (suprasegmental features) might influence the image associated with a brand name; and to what extent sound symbolism could play a role in accepting new brand names; or whether sound symbolism has a facilitating or an inhibitory effect on retrieving brand names from the mental lexicon. Gaining knowledge on other aspects of brand names also seems important, e.g. whether the word category of the common word pair of brand names influences the consolidation of names in long term memory; and how metaphors and metonymies could be used in creating brand names and advertisements.

At the same time, it should be noted, that thus far research has been conducted mostly among

speakers of English with an English name corpus (a real one or one created for the purposes of research). To be able to draw general conclusions from the results, there is a clear need to conduct studies of other languages as well. Moreover, it should be explored how the English name forms work in the case of speakers of other languages – as opposed to names in their native tongue, i.e., how the semantic referent of the product name changes in relation to the cultural and behavioral differences between countries. Besides English, some other languages (e.g. Italian, French) also play a special role in marketing, where these foreign elements are used in order to activate people's associations in relation to the given language and culture and connect them to the brand name.[13] Their real influence, however, is not clear enough.

3. Two Issues of Name Theory

Having provided a brief overview of the key lessons learned from experimental results, I will now demonstrate how this knowledge can help us shed a new light on issues of name theory, namely the classification of proper names and the meaning of proper names. These issues have been intriguing for thinkers engaged with language for quite some time. Previously experts could focus only on the language system when they tried to find answers. By now, however, knowledge about the mental system provides a new basis when approaching these issues.

In this section, I present the functional-cognitive model of language that enables us to interpret research results of neurolinguistics and psycholinguistics, because they share a common approach towards the cognitive system as both consider language as one of the cognitive processes, which is not independent of the other processes of the mind.[14] After discussing the classification of proper names within the mental lexicon, I outline how we may describe the meaning of the different types of proper names using this model. Taking into account the complex mental representation

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12. Lorena Pérez Hernández (2013) analyzed the special cognitive operations (domain reduction, domain expansion, mitigation etc.) which are used in wine names to activate the relevant and desirable associations.

13. Chinese brand names are also becoming more frequent but we have only sporadic information on their effect on Western language speakers' perception (cf. Fetscherin & al. 2015).

14. Sjöblom (2016: 458–459) also referred to the advantages of this approach when she discussed the linguistic structure of commercial names.

of names, we may also interpret the functioning of names (especially, but not exclusively, brand names) as economic devices and also note that different name types show differences in this respect.

3.1. Classification of Names

Language and, as part of it, words exist and function in our brains, in our mental system. According to research results, words seem to be part of a system, the mental lexicon that is organized based on similarities and differences of form and usage, i.e. word classes are not objective, a priori categories, but evolve in this inner system led by the basic mechanisms of the cognitive system (categorization, analogy, schematization, statistical learning, metonymy, metaphor, etc.).

Experimental results suggest that proper names like other words are elements of the same linguistic network within the cognitive system, the mental lexicon. Furthermore, considering their common features (they denote things), proper names and common nouns are both part of the main category of nouns. Nonetheless, based on their functional and grammatical differences, as well as their neurolinguistic and psycholinguistic attributes, proper names and common nouns create special subcategories within the main noun category. Thus, besides the subnetwork of common words (common nouns) with lexical meaning, we can assume the emergence of the onomasticon, that is, the subnetwork of names with proprial meaning, functioning independently to some extent within the mental lexicon (Nyström 2016: 41, 1998).[15] Based on the organization of the mental lexicon, some researchers assume that a new name form becomes independent from its common word pair in the moment of using the structure as a proper name (cf. Tóth 2010: 27).

It has to be emphasized though that the two subnetworks do not become independent from one another entirely (cf. Nyström 2016: 42). Psycholinguistic studies show that when we process a name, the common words recognized in the name form are also activated.[16] But this connection is not necessarily strong, as a result of persistent proper name use and the consolidation of inhibition on the common noun network (process of entrenchment, cf. Langacker 1987: 59).

This kind of organization can also be found within subcategories. Automatic pattern recognizing mechanisms of the cognitive system organize further subnetworks (sub-subcategories), such as personal names, place names, brand names, etc. within the proper name category, and names of objects, names of artifacts, etc. in the common noun network. And this organization goes on even within subnetworks; among brand names, the type of products, price of products, linguistic features of the name forms, etc. are all among these network organizing factors.

Neurolinguistic and psycholinguistic studies also revealed that some proper name classes are more typical representatives of the main category (personal names and place names) than others (such as brand names). This result might be explained by prototype theory borrowed from cognitive psychology (cf. Rosch 1978), that describes conceptual categories with more central and less central members. Besides conceptual categories, the various levels of linguistic categories (even word classes) are also organized prototypically, that is, within a given word class there are typical items (which can be featured by a lot of the characteristics of the class), but there are also not so typical elements, and even peripheral elements, as well. This kind of organization is present on different levels of word classes. Based on prototype theory, it could be assumed that brand names are represented on the border of the two noun categories, between typical common nouns (names of objects, body parts, etc.) and typical proper names (personal names and place names).

3.2. Meaning Structure of Proper Names

Proper names have a complex mental representation that includes not only the elements related

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15.   Nyström (1998: 229) prefers using the terms on the same levels: onomasticon includes all the known proper names, while lexicon is the store of appellatives.

16.   This connection is corroborated by priming experiments in cases of family names (Valentine, Brennen & Brédart 1996: 72), similar organization might be supposed in cases of other name types also.

to the word form and the characteristics of word use (language use) but also knowledge related to the entity designated by the name, that is, knowledge elements both for the type and the specific referent at the same time. When processing a name these knowledge elements are activated in a complex way – actually, they cannot be separated from one another. Thus we need a semantic model that is consistent with these findings, one that can explain all the features of proper names and name usage both on the mental and neural level as well as on the level of community.

The functional-cognitive model of language presumes that there is an organic, inseparable link between elements of language, the words, and the concepts created as a result of the cognitive processes. From a functional approach, language is a system of forms for conveying meaning in communication, which also means that every linguistic element has meaning. Setting out from such a functional-cognitive approach to mind and language, the linguistic representations, the meaning of words are closely related to our knowledge about the world (Geeraerts & Cuyckens 2007: 5). Cognition is based on perception and during the cognitive process the important elements of perceptions are selected by the mind and arranged into schemes. The concepts emerge from these fixed patterns. And practically these schematic conceptual representations are the ones that function as meaning organically connected to a phonological structure. This type of knowledge can thus be interpreted as a network of units of knowledge arranged in conceptual domains (Langacker 1986: 4–6). These representations are subjective and dynamic, as individuals derive them from their own experience.

We also acquire and represent proper names in this way, which means that names also have a conceptual meaning and a complex semantic structure. At the same time, it is a striking feature of the meaning of proper names that they refer to a single entity – the basis of the conceptual meaning of the name is made up of the sum of knowledge relating to the single entity (cf. Langacker 2008: 317). And these knowledge elements are also organized in conceptual domains.

However, the reference to type is also present in the semantic structure of proper names (cf. Van Langendonck 1999). This can be clearly illustrated by the example of our hearing an unknown utterance that contains a name new to us. Langacker (1991: 59) gives as an example, when a person first encounters the name: *Stan Smith*. Our first reaction is to establish that we are dealing with a name, the name of a person, then based on the name form – using our former knowledge of names, patterns about names – we can infer the nationality, gender, etc. of the person bearing the name.

The acquisition of names takes place in the following way: when we hear a new name form for the first time, a very schematic primary representation of the name, the conceptual content of the name, emerges as a result of type specification. This primary representation is later extended based on additional occurrences or specific experience. Thus, the semantic structure of proper names may be absolutely schematic for the speakers, but it may also be absolutely elaborated, with many intermediate versions (Tolcsvai Nagy 2008: 39).

This complex meaning structure includes cultural knowledge (cf. Hoffmann 2010: 51–52). Actually, an abundant cultural knowledge is associated with a given name form. And as individuals learn about names during their social-linguistic socialization, as part of culture, a particular name is immediately capable of recalling certain cultural content associated with and related to it (e.g. in the case of place names a historical or current event, ethnographic feature, etc.). For instance, for Hungarian people *Eger* activates such historical knowledge as the siege of the castle of Eger by the Turkish in the 16th century, the victory of the Hungarians led by István Dobó, and it also activates the image of the castle of Eger, the minaret, the concept of Eger wine, etc. For those living there the representation of the *Eger* toponym includes numerous other pieces of information based on specific experience.

In the case of transparent name forms, the recognizable elements also organize the representation of the name, since, as was mentioned above, there is a connection between the name and the given common noun in the mental lex-

icon. This kind of knowledge could be referred to as etymological meaning.[17] This component of the name form or the connotations evoked by it may all play a role in the perception of the object bearing the name.

The mental representation of linguistic elements includes other information beyond the conceptual, encyclopedic meaning: the use of a given linguistic form may express belonging to a group, community (certain social groups, regions, etc.); and it also may refer to relations within the group (relations between communicative partners). This type of social meaning is also called indexical meaning (cf. Eckert 2008: 454). The identity-signifying function of linguistic elements is not part of the frame of cognitive semantics but could play a special role in language use and is also an important feature of names. By choosing between different name forms we continuously designate our place in the world, the community, and in the speech situation. Even the name stock known by a given person is related to and refers to their social status and social connections.

Based on the above outline, in relation to names, rich and diverse knowledge is accumulated about the world, society, other people, and ourselves alike. The encyclopedic knowledge could be interpreted in a very broad sense in the case of proper names: identifying information, type meaning, cultural meaning, etymological meaning, social meaning are all parts of it (Reszegi 2020).

3.3. The Meaning of Brand Names

Brand names also have a complex meaning structure but could be considered special. Such names denote a product and categorize it into a class (type meaning), or from another perspective, they denote the class and each sample of this class. All of which means that in the representation of brand names the type component could be considered more prevalent, and that makes them similar to common nouns. Because of the singleness and naming procedure of the naming act they are also close to proper names (cf. Berger 1976).

The conceptual knowledge about the brand is the base of the semantic content of brand names. This conceptual representation is formed on the basis of advertisements, slogans, and, of course, individual experiences. It contains information about the product class, quality, price, design, technical attributes, such as ingredients, characteristics, functional and psychosocial consequences or benefits, as well as relationships with other products, and these multimodal knowledge elements are arranged into cognitive domains. And, of course, brand names trigger emotions.[18] For instance the *Harley Davidson* name is strongly associated with special feelings, and they are essential parts of the representation of this name. Thus in buying a Harley Davidson motorcycle one buys not only the vehicle, but the feeling of freedom and of the American dream – while also reflecting personal taste and financial background (for this example cf. Kovács 2019: 37).

In cases of prototypical brand names, the type meaning component might become so dominant for some consumers in the representation of the name, that it can result in changes in name use so that the given brand name could be used to refer to the entire product category as a common noun.[19] This kind of word use might spread into a bigger community, as happened in the case of *Matchbox* in Hungary, where the word come to denote all the small toy cars independently of any brand. Appellativized usage of a brand name could also occur in more language communities (e.g. *cola*).

In the case of transparent or partly transparent brand names, the common word elements also influence the representation of the name. The non-transparent name forms also might evoke connections with other names and even common words based on similarities. These connections

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17. These are so-called naive etymologies, based on speakers' linguistic knowledge, and are not necessarily the same as those that result from historical linguistics.

18. Emotional branding utilizes the psychological and neural characteristics of the mental system that emotions can overcome reasoning, cf. section 2.3. This marketing strategy appeals directly to consumers' emotional states, needs and aspirations (cf. Thompson, Rindfleisch & Arsel 2006).

19. This linguistic process is a structural change between onomasticon and common noun network.

may play a bigger role at the beginning of using a brand name. Later other conceptual knowledge elements become more determining, but even so this etymological meaning component remains valid, as word association tests demonstrate (cf. Kovács 2019: 249–252).

The social meaning component also plays an important role in representation of brand names. This partly accounts for why brand names can be used to characterize consumers, considering their gender, lifestyle, financial background, age, nationality, profession etc. This can be illustrated with two simple lists of brand names, e.g. consumer 1: *Fiat, Kőbányai* (a cheap Hungarian beer), *Ico, F&F, C&A, Clatronic, HTC*; consumer 2: *Mercedes, Jack Daniel's, Parker, Strellson, Jack Wolfskin, Miele, Dyson, iPhone* (examples are cited from Kovács 2019: 37). Without any explanation, we can associate different characters with them, based exclusively on their brand uses.

The structure of cognitive representation – associations and activation patterns, the number and strength of connections, differences and similarities in relations – of brand names have a huge impact on the success of the brand. The importance of brand names is corroborated by blind tests: when people taste products without information about the brand, they often cannot differentiate between the product of their preferred brand and the product of another, or may even prefer the other product. But when brand names become known, preferences change (cf. Pelsmacker, Geuens & van den Bergh 2007: 55).[20]

This complex meaning structure is the result of a long development in children's life. Achenreiner and John (2003) pointed out that age 3 is the starting point of brand recognition. At that age, however, brand names serve as simple perceptual cues that identify a given product. The next critical threshold in consumer socialization is at around age 12, when children associate brand names with conceptual meaning, conveying status, prestige, or trendiness, and based on them use brand names as an important cue in consumer judgements (McNeal 2007).

It has to be emphasized that although stored and activated knowledge elements are the basic part of semantic content, meaning emerges in the human mind as a result of a cognitive-constructive process within a given linguistic and situational context.

3.4. Other Name Types Behaving as Brand Names

Taking into account the complex mental representation of names, we may also interpret the functioning of other name types (especially place names and even personal names, e.g. *London, Rome, Cannes, David Beckham*) as economic devices because cultural knowledge and other associations – even emotions related to the place or the person – are also parts of that representation. The name, in turn, mediates this knowledge. Thus, the name may be seen as the symbol of the object (person or place) and can operate as brand names.

This phenomenon is mostly examined in relation to place names. Mueller and Schade (2012) reached similar conclusions when approaching this topic from the perspective of semiotics. Dealing with Bremen place names the experts emphasize that names similarly to other symbols play an important role in creating group identity. This group identity is an important component of the marketability of a given place (e.g. in terms of tourists, investors, qualified workforce, students, etc.). Toponyms, as the symbols of places, operate as brand names and are also part of brand strategy. Medway and Warnaby also argue convincingly that in recent years places have become similar to brands, i.e. the place name itself becomes the core of brand identity (2014: 153). They also pointed out the special features of place names in this regard.

Of course, cultural and historical knowledge related to places and thus to names may be positive or negative, and this influences the perception of both the place and the name. However, one of the specialties of place-name brands is that even negative associations can become appealing: dark place marketing draws its appeal from death and tragedy (Medway & Warnaby 2014: 158).

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20. In a widely known experiment, blind testing showed a preference for Pepsi by 51% of the consumers, and only 44% preferred Coke Light. When brand names were known, however, the preference for Coke was 65%, and only 23% for Pepsi (Pelsmacker, Geuens & van den Bergh 2007: 55).

In the case of place names even the different name variants with their partly different social meaning may be used as marketing tools conveying different messages. Terhi Ainiala (2013) examined the commercial use of slang variants of the name *Helsinki* from this point of view.

4. Summary

The main aim of this paper was to demonstrate that achievements made in psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics on the mental and neural representation of different name types have real and considerable benefits for onomastics and even for marketing, which can apply this knowledge. In the first part of the paper I gave a brief overview of these research results, that suggested a dissociation between common nouns and proper names, and the special status of brand names in the neural and mental system. Increased attention was paid to the mental representation of brand names because of their significant economic status. Summarizing the related investigations, it turned out that different linguistic features (phonological, semantic, morphological and even orthographical characteristics) of the brand name form may have an effect on its processing and consolidation in long term memory. But the main conclusion of this section was that there is no direct formula for an ideal brand name, the preferable linguistic features are determined by the characteristics of the product and the brand image.

In the second half of the paper, my purpose was to demonstrate how psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics can help us give new explanations to old issues of name theory. I interpreted the mentioned research results from the point of view of functional-cognitive linguistics, another field of cognitive science. The dissociation and connections between common nouns and proper names, and the special status of brand names can be explained using the network model of mental lexicon and prototype theory. Besides, cognitive semantics provides an appropriate frame for describing the meaning structure (the meaning matrix) of proper names. However, besides the different meaning components of the frame, social meaning also needs to be built into the model. Based on this broadened matrix we can explain the contribution of brand names and even members of other name classes to the brand image creation and to the development of consumers' attitude and behavior towards the given brand.

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Women's Values in 1950s Finland Conveyed by Product Names in Magazine Advertisements[1]

PAULA SJÖBLOM

Abstract

The aim of this article is to show how product names reflected the values of women in 1950s magazine advertisements. The data consists of all product names in advertisements published in the long-running Finnish women's magazine *Kotiliesi* in 1958.

The product names are examined through the perspective of cognitive rhetoric. Rhetoric creates a common group identity between parties of communication, to which the advertiser can appeal and thereby affect the reader. Names, especially product names, are a part of this rhetoric. The name along with its associations have a part in constructing the message of the advertisement.

The main questions are: What position do the product names hold in the advertisements? What kinds of meanings do the names evoke? To which group identities do the names appeal? On the basis of the product names in this study, the female *Kotiliesi* reader values the fact that she can make decisions at home, and she is considered a practical and energetic housewife who serves her husband and takes care of her home and children. She values her female friends she can turn to, but, at the same time, she dreams of luxury, the exotic, and excitement.

Keywords

Advertisements, product names, values, rhetoric, semantics.

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1. Introduction

A printed magazine with contents aimed at particular reader groups is ideal media for marketers who want to promote products for the same audience. Even though the importance of press advertising has gradually decreased in the West due to massive technological changes, magazines as well as newspapers are still to this day important media for advertisers. Magazine advertising is, for instance, considered more informative and enjoyable than advertisements on television. On the other hand, growing literacy rates and income levels in many countries have resulted in an increasing number of magazines worldwide. (Nyilasy, Whitehall King & Reid 2011: 167–168, 171; Frith & Karan 2014: 149.)

Names are essential in advertising. Product names are meant to convey associations – either through the lexical elements included in them or, if the name is completely opaque, through deliberate brand-building work. (See also Fischer, Hoffman & Wochele 2017: 543.) These associations play a significant part in constructing the message of the advertisement (Sjöblom 2012: 425). In fact, the relationship between a product name and an advertisement is twofold: not only does the name transport meanings to the advertisement, but the text and the pictures of the advertisement also link meanings to the name. In order for an advertisement to be effective, its message has to appeal to the values of the customer.

This paper investigates product names that have appeared in magazine advertisements aimed at women. My objective is to show how product names reflected women's values as they were perceived by advertising companies in 1950s Finland (see also Sjöblom 2018). By examining the following three research questions, I aim to reveal what kinds of values the product names convey: What is the visual or graphic position that the product names take in the advertisements? What kinds of associations can the names evoke? What are the shared values to which the names appeal?

2. The Data: *Kotiliesi* and its Advertisements in 1958

The daily usage of print media in the EU is highest in Finland (64% of respondents), whereas the average in the EU is 28% (Statista 2018). Finland is one of the top countries when it comes to the number of magazines in relation to the population. In 2019, there were almost 3,400 different magazines published in Finland (Aikakausmedia.fi). One of the oldest is the women's magazine *Kotiliesi* ('home + stove' = 'fireside, hearth') which has been in continuous publication since 1922. From the start, it was aimed at sophisticated women living in the Finnish countryside, towards women who were interested in household issues and family policies. *Kotiliesi* was circulated the most during the 1940s and 1950s with over 230,000 subscribers. (Heinonen & Konttinen 2001: 154; Töyry 2005: 249–252.)

I collected all commercial advertisements from all the 24 issues published in 1958. Commercial advertisements were quite easy to recognize from other contents of the publication, contrary to present-day magazines in which advertising is often incorporated into the edited content. Table 1 illustrates the percentage of advertisements in relation to all the issues published in 1922, 1924, 1958 and 2018. In 1958, *Kotiliesi* was published bi-monthly. Each issue had between 44 and 72 pages and contained 39 to 77 advertisements. In relation to the number of pages in all the 1958 issues, advertisement pages covered on average 46% of the content, varying from 29% in January to 55% in April. The magazine was printed in black and white, except from its back cover which always showed a 4-colour advertisement.

Table 1. Advertisement pages in relation to the whole content.

Volume year	Ads %	Colour
1922	4.5	black and white
1924	41	black and white
1958	46	mainly black and white
2018	approx. 10	mainly 4-colour

In 1958, the most advertised and mentioned product groups were (in order of frequency) clothing, toiletries, cosmetics, handicraft supplies, food products, medicines, machines and appliances, and cleaning and cooking products. There were 1,414 advertisements in all of the issues of *Kotiliesi* in 1958. I chose all product names in these advertisements, and the result was approximately 480 different names. It is problematic to pinpoint the precise number due to different reasons: there are some names that refer to the same product in different advertisements (e.g. the sewing machine name *Turissa* and *TURISSA-Ultramatic*) that slightly differ from one another, there are names consisting of an umbrella brand name and an extension which individualises a special model of the product (e.g. *UPO*, the refrigerator *UPO 180*, the washing machines *UPO Siniviiri* 'blue streamer' and *UPO-kultanuoli* 'golden arrow', *UPO-sähköliesi* 'electric stove'), and there are product names that are quite close to general descriptions (e.g. *Mäntysuopa* 'pine soap').

3. Rhetoric of Advertisements in Interpreting Values – Some Theoretical and Methodological Viewpoints

Discourse is a way to speak or write in certain situations. It is an interactive, meaningful connection of texts and contexts. Advertisements are discourses that create a different kind of relationship between communication participants compared to many other texts. They are highly reliant on the recipient's values and what she or he is attracted to. The conventions of advertisements change as society changes, and their discourses combine the voices present at each era. (See Cook 1992: xvii, 2, 217.)

On the one hand, discourses reflect the surrounding society and its power relations, and on the other hand, the discourses construct them. A discourse is a culturally recurring frame in which the speaker/writer chooses his or her rhetoric. Rhetoric can be defined as a linguistic means of explaining and making sense of our perceptions, defining individual and collective identities, and showing

and creating common ground between the parties of communication in order to achieve changes in a physical or social environment. (Rosteck 1999: 2; Virsu 2012: 36, 44–46.) In advertising, I see rhetoric as a means to create, in certain discursive frames, a shared group identity with the reader which the advertiser can appeal to and thereby affect. Rhetoric 'calls' the reader to relate to the 'we' group that the advertiser has created and that the product represents.

Rhetoric study is based on semantics. How is it then possible to consider designating proper names 'meaningless' in relation to rhetoric? The theoretical answer is cognitive onomastics, which offers a means of examining the semantics of proper names. According to the cognitive linguistic point of view, proper names – equally to other words and established expressions – are linguistic units with form and meaning. Their meaning can be described in relation to cognitive domains, which are activated by the referent and the name. Since names are (in principle) monoreferential by nature, they can carry a number of meanings, that is connections to cognitive domains. The meanings associated with a proprial lemma are partly subjective but are also partly common among other speakers of the language. (Sjöblom 2006: 66–68.)

Product names – and brand names – may rapidly evoke many different associations. They are a good means of communicating appropriate messages to the consumer, largely subconsciously. For example, the name *Visa* for the credit card might be associated, instead of or apart from unexciting finances, with traveling, opportunities, passports, crossing frontiers and so on. (See Hart 1998: 34, 42–43.) According to Giep Franzen (1999: 52, 55), it is also a question of a network of associations, where the core contains the name: mental links between brand names and the consumer's cognition cause the brand to acquire 'meanings'. In my view, these associations or 'meanings' are cognitive links between the mental domains activated by the name form and mental domains activated by the referent. The effectiveness of a brand name lies in how the name form is connected to the (shared) values of the targeted customer. A name form that activates positive and valued aspects in the mind transfers these values to the referent of the name, as well.

Herein, *value* is defined as a philosophical or ethical concept. Value is the belief in how important a certain matter is to a person or a group. Values reflect our sense of right and wrong, and they affect our behaviour or are a basis of our intentional activities. Values are universal cognitive representations of biological needs, requirements for social interaction, and institutional demands for group well-being and survival. (See Schwartz & Bilsky 1987: 551.) Schwartz and Bilsky (1987: 553) define a value as an individual's concept of a life-guiding principle, a goal which expresses individualistic and/or collectivist interests. These interests concern a motivational domain (e.g. enjoyment or power) and can be evaluated on a range of importance. The two primary functions of values are to guide actions (i.e. personal, social or general goals) and to be cognitive expressions of human needs (Gouveia, Milfont & Guerra 2013: 41).

This paper investigates what kinds of values the semantic features of the product names might convey. I presuppose that advertisers seek to appeal to the shared values of the female *Kotiliesi* readers in order to make them feel a sense of togetherness with the group identity[2] that the product and its name represent. The names and their semantics

will help me infer which values the advertising companies perceived to be important for 1950s Finnish women.

Of course, the perceived values of the female readers and the shared values of the society are not only hidden in advertisements and their product names but also in many other elements of the magazine, such as editorial content and illustrations. For example, the front covers may hint at shared values of different eras. In 1922, the front covers represented women doing housework in a country scenery and with religious themes. The 1958 covers mostly had children and women with children, but a few men were shown as well. In 2018, all of the covers picture famous Finnish women who work outside the home: actors, politicians, journalists and so on.

4. Textual Viewpoints

To answer my first question, I have studied the advertisements as complete multimodal texts that include writing and images and use space and typographical features for creating semiotic sense. I am interested in which graphical position the product names are found in the advertisements,

Figure 1. *Why have a pale face when there is Nivea!* This Nivea crème advertisement (*Kotiliesi* 9/1958) repeats the product name several times, uses capital letters, and shows the packaging with the name as well. (The red highlighted boxes have been added by the author.)

2. According to Spears (2011: 203), we derive value from our group memberships. We can compare our own group to other groups and want to gain a sense of positive group distinctiveness from other groups to which we do not belong.

because the salience of these names gives information about their importance in the communication of the message.

Product names seem to be extremely salient, very visible parts of the advertisements. More often than not, the advertisement repeats the name several times in the body of the text. It is visible in the picture showing the product packaging, and it is mentioned in the slogan and/or in the title. One clear sign of the importance of the product names is that they are often written in capital letters or italicised, and with a larger typeface than the rest of the text. (Figure 1.)

5. Semantic and Rhetorical Findings

5.1. Semantic Viewpoints

My second question is what possible associations are evoked by the names. To examine this, name semantics should be considered. What lexical components do the names include and what are their meanings?

The most common components of the product names in 1958 advertisements are personal names and expressions that have lexical meaning. Personal names include female first names: either familiar names in Finnish (e.g. *Paula* coffee) or unfamiliar, foreign-sounding names (e.g. *Sabrina* jeans). Only a few of the product names consist of typical Finnish male names (e.g. *Heikki* slippers), and unfamiliar male names are even scarcer. Product names that include a first name are typical for food (e.g. *Anita* cheese), clothing (*Eeva* coat), furniture (*Kirsti* couch), and household products (*Regina* detergent). Naming the product with a personal name emphasises the product's personality: the product is akin to a human being.

The other common product name type is one that includes either a Finnish or a foreign-language expression that has lexical meaning. Generally, the name consists only of one word, but the foreign-language names sometimes include several words as well. Names with Finnish expressions are typical for food and other household products (e.g. *Ihanne* 'ideal' bread, *Sorja* 'slender' needlecraft magazine, *Valo* 'light' washing powder). The names in a foreign language often refer to toiletries, cos-

metics, and other luxury products. These names are mostly in English or in French, but Latin is also used (e.g. *Sunlight* soap, *Mademoiselle* chair, *Vademecum* mouthwash). Medicines have names that are either in Latin (e.g. *Mixtus*, *Astmaco*) or in Finnish (e.g. *Hermo* 'nerve'). Language choice is a part of the name form, and it links the name and the product to certain cognitive domains connected to this language. These can be mutual associations (e.g. French is a language of fashion and beauty), and they appeal to our shared values.

The product names including a lexical expression are mainly connected to cognitive domains such as FESTIVITIES (*Juhlavehnäs* 'feast wheat' flour, *Juhla* 'feast' cheese, *Kesti* 'party' cheese, *Pito* 'banquet' cheese), WEALTH (*Kultanauha* 'golden ribbon' margarine, *Kultakruunu* 'golden crown' flour, *Aarre* 'treasure' lottery, *Luxury* deodorant), INSTITUTION or SUPREMACY (*Sir* chocolate candy, *Majesteetti* 'majesty' margarine, *Sinetti* 'seal, signet' coffee, *Luostari* 'monastery' cheese, *Munkki* 'monk' cough syrup), NATURE (*Camomilla* 'chamomile' shampoo, *Lavender* soap, *Flamingo* coat, *Ice Blue* toothpaste, *Viri* 'ripple, breath of wind' pudding), or POSITIVENESS (*Kodin onnentili* 'home happiness' bank account, *Sans Égal* 'excellent' lipstick, *Vitalis* 'vital' cream). These kinds of cognitive domains can also be seen as motivational domains of values (cf. Schwartz 1987: 551–553). In addition to these indirectly related metaphoric or metonymic names, there are several names that refer directly to the product, such as *Taloussiirappi* 'household treacle/syrup', *Mäntysuopa* 'pine soap'.

5.2. Rhetorical Viewpoints

Product names take part in constructing the message of advertisements (see also Bergien 2012: 7, 9). The rhetoric of advertising, in general, has to appeal to the readers and persuade them to agree with the message. The readers are persuaded if they feel that they would like to belong to the group that share a similar identity with the product in the advertisement. To build common ground and a joint group identity between the product and the customer, the advertiser has to appeal to the values of the targeted group (here, the female reader of the era). My third question concerns group identities to which the names

appeal and the possible values these 'we' groups hold in high regard.

There are several product names consisting of familiar first names in the data. In 1958, these names were very popular and typical for Finnish women and men between the ages of 20 and 50 (see Population Register Centre, Name service). Therefore, the product names seem to be reminiscent of a group of women who are the same age as the readers of the magazine. Hence, a product with a familiar female name is like a friend, sister or even the mother of the woman reader. 'She' (i.e. the product) helps the woman in her chores (e.g. *Anneli* yarn, *Pyykki-Pirkko* 'laundry Pirkko' washing machine), is familiar, safe and offers support in cooking (*Martta* stove, *Vuokko* cream), or is nice and sensible just as the woman would like to be (*Kirsi* coat, *Mari-Liisa* sofa). Male names for products are rare, but a product which has an ordinary male name can be associated with the woman's husband, father or brother: secure, kind and reliable (e.g. *Paavo* suit).

Products that brought a bit of luxury to women's lives sometimes included a foreign first name (e.g. *Sophia* underwear, *Isabella* sanitary napkin, *Margot* summer shoes). Foreign first names in the product names came from the Western world, and they were probably known through movies and literature. This type of product name appeals to the identity the woman secretly wishes to have, to the identity of women whose life is exciting and who are beautiful, sexy, and successful. Products named like this are like film stars or heroines in novels; they appeal to the reader's dream world.

Even more interesting than product names with a personal name are those that include a lexical expression – a word or a phrase. By connecting the products to many different cognitive domains these names may appeal to several perceived values of the women. If the name includes Finnish words, the advertiser can be sure that the readers will understand and interpret the intended meanings fairly well. The name can simply give information on what the product is (e.g. *Tuvanuuni* 'living room oven', *Emännän käsivoide* 'housewife's hand cream', *Mäntysuopa* 'pine soap'). These names appeal most of all to the women's practicality, and the motivation behind the value is pragmatism (see Gouveija, Milfont & Guerra 2013: 42).

Many of the product names consist of foreign words or phrases. It is worth asking how understandable non-Finnish words were in 1958. At that time, Finnish people had usually studied German as a foreign language at school, and English was familiar mainly through movies or pop music. Some words were, of course, familiar because they have a similar equivalent in Finnish, such as *camomilla* ('chamomile'), *lavender*, *flamingo*, *luxury*, and some were certainly familiar from popular culture, such as *Sir*. If these product names included understandable words, they may have appealed to the reader through their semantics. The foreign-sounding names thus leaned on exoticism, internationality or perhaps science (e.g. Latin-sounding names).

Most of the product names that include a Finnish word or phrase lean on positive factors or characteristics (e.g. *Kunto* 'condition, state of health' vitamin, *Liekki* 'flame' casserole, *Mainio* 'splendid' washing machine, *Kultasuu* 'golden mouth' chocolate, *Kreivi* 'earl, count' cheese, *Talvi* 'winter' wall rug). The cognitive domains activated by these names can appeal to many kinds of needs and goals of the female readers. For instance, *Ilves* 'lynx' as a name for yarn, may evoke associations to the Finnish wild, cats, softness, ease and so on. These associations appeal to values such as tradition, beauty, pleasure, and survival. (Cf. Gouveija, Milfont & Guerra 2013: 42.)

Nevertheless, we have to remember that a product name is just one element of the persuasive rhetoric of an advertisement. To understand what kind of shared values might lie behind the names, we have to examine the rhetoric and the visual meanings of the whole advertisement. For instance, Figure 2 is an advertisement for a men's shirt called *Ryhti* 'posture, backbone'. The product is meant for men, but the advertisement is apparently aimed at women. The husband is sitting and reading a newspaper, maybe relaxing after work, as he is wearing a suit. He is looking into his wife's eyes who is smiling affectionately. She is showing him the product, a well-cleaned and ironed shirt. The name refers not only to the well-tailored garment but also to the upright appearance and presence of the man. The man wearing this shirt is a member of a group consisting of dignified and honest men. According to the headline, meaning

Figure 2. *A Ryhti shirt will delight them both* (*Kotiliesi* 24/1958).

'A Ryhti shirt will delight them both', the product is a happy item to both a husband and his wife: for the husband, by putting him into the valued group identity, and for the wife, by giving her an effortless way to take care of the product and her honest husband, in order to have a good relationship with him. Therefore, the product name actually puts the wife into a group that she values: diligent, happy women that have decent husbands. By being put into this group, she feels a sense of belonging, gets prestige, acceptance, and the emotions that she needs.

6. Concluding Remarks

This article tried to answer these three questions: What visual or graphic position do product names have in the advertisements of all the issues of *Kotiliesi* in 1958? What kinds of associations can the names evoke? What are the shared values to which the names appeal?

Analysing the visual position of product names in the advertisements showed that these names are very salient: they are repeated several times,

they appear in the images, in slogans and titles, and they are often written in a distinguishable typeface. These findings indicate the importance of product names in the rhetoric of advertisements.

The associations evoked by the meaningful elements of the names creates common ground between readers and advertisers, which readers happily identify with. This common ground can roughly be categorised in two ways: the actual, everyday life of Finnish women and the dream world of the female *Kotiliesi* reader.

The analysis of the rhetoric of advertisements showed that product names can make products seem like human beings by consisting of a personal name, either an ordinary Finnish female or male name or a foreign-sounding, exotic name. Product names consisting of Finnish or foreign words with lexical meaning are part of the cognitive semantic network and build a persuasive message together with other semiotic advertising elements.

The analysis above leads us to contemplate what personal and social values 1950s advertisers found in *Kotiliesi* perceived Finnish women to have. Advertisements must create a shared group identity with its female readers in order to affect them. The named product represents this 'we group' in which the reader identifies herself, and a group identity implies similar values among the members of this group.

Based on the product names in 1958, female *Kotiliesi* readers were perceived to at least value the following factors:
- Help to and solidarity with other women (names including familiar female names)
- Industriousness, practicality, good household, and marriage (e.g. *Ryhti, Taloussiirappi, Emännän käsivoide*)
- Nature (*Ilves, Lavender*)
- Positiveness (*Kodin onnentili, Sans Égal*)
- Wealth (*Aarre, Luxury*)
- Festivities (*Juhla, Pito*)
- Religious and secular institutions (*Luostari, Majesteetti*)
- Science (Latin or Latin-like names)
- Beauty (*Angel face*)
- Daydreaming (within the bounds of matrimony and fidelity) (*Miami Blue, Luxury*, names including a foreign first name)

The examination of advertisements in a Finnish women's magazine published in 1958 shows that product names are evidently a part of the persuasive rhetoric of advertising: the semantics of the names persuade readers into siding with the advertiser by appealing to their values. In general, a critical observation of product names should be included in advertising literacy.

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Commercial Naming in the Linguistic Landscape of Historical Photographs from Helsinki

VÄINÖ SYRJÄLÄ

Abstract

This pilot study focuses on commercial naming in the historical linguistic landscapes of Helsinki as depicted in historical photographs from 1867 to 1939 available from the collections of Helsinki City Museum. Due to the lack of historical data, only a few linguistic landscape studies have included a diachronic perspective. Some methodological consideration of the limitations of the material, such as the representability of the available photographs, is still needed, but overall, this type of material offers potentially valuable insight into historical linguistic landscapes.

My analysis offers some qualitative observations on multilingualism and on the commercial names themselves. The use of different languages (Swedish, Finnish, Russian) in Helsinki reflects the different sociolinguistic and political changes in the city throughout the years. The visible company names are mostly descriptive in nature, while international brand names are not dominating as in modern landscapes, only appearing towards the end of the analysed time period. The informative commercial signage also raises questions of the limits between proper names and other features on signs.

Keywords

Linguistic landscape, multilingualism, company names, methodology.

1. Introduction

The *linguistic landscape* of a city, that is, the visible language use of public spaces, offers insight into the use of (commercial) names in a real-world context. As the field of linguistic landscape studies, and thus the systematic mapping of signs in the streets, has only evolved during the last decades, possibilities for diachronic analysis have been scarce. In this paper, my aim is to discuss the possibilities to reflect on historical linguistic landscapes – and especially the commercial naming therein – on basis of open source collections of historical photographs. Besides the methodological commentary, a pilot study of such material aims to discuss how the commercial naming reflects the sociolinguistic and political developments in a city and how the names signposted themselves differ from the ones that we find on the streets today.

In this paper, my focus is on the historical, commercial linguistic landscapes of Helsinki, Finland. More precisely, I'm looking at photographs depicting commercial signs in the city taken during the period 1867 to 1939. The qualitative analysis deals with the following two questions: what languages are used in the commercial naming and signposting during the period? And what kind of proper names can be seen in the linguistic landscape? Thus, the aim of the pilot study is twofold: to discuss what the commercial namescape tells us about the city, and to discuss the names themselves.

In the following, I will first shortly present some theoretical and methodological background information about linguistic landscape studies and commercial names. In connection with the presentation of my data, i.e. the historical photographs, I also discuss the methodological potential – and challenges – of using this kind of historical material for studies of linguistic landscapes. Thereafter, attention will be turned to observations on the language use and naming in historical commercial landscapes of Helsinki: firstly, on multilingualism and secondly on the names themselves. Finally, I summarise the pilot study by offering some potential questions for further research into historical linguistic landscapes.

2. Background: Linguistic Landscapes and Commercial Names

To discuss the visible use of language in public space, researchers have drawn both theoretically and methodologically from multiple traditions, from linguistics to ethnography and cultural geography. This has led to the emerging of a broad field of (sociolinguistic) research, the study of linguistic landscapes (e.g. Puzey 2016). As Shohamy & Gorter describe, these studies provide ways to 'better document and understand the public space' (2009: 4), within the context of identities, policies and social issues. While the linguistic landscape reflects the language situation of the city or region in question, it is also the arena for e.g. making language policies visible (cf. Dal Negro 2009: 208).

Proper names have been noted as a key feature of virtually all linguistic landscapes (cf. Puzey 2011: 211; Edelman 2009; Syrjälä 2017), contributing to both the apparent multilingualism and the construction of identities. Both place names and commercial names are among the most visible signs of linguistic landscapes, and both traditional toponomastics and the study of commercial names share interests with linguistic landscape studies (Puzey 2016: 403, 408). The relation between linguistic landscapes and identities is highly relevant also from an onomastic point of view, as exemplified by Woldemariam & Lanza: 'Shop signs, for example, are displays of the services rendered yet the identity of the author or owner, whether real or imagined, may also be revealed' (2015:175). Thus, it is not surprising that the linguistic landscape approach has also been applied to research on onomastic practices, policies, etc. (Puzey 2016: 395).

Most studies of linguistic landscapes share methodologically the use of digital photography as a means of data collection (Puzey 2016: 398). As these systematic collections of linguistic landscape data have only been done relatively recently, relatively few studies have taken a more historical focus. However, as Pavlenko & Mullen (2015: 129) point out, the linguistic landscape is by no means just a modern phenomenon and often a diachronic perspective is needed to understand some aspects of

the current language use. By studying *layering* (cf. Backhaus 2007: 130–140), that is, the existence of newer and older signs in contemporary landscapes, some researchers have been able to comment on some diachronic aspects of linguistic landscapes. Such approach has been taken by e.g. Backhaus (2005) in Tokyo and Spolsky & Cooper (1991) with the languages of Jerusalem. Pavlenko (2010) discusses the historical linguistic landscapes of Kyiv by combining different historical sources, from 9th century inscriptions to her own corpus of contemporary signage. Another example of such mixed methodology can be found in Vandenbrouckes (2018) study on the socioeconomic developments of a Brussels neighbourhood. With a more onomastic focus, Akzhigitova & Zharkynbekova (2014) have taken a diachronic look at commercial names in Kazakhstan. Still, these kinds of studies mostly construct developments in the linguistic landscape from evidence that still exists and are thus unable to shed more conclusive light on the historical landscapes further back in time.

In onomastic research the linguistic landscape can serve as kind of repository of names, as a source of historical and contemporary names like any other document (cf. Puzey 2016: 404). Furthermore, Puzey especially notes the value of linguistic landscapes for the study of 'less established urban names' (2016: 408–409), such as the names of different commercial establishments (as discussed e.g. by Berezkina 2016, Syrjälä 2017). As demonstrated by Stjernholm (2015) in analysing the commercial signs of two distinctive districts of Oslo, commercial naming can be integral in forming a 'sense of place'. Thus, the linguistic landscape should not be seen only as a source of data for onomastic research, but as a wider context to discuss the construction of places or to explore political and social issues (Puzey 2016: 395).

Observations on commercial naming in contemporary Finnish linguistic landscapes have been made by e.g. Sjöblom (2013), Mattfolk (2017) and Syrjälä (2017), all noting the global influences (use of English as well as international and quasi-words) besides the salience of the local majority language. The multimodal nature of commercial names (cf. Sjöblom 2008) is also highlighted in the linguistic landscape where the commercial signs often take advantage of other semiotic resources (colours, typography, etc.) besides the linguistic form of a name. As the category of commercial names and study of them is described extensively elsewhere (e.g. Ainiala, Saarelma & Sjöblom 2012: 210–254; Sjöblom 2016), I will in the following only make some general notes important for the discussion on observations of the present study.

Sjöblom (2013: 161) notes that economic activities are a driving force behind urban development and as such, commercial signs of the linguistic landscape are an inseparable aspect of city life. The emergence of company names is described by Sjöblom (2016: 455–456): they first developed from personal signatures of entrepreneurs to names referring to the businesses themselves and thus personal names were supplemented by descriptions of the business idea or a location as sources of company names. Later, names started to be created in much more associative ways (Sjöblom 2016: 456), a practice familiar from the namescapes of today. As will be demonstrated by the observations from my study, traces of this development of commercial naming can be found in the historical linguistic landscapes as well.

The commercial names appearing on the signs in the linguistic landscape are, however, not necessarily identical with the names in other sources, such as the actual registered company names (Syrjälä 2017: 192). According to Sjöblom (2007: 304) the structure and function of commercial names are closely related. Even in the context of linguistic landscapes the identifying part of a company name is central, whereas others, such as the corporate identifiers (e.g. 'Ltd') are often omitted (Syrjälä 2017: 192–194). Translations or other more descriptive texts might also be added to the signs. Thus, another point revisited in the discussion below, is the fact that the very definition of commercial names (regarding both other name categories and other descriptive signs) is not always straight forward (cf. Sjöblom 2016: 454).

3. Material and Some Methodological Notes

The present qualitative study of commercial naming in the historical linguistic landscapes of Helsinki is based on data collected through the

website Helsinkiphotos.fi. On this site the Helsinki City Museum has published all digitized historical photographs from their collection: there are currently over 50,000 photographs freely available to the public (for any non-commercial use). The collection also includes captions and some metadata, such as information on the photographer and the year when the picture was taken (when available). For research purposes the search functions of the website are quite limited, as will be discussed below.

The data for my analysis consists of a total of 186 historical photographs depicting one or more visible (legible) signs of the linguistic landscape. The earliest of these photographs is from 1867 (the first available photo in the collection) and the latest from 1939. The onset of the Second World War was chosen as a cut-off point to create a manageable selection of data for the purpose of this pilot study. The photographs all depict street views from one of five central (both historically and today) commercial streets: Västra/Östra Henriksgatan (now Mannerheimvägen), Alexandersgatan, Mikaelsgatan, Hagasundsgatan (now Centralgatan) and Norra Esplanaden.[1] The data can be roughly divided into two parts: the photographs depicting the linguistic landscape before the independence of Finland in 1917 (86 of the photos), and those depicting the landscape thereafter (100 of the photos). There are notable differences e.g. both in the use of Russian language and in the appearance of international brand names between these selections, as will be discussed more in detail in the next sections.

The data collection for this pilot study was done in quite a straight-forward manner. Since the Helsinkiphotos.fi website only includes a simple word search and the option to limit results by year, I simply did searches with the names of the relevant streets (both historical and modern variants of the names). Thereafter I manually looked through the photographs from the time period I was interested in to find those that include signs from the linguistic landscape. As this approach is quite time consuming, a more refined method of

data collection should be planned for any large-scale studies.

Besides the practical challenges of data collection, some further methodological issues should be considered when contemplating an analysis of the linguistic landscapes based on collections of historical material. The first of these issues deals with representability. Since the photographs stem randomly from different points in time and from different places in the city, they do not offer a systematic view of the linguistic landscape at any given time or place. The question of how representative the data collection should be is not only an issue when dealing with historical landscapes, but something every researcher of linguistic landscape must consider, as pointed out by Blackwood (2015: 40–41).

With historical data, however, the researcher cannot control what has been mapped from the linguistic landscape, so there are limits on the possible conclusions to be drawn from this type of analysis. When collecting my own sample of historical photographs, I did not include exact duplicates, but there is still some overlap. One petrol station, for example, featuring in a total of 8 different photos from the 1930s, and even other buildings with mostly the exact same signs can be depicted in several photographs. This is, of course, a result of the nature of the historical photographs themselves, since the signs of the linguistic landscape rarely are the main focus. Instead the photographers have intended to document other scenes or events of city life and thus most of the signs that can be analysed only appear in the background (cf. Fig. 1). An additional challenge when dealing with historical material is sometimes the quality of the photographs: one might see that there is a sign with text, but the text cannot be read. Therefore, the data selection of my analysis is not only limited to the signs visible in the photos, but to those where the contents are legible as well.

The analysis of names in the linguistic landscape also raises some more theoretical questions. To categorise signs with names according to language is not always straight-forward (cf. e.g. Edelman 2009). Especially the interpretation of

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1.   As Helsinki is officially a bilingual city, all streets have two parallel names. The Finnish counterparts to the Swedish names used in the text are: *Läntinen/Itäinen Heikinkatu (Mannerheimintie), Aleksanterinkatu, Mikonkatu, Hakasalmenkatu (Keskuskatu)* and *Pohjoisesplanadi.*

Figure 1. Signs of the linguistic landscape in the background of the victory parade at the end of Finnish civil war in May 1918. (By unknown, Helsinki City Museum CC BY 4.0)

international brand names can be quite subjective (cf. Tufi & Blackwood 2010). Since this kind of commercial names are not as prevalent in the present study, most signs in the historical material can be recognised as Swedish, Finnish or Russian relatively easily – apart from some personal names. A second issue is the question of which signs should be considered as proper names. As noted above, the borders of the category of commercial names are not always clear (Sjöblom 2016: 454). Here, the *emplacement* of signs as discussed within geosemiotics (Scollon & Scollon 2003: 142–160) might help to interpret further indexical meanings within the linguistic landscape. For the sake of this study I will not, however, discuss these theoretical issues further. As such, most of the observations presented below deal with the commercial signposting as a whole and not limited to proper names in a strict sense.

Based on these methodological notes, it can be concluded that the analysis of historical linguistic landscape has its limitations. Although the present data offers insight into the past, it does not offer a systematic view of the city in a certain time period.

As a quantitative analysis based on the premises hindered by technical issues would be pointless, I have in this pilot study instead concentrated on a qualitative analysis of some general tendencies in the historical, commercial linguistic landscapes, that will be presented in the following.

4. Observations on Multilingualism

Helsinki has historically, as well as today, been a multilingual city. During the period analysed in this study, Helsinki grew from a small Swedish-speaking town into a bilingual capital city. The city only got a Finnish majority around the year 1900, after which it has grown fast (cf. e.g. Helsingin kadunnimet 1981: 48). The sociolinguistic and political developments set their mark also on the linguistic landscape: on the officially regulated street name signs for example, Finnish names were added after 1864 (Helsingin kadunnimet 1981: 47) and after the turn of the century, the order of Finnish and Swedish names was reversed with the

Finnish names now appearing on the top (Helsingin kadunnimet 1981: 50). Russian was also present on these signs before Finnish independence, as will be discussed shortly.

The first impression of the signs depicted in the historical photographs is that the commercial linguistic landscape appears as even more obviously multilingual than today, in that the same establishment usually signposts with several languages in parallel. Furthermore, this multilingualism can be described as a different kind of multilingualism: it is "local" and not "global". By this I mean that the signs of different commercial actors quite systematically include two (or three) of the local languages, whereas international brand names and other more creative commercial names are not the main component of the linguistic landscape (cf. Sjöblom 2013; Syrjälä 2017 on contemporary linguistic landscapes). Next, I will comment specifically on the appearance of Swedish (and by way of comparison that of Finnish) and Russian language respectively. Besides these languages, some examples of the use of other languages (such as English, French or German) can be found in the historical material, even though they are not especially visible in the landscape as a whole.

When considering the sociolinguistic realities of Helsinki between 1860s and 1930s, it is not surprising that Swedish is the predominant language of commercial naming and signposting. Some Finnish signs appear already in the 1890s, but it only starts replacing Swedish as the most visible language towards the end of the period analysed here. All in all, Swedish is much more visible than today, and one can find several establishments only signposting in Swedish (i.e. not in Finnish), especially in the earlier decades. The commercial linguistic landscape studied above all illustrates the ongoing process of change in the status of the two local languages of the city: Swedish changing from the main language of societal – and commercial – activities towards the subordinate position it can be concluded having today (cf. Sjöblom 2013: 168).

One further aspect of the changing power-relations of the different languages in society is exemplified by the signs in Figure 2. The *code preference* (cf. Scollon & Scollon 2003: 116–124), that is, the order in which different languages are pla-

ced on signs has been noted as a relevant feature when discussing the politics of name use (Puzey 2016: 399–401). As mentioned above, the order of Swedish and Finnish was changed in the official street name signs after 1903 (Helsingin kadunnimet 1981: 50). Even though Swedish is placed more often first (on top or on the left) on the earlier signs and Finnish on the later signs, no general consensus can be found among the commercial signs. The practice instead depends more on the single commercial actors than the year in question, as bilingual signs ordered in both ways can be found throughout the analysed period. Still, changes in code preference could be a relevant object for more in-depth studies of historical linguistic landscapes.

The political changes in Helsinki become most obvious in the use of Russian in the commercial linguistic landscape. Although not as visible as Swedish or Finnish, signs with Russian can be found on at least 15 of the 85 photographs taken before year 1917. The language is easy to recognise because of the different alphabet, but otherwise the use of Russian does not seem to differ from that of Swedish (and/or Finnish), as seen in Figure 3. Russian had been used on e.g. street name signs since 1833 (Helsingin kadunnimet 1981: 46) and during the era of russification politics after 1903 it was placed first on these signs (Helsingin kadunnimet 1981: 49–50). The political turmoil does not, however, seem to have affected the commercial signs.

Whether Russian was used by certain businesses to appeal to a distinctive customer base (cf. Berezkina 2016 and the use of minority languages on commercial signs in Oslo) or whether it was just reflecting the political situation or the considerable Russian speaking merchant class of Helsinki at the time cannot be answered based on the signs present here alone. What is interesting, if not completely surprising, is the disappearance of all Russian signs from the commercial linguistic landscape right after the Finnish independence in 1917: there are no examples of signs using Russian in the later part of the data analysed. The same also happened with street name signs (Helsingin kadunnimet 1981: 50).

As illustrated by changes in the use of both Swedish and Russian in the commercial signs, changing demographics and political circumstances influence the appearance of the linguistic

Figure 2. Multilingual signs on the corner of Alexandersgatan and Mikaelsgatan in 1895. Looking at code preference, Swedish is placed first (i.e. on the left). (A.E. Rosenbröijer, Helsinki City Museum, CC BY 4.0)

Figure 3. Russian appearing prominently alongside Swedish and Finnish. N. M. Schoschkoffs Egg Store at Norra Esplanadgatan, early 1900s. (By unknown, Helsinki City Museum, CC BY 4.0)

landscape. This is not only true of the officially sanctioned street name signs, but also of the more freely formed commercial linguistic landscape, the latter perhaps even better reflecting the true underlying sociolinguistic realities of the city at any given time.

5. Observations on the Names Themselves

I now turn to the observations made on the commercial names appearing in the historical linguistic landscapes. A notable fact, as already mentioned, is the lack of international brand names on the signs. In fact, none can be seen in the earlier part of my data (before the 1920s). More local names are used instead, with personal names (of business owners) being among the most visible ones. Some examples of international brand names can be found from the late 1920s and onwards: all of which are quite well known even today. The examples of international company names are related to the then growing automobile industry: *Chevrolet*, *Ford*, and

the oil companies *Mobil* and *Shell* (cf. Fig. 4). One additional brand name, *Martini*, appears towards the end of the 1930s (after the end of prohibition in Finland) on a large billboard on the wall of a hotel.

The vast majority of the commercial names are more descriptive in nature: informing about the field of business – or at least the owner – of a specific establishment. Several company names like *Waseniuska bokhandeln* 'Wasenius book store' or *Holländska cigarimportaffären* 'Dutch cigar import business' can thus be found in the historical photographs, other typical commercial signs including a personal name complemented with a description of the business in one or several languages (as with the large sign with the name *Sidorow* in Figure 2 above). Further examples of commercial naming in the historical linguistic landscapes can be seen in Figure 5. To define which parts of these signs are in fact proper names is not always easy, nor is there place for that theoretical discussion here. As a general conclusion it can be noted, however, that the "genre" of commercial signs in the linguistic landscapes

Figure 4. Example of visible international brand names: *Shell* petrol station at the corner of Henriksgatan and Simonsgatan in the early 1930s. (Sakari Pälsi, Helsinki City Museum, CC BY 4.0)

Figure 5. Different types of commercial names/signs on Östra Henriksgatan in 1908: descriptive names in two languages ('university pharmacy', 'city auction room') and personal names of which one is completed with the designation 'tailor' in two languages. (Signe Brander, Helsinki City Museum, CC BY 4.0)

is above all informative to its nature within the present material.

What has been described above agrees with the description of the general development of company names (see above, cf. Sjöblom 2016: 455–456): going from personal names to other descriptive names. Whether or not the development in linguistic landscapes has fully reached the stage of more associative naming during the analysed period cannot be answered definitely, but at least both the aforementioned international brand names and other more associative company names, e.g. *O.Y. SYSTEMA A.B.* (selling office furniture) start to appear to the signage in the later photographs. Thus, the linguistic landscape parallels/confirms the descriptions of previous studies and can be used as another source to look at the development and use of this name category.

One final observation can be made about the multimodality of the commercial naming in the historical context. The emplacement of the signs, quite familiar from the modern linguistic landscapes, is one aspect of this. Otherwise, the commercial signs are often quite simplistic in design – underlining the informative nature of the names themselves. Some examples of e.g. play with fonts or use of pictures can be found already early on, such as in Figure 3 above or by a cinema in Figure 6. Even though the historical linguistic landscape in many of the photographs appears as more sedate than those of modern cities, there is a lot of variation even in this respect. Several commercial establishments only use a single sign to indicate their presence, while others have façades full of signs with a lot of information in different languages complementing the company name.

Figure 6. Cinemas, for example, use different multimodal resources in the linguistic landscape, here Capitol on Henriksgatan in 1931, showing the film *Feet First*. (Olof Sundström, Helsinki City Museum, CC BY 4.0)

6. Concluding Remarks

To summarise, I have in this pilot study used a collection of historical photographs to discuss the commercial naming in linguistic landscapes of Helsinki between 1860s and 1930s. Careful methodological consideration needs to be given to the practical issues linked with this kind of partly random historical material. For example, the representability of the data limits the possible conclusions. As such, I have above only concentrated on some qualitative remarks based on the available data. This is, however, not to say that a more in-depth analysis of the names (and other signs of the linguistic landscape) could not be achieved through a further refined approach.

As noted in the analysis above, the commercial linguistic landscape parallels different political and demographic changes, thus offering insight into the development of the city as a sociolinguistic place throughout history. Notable in the com-

mercial naming is the descriptive nature (and use of personal names) of the visible company names. These factors and the early appearances of international branding make the linguistic landscape both familiar and different, signage in general having a more informative focus. The observations made here both confirm previous descriptions of the development of the category of company names (cf. Sjöblom 2016: 456) and gives additional reason to discuss the limits of what should be considered proper names.

For future research, specific subsets of (commercial) names, changes in signs of a certain business or comparative takes on specific locations through times could serve as starting points to historical linguistic landscapes. A mixed approach with both diachronic and synchronic data can yield interesting results, as demonstrated by e.g. Vandenbroucke (2018). Direct comparisons between modern and historical landscapes are not necessarily straight-forward though, as both

the practices of signposting and, indeed, the city itself have changed a lot. A well planned, more qualitative approach could still answer questions like which names have survived in the landscape through times, perhaps becoming iconic parts of the cityscape. Further interesting themes can be found in the *materiality* of signs and other semiotic aspects of commercial language use.

Since there is a lack of diachronic studies of linguistic landscapes, there is a lot of potential in studying available historical materials. As Puzey suggests, it might be useful to focus more 'on the LL – and its onomastic dimension – as a series of negotiated, lived experiences with complex flows of authorship and readership' (2016: 410). I would argue that for such discussion, open source data sets like the one used for this present study, should despite their limitations offer valuable insight.

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The Economy in Names
Values, Branding and Globalization

This volume presents a selection of revised and edited papers given at the sixth conference on Names in the Economy (NITE), which was held in Uppsala in June 2019. The focus of this volume, and at NITE 6, is mainly the economy or economic aspects hidden or evident in various types of names: how names can hold different values; how names can be used or misused to enhance such values; how names can be used in branding; and how names can be a financial means in a global world.

The contents display a broad selection of papers on commercial names and how they are connected to economic considerations and marketing. The topics span from how personal names and brand names, used in advertising in magazines, can reveal much synchronic information about attitudes and opinions, to how different cultures or languages are represented in the linguistic landscape. Some hitherto less studied areas are the complicated issue of word-marks (including brand names) regarded from a judicial point of view and the influence of building companies on the naming of new city developments.