

# Trade Names in Contemporary Romanian Public Space



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By

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Cambridge  
Scholars  
Publishing



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This book first published 2015

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-4438-7639-9

ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-7639-1

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## FOREWORD

This book is based on the author's doctoral thesis, *Trade Names in Contemporary Romanian Public Space*, supervised by Professor Hortensia Pârlog (West University of Timișoara, Romania) and defended in December 2013. Although it has been revised and includes an updated list of references, its structure and most of its content faithfully reproduce the PhD thesis in question. Thus, the present project is a linguistic research into trade names, that is, names of firms (in the production and services sector), shops, eating/drinking houses and accommodation locations. It aims at identifying and analysing the onomastic behaviour characteristic of the field of trades in contemporary Romanian public space, as well as at delineating a representative naming pattern for every subcategory of commercial onomastics investigated, according to three coordinates: (1) lexical and grammatical structure, (2) semantics (pointing out different levels of meaning) and (3) language preference. It is this last coordinate that has led to the consolidation of another aim in the research, namely to highlight the "Anglo-fashion" (see Pârlog 1999) to which trade names generally subscribe, as an effect of globalisation.

Methodologically, this work relies on the theoretical framework provided by onomastics, functional, cognitive and generative grammar, semiotics (in the interpretation of trade names as iconic, indexical and symbolic signs) and pragmatics (observing that trade names underlie speech acts). Moreover, the study also refers to psycholinguistics, underlining the cognitive and affective mechanisms that contribute to the creation and use of trade names. The way in which commercial designations behave on the level of the society (especially how they contribute to the characterisation of a community linguistically and culturally) is analysed by using the tools of sociolinguistics. From the same point of view, the current context of trade names is also described, with reference to the influence of the English language and the American sociocultural mindset (as instruments of globalisation) on the Romanian language and culture, and particularly on the unprecedented development of commercial onomastics.

The methodology employed in this project furthermore includes theoretical precepts specific to linguistic polyphony, emphasising the similarity between trade names and unconventional anthroponyms

(nicknames and virtual names in particular). Postcolonial studies (and post-communist studies, as a branch of this field of research) are also referred to, in the description of the area from which the names were collected (Maramureş county, as a part of Transylvania, Romania). Finally, the reference to translation studies is made in order to be able to define trade names as cultural mediators in contemporary Romanian public space.

The book is divided into two main parts; one is theoretical and the other, practical. An Appendix containing the corpus investigated is attached at the end, before the “References” section, which is followed by two indexes. The study starts by describing “The Current Context of Trade Names,” from the point of view of the effects that globalisation (and the two related phenomena, localisation and glocalisation) have on the development of the branch of commercial onomastics in contemporary Romanian public space. The chapter “Literature Review: Trade Names and Theories of Properhood” offers a bird’s-eye view of theories of proper names, in general, and of trade names, in particular. As regards commercial names, both linguistic and legal aspects are taken into consideration, as Chapter Three points out (“Trade Names as Objects of Linguistic Research”). This chapter also presents theories that are related to other types of commercial names than the four subclasses analysed in the practical part of the research, as the aim was to provide a complex picture of this onomastic variety, which has so far been little researched in Romanian specialised literature and has only constituted the subject of more extensive study on an international level for the last fifteen years.

That this book first deals with theories related to proper names in general is accounted for by the fact that onomasticians often argue about whether trade names should be treated as proper names or as nonproprietary constructions (usually appellative constructions), due to their semantic configuration and the way in which they are used to perform reference. From this viewpoint, two directions of research can be delineated. On the one hand, there are theories of proper names that defend the asemanic functionality of names; these include the approaches of Mill (2009), who treats names as mere tags (underlining their sole denotative use), and Kripke (2001), who claims names are rigid designators (see also Oltean 2013b). This orientation in onomastic research is rounded with the pragmatic perspective to naming, coined by Coates (2006).

On the other hand, there exist accounts of proper names that treat these lexical items as meaningful units and to which the present take on trade names subscribes as well. These include Gammeltoft (2005) and Van Langendonck (2007a), the latter discussing two types of meanings in

relation to proper names: asserted lexical meaning and presuppositional meanings. In agreement with Jackson (2010), this project highlights the importance of having the relevant, apposite linguistic and encyclopaedic competences in order to be able to decode properly the meaning of a name.

The practical part of this research starts by characterising contemporary Romanian public space as having two dimensions, the threshold between them being the Revolution of 1989. Subsequently, the area of investigation is narrowed down to Maramureş county, in Transylvania, Romania, which is interpreted from the perspective of postcolonial (post-communist) studies as a liminal space. Nevertheless, this part of the research focuses on the lexical and grammatical classification and semantic analysis of trade names, in four distinct subchapters that correspond to the four types of commercial names analysed (“Names of Firms and Companies,” “Names of Shops,” “Names of Eating and Drinking Houses” and “Names of Accommodation Locations”).

The “Conclusions” section underlines why trade names can be considered cultural mediators in contemporary Romanian public space: they perform a transfer, a translation (broadly speaking; see Steiner 1998 and Bell 2000) of information between name givers and name users. Due to their semantic structure and behaviour, trade names are discursive means by which an entity is established on the level of an accepted sociocultural and linguistic convention. The discourse built around commercial names in the contemporary public space of Maramureş (and Romania, by extension) aims to involve people in a network that is a firm statement of their cultural identity (see Felecan, D. 2011 for linguistic polyphony). The discourse in question results from the negotiation between localism and globalisation, from the transfer of values from one context of use to the other. The meaning negotiation is successful only when name givers and name users share (i.e., make relevant use of) the linguistic and sociocultural norms that underlie trade names. The absence of this shared background is often repaired by the nonverbal elements that contribute to the establishment of a commercial name and its bearer. Therefore, trade names function as cultural mediators, as they translocate messages, events and information, through the reassessment of the micro- and macro-environment in which they occur.

Consequently, it seems fair to state that commercial names in the contemporary public space of Maramureş develop several functions: distinction, identification, protection and promotion, including the socioculturally integrative function, which implies that they (and their referents) are part of a given sociocultural environment (see Bergien 2007). In the case of the names analysed, the sociocultural environment is

liminal Transylvania, a sort of margin, a flexible dimension in which identity is simultaneously defined by liminality and fluidity (see Oțoiu 2003). Put differently, commercial onomastic behaviour is an ever-evolving language field, which is indicative not only of the dynamic of language (from a synchronic and diachronic perspective), but also of the dynamic of culture, as it mirrors a wide range of attitudes and changes in the society. Trade names in contemporary Romanian public space are statements of a fluid, multidimensional identity, which is constantly negotiating its existence between the need to feel globally accepted and locally proud.

Alina Bugheșiu

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, my sincerest gratitude goes to Professor Hortensia Pârlog (West University of Timișoara), for her faith, patience and priceless academic guidance throughout my doctoral studies and beyond. I am also immensely grateful to Professors Andrei Avram (University of Bucharest), Ștefan Oltean (“Babeș-Bolyai” University of Cluj-Napoca) and Mihai Zdrenghia (“Babeș-Bolyai” University of Cluj-Napoca), for their thorough revision of my thesis, their advice and comments, which helped me find my way through the maze of language studies, in general, and name studies, in particular. Special thanks are also owed to Professors Luminița Frențiu, Loredana Pungă and Mihaela Cozma, from West University of Timișoara, for their wonderful numerous suggestions during my PhD research.

I truly thank Sam Baker and Amanda Millar, from Cambridge Scholars Publishing, for their support in editing this book. I would also like to thank Mihaela-Ioana Topan, a dear friend, for her exceedingly keen eye for spotting grammatical and stylistic no-nos. All remaining errors are my own.

I am filled with gratitude for Professors Oliviu and Daiana Felecan, from North University Centre of Baia Mare (Technical University of Cluj-Napoca), for their trust, stimulation, knowledge and constant friendship. Without them, this book would not have materialised.

Last but not least, I am thankful beyond words to my family, for everything.



## ABBREVIATIONS

adj. = adjective/adjectival

adv. = adverb

c.n. = common noun

En. = English

f. = feminine

fn. = footnote

Fr. = French

Ger. = German

Gr. = Greek

Hu. = Hungarian

It. = Italian

Lat. = Latin

m. = masculine

n. = noun

p.n. = proper noun

Pg. = Portuguese

pl. = plural

prep. = preposition

Rom. = Romanian

sg. = singular

Sp. = Spanish

vb. = verb



**PART ONE:**  
**TRADE NAMES IN THEORY**



## CHAPTER ONE

# THE CURRENT CONTEXT OF TRADE NAMES: ENGLISH, GLOBALISATION, COMMUNICATION

### **Communication Today**

In an age in which communication happens at the speed of clicks and keyboards, the issue of language analysis becomes a reflection of one's mobility and flexibility within, without (i.e., in general) and between contexts of use. Whether diachronic or synchronic, an approach should take into consideration aspects determined by the transcultural (Blommaert 2011: 4), intercultural and cross-cultural (within a society) dimensions of language contact, as prescribed by the widespread fame of the phenomenon of globalisation. It is in this biased landscape of rapid and radical mutations and transformations that the study of linguistic materials reveals language as being in motion (both literally and metaphorically), and defines its elements as "diagnostic indices" (Felecan 2013a: xii; Bugheşiu 2013d: 63) of the social, psychological, political, economic, technological and cultural changes that shape a society. As this function is performed by all linguistic compartments, it comes only natural that the field of onomastics should behave in a similar way. Although all categories of names are subject to and, therefore, reflect linguistic diversity and super-diversity, the interest of the present research is directed at trade names, at their peculiar behaviour as an onymic category, their variational core, their development as meaning carriers (Corbu 2009: 61) and underlying elements of language acts (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2003: 22–23). Furthermore, commercial names are also discussed as symptoms of language contact (see Loveday 1996 and Matras 2011), as cultural mediators and socioeconomic markers that alert individuals to the status and dynamic of the society they represent. This book refers to contemporary Romanian public space, and particularly to the urban and rural settings of Maramureş county in the north-western part of Romania.

The study of trade names is a relatively new aspect of onomastics. This extremely adaptable and prolific name class has only recently become a focus of interest for researchers in various fields (linguistics, economy,

marketing, advertising, psychology, sociology and anthropology), as a result of the unprecedented economic growth in the twentieth century and of the globalisation era we are experiencing today. Both types of factors have led to the re-consideration of the idea of communication, from the—until recently—*either oral or written* types, to the now *both oral and written* ones. There has occurred a visible diversification and combination of the mediums of communication, governed by the principle of least effort, which underpins the evolution of language and society in contemporaneity (complexification motivated by simplification). It is especially the technological changes that define the world as we know it, as they have affected all the dimensions of our universe (social, political, economic, religious, educational, psychological, and so on) almost to the same extent. These shifts determine the way people establish relationships with one another and with the world around them, be it natural or artificial. The possibility of sending an e-mail to or of having a conversation with anyone, basically anywhere and anytime, proves that many of the obstacles that used to hinder communication have been surpassed. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the revolution and the mutations that have imposed a new set of values (speed, efficiency and emotional impact-making) have also shaped the way language is perceived, created and used within given contexts of communication. The development of mass media and the dissemination of the Internet (its availability) have made us aware that, in contemporary society, the way in which a discourse is built and organised is (or should be) given at least as much attention as the understanding and the interpretation of the discursive content (Trudgill 2000: 2). In this context, one is able to confirm—were there still any doubts left—that it is not only society that influences language; language itself acts upon the society.

The symbiotic relation between language and society is eventually salient on all the levels of the society and, consequently, in all the compartments of the language that is spoken and promoted by the society in question. Therefore, any proper onomastic survey is bound to take into consideration aspects relating to the aforementioned symbiosis. In view of a deeper, more grounded apprehension of name-giving in the field of trades and of the functions fulfilled by its products, the present study relies on the pragmatic and semiotic features developed by recent patterns of communication, such as those promoted by the media and the Internet (Balaban 2009; McLuhan 2006; Popa 2005). It is within this framework that the act of naming is perceived both as a communicative process and as the result of such an activity, focusing one's attention on the socio- and psycholinguistic (but also cultural and economic) implications that names

in public space entail. The findings of this research will prove indicative of a situation that is not particular to Romania, but takes various forms elsewhere around the globe as well, regardless of the standards of English one may talk about, or its “new standards, non-standards, informalities,” according to Crystal (2005: 14). The post-imperial spread and establishment of English as a language of globalisation pervades contemporary Romanian public space, and commercial onomastics is one of the linguistic and sociocultural sectors that faithfully mirror this orientation and are most receptive to it.

### **English and Globalisation**

The definition and description of the process of communication in the contemporary world could not be achieved without giving proper credit to the complex movements and transformations that are united under the umbrella of the concept of globalisation, “shorthand for the intensified flows of capital, goods, people, images and discourses around the globe, driven by technological innovations mainly in the field of media and information and communication technology, and resulting in new patterns of global activity, community organization and culture” (Blommaert 2011: 13). The concern lies not only in discussing the pairs of opposite governing concepts that define globalisation (*global village vs complex web of settlements, global language/lingua franca vs local lingua franca, global vs local*), but also in underlining the influence that this string of facts and events exerts on language (and communication implicitly).

The phenomenon has occurred before. What Latin underwent during the Middle Ages (and in some parts of Europe even later on) and French throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English massively undergoes today. Although the roots could be seen in the first conquests of new territories and in the establishment of trading posts in overseas colonies (Crystal 2010: 30; Schneider 2007: 3), the dissemination of English as a “universal” language truly began when the British Empire was at the peak of its power and development (during Queen Victoria’s reign). In view of ensuring sturdy commercial connections between the outskirts (the annexed territories) and the centre (the British Island), especially because economic stability meant maintaining power, local languages were downgraded and English became the *lingua franca* of the colonies that the Empire ruled over/administered (Crystal 2010: 86). Even after the dissolution of the Empire, in the now independent territories (some of which adhered to the Commonwealth of Nations) English

maintained its status as a *lingua franca*, and it continues to be used as the language of trades, diplomacy and foreign affairs (Crystal 2010: 126).

However, on a worldwide scale, English has “stumbled” into this status even in places where it had not previously enjoyed it. According to Schneider (2007: 1),

For centuries scholars have dreamt of a single, universal language which would allow all of mankind to communicate with each other directly, but all attempts at constructing such a code artificially have failed in practice. Now, it seems, one has emerged quite naturally. The English language has spread into precisely this role without any strategic planning behind this process—it is the world’s *lingua franca* and the language of international communication, politics, commerce, travel, the media, and so on.

Moreover, whereas up to the seventeenth century, English proved to be “one of the most hospitable languages in its acceptance of foreign loans” (Stojković 2005: 106),<sup>1</sup> due to the cultural and economic changes it witnessed, it has become today’s primary donor language. According to Stojković (2005: 106), “In nearly all fields of human knowledge there is a very free and versatile linguistic borrowing of English words by other languages.”

The past fifty or sixty years trace a spectacular growth in the number of non-native speakers of English, which only means that English has become the global language of the new millennium. The developments that have determined us to re-assess our perception of communication and the precepts according to which it is built and preserved have also made people “more mobile, both physically and electronically” (Crystal 2010: 13). Now, this mobility demanded a language to express it and to ensure that what it had promised to achieve—the global village, a world that is one but many at the same time—would eventually happen. English seemed at hand. Nowadays, “People increasingly believe in what they see and they buy what they believe in... People use, drive, wear, eat and buy what they see in movies” (German director Wim Wenders quoted in

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<sup>1</sup> The second edition of the Oxford *Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases* (2010) proves that English still is a borrowing-friendly language. In the “Preface,” Delahunty (2010: vii) quotes and expands David Crystal’s description of the English language as “‘a vacuum cleaner... It sucks words in from any language it makes contact with.’ And quite a large vacuum-cleaner—English has sucked words from over 350 languages around the world—working at an even faster rate.” Likewise, Schneider (2007: 2) and Crystal (2002: 270–271; 2005: 13) underline how much English has diversified as a result of its global use.

Crystal 2010: 100).<sup>2</sup> Since most of these movies (and not only, as a very significant part of culture, technology, economics and politics) are in English, it is only fair to state that people “use, drive, wear, eat and buy” in English. The speed with which it spread makes English a “social adhesive,” and this no longer allows us to associate it strictly with *native speakers*. English is now “so widely established that it can no longer be thought of as ‘owned’ by any single nation” (Crystal 2010: 26), but as a global language in the global village we are said to be inhabiting.

Trudgill (2000: 165–167) claims that, in the process of becoming a *lingua franca*, English has passed through three successive stages: (1) *simplification* (of grammatical redundancies and difficulties), (2) *reduction* and (3) *interference (admixture)*. According to Trudgill (2000: 165), these are also the steps a language undergoes when it is subjected to *pidginisation*; in fact, a pidgin is nothing but “a lingua franca which has no native speakers” (Trudgill 2000: 167). This relativisation of Standard English is entailed by its de-nativisation to a great extent, as a result of the thorough attempts to implement the English culture (and language implicitly) within every other culture that it has been in contact with. As a more or less conspicuous sample of cultural imperialism, the “diversification of English into many non-native varieties” determined that the donor language be perceived as “a linguistic software infrastructure” (Stojković 2005: 107), a device ensuring cohesion in communication on a global level. Conversely, whether English gains from this or not is a debatable issue. According to Crystal (2007: 483), language change is not a matter of loss or gain, as “Languages do not develop, progress, decay, evolve, or act according to any of the metaphors which imply a specific endpoint and level of excellence. They simply change, as society changes” (Crystal 2007: 459).

Besides triggering ardent debates on the aspects of globalisation, the prevalence of the English language also calls our attention to the issue of *localisation*. The two processes are interdependent and their development is recorded simultaneously. Thus, “In times of social changes and during processes of globalisation from which proceeds a threat of social alienation, people show a growing interest in their own local and regional history” (Boerrigter 2007: 56). The disappearance of economic and political borders leaves people searching for their own identities, a quest that most often shipwrecks in either one of two extreme poles. If this identity is discovered in the embracing of an extensional reference frame (i.e., beyond local circumscription), the native culture is abandoned in

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<sup>2</sup> The original reference: Robinson, D. 1995. The Hollywood Conquest. *Encyclopaedia Britannica Book of the Year*, 245. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica.

favour of a global, cosmopolitan one that promises permanent and unhindered communication. Nevertheless, if identity means being locally connected, one cannot help but notice that localism pervades the individuals' mindsets, being almost like a revolutionary statement, "the feeling to be part of one firm society in which individuals can find their desired collective regional conceptions and symbols" (Boerrigter 2007: 56).

In this multidimensional picture, it might seem superfluous to affirm that language plays a significant part; it is both the element that unites, as well as the element that separates groups of people. A language is the repository of human knowledge, of social and cultural values, and therefore fulfils a vital role in the "establishment and preservation of national, group and individual identity" (Stojković 2005: 107), by primarily (but not absolutely) distinguishing a community of speakers from another. In the wake of globalisation, people discover their lives have become increasingly monitored by authorities beyond the grasp of those local institutions that, in one way or another, nurtured in them a sense of authenticity. Steadily, their feeling of "belonging to a secure culture is eroded" (Stojković 2005: 108). At the same time, it is utterly idealistic to believe that a culture could elude integration into the socioeconomic landscape of the "global capitalist market" (Stojković 2005: 108). The only viable option is to adapt the influences coming from the donor culture to one's own needs and tastes, to best suit one's own cultural identity. According to Stojković (2005: 111), as long as we discriminate between "language for communication" and "language for identification," there is no need to fear that we might have to deal with linguistic colonisation. In this context, identity assumes the existence of an individual speaking more than a language, and for that individual, the linguistically determined identity is "not unitary and fixed," but "multi-faceted, non-unitary and contradictory" (Stojković 2005: 111, with reference to Norton, B. 2000. *Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited).

One further point needs to be highlighted with regard to the concepts/phenomena of globalisation and localisation: at their crossroads, there lies the process of *glocalisation*. From a sociocultural viewpoint, "*Glocalisation* means that global and local features reach their meaning and identity only in relation to each other. Local is not a counterpoint to the concept of global but rather an aspect of globalisation, and globalisation is a kind of hybridisation process" (Sjöblom 2013b: 4). As regards the evolution of English, *glocalisation* denotes the context-bound variegation of this language (along with the sociocultural implications that

derive thereon) as a predictable consequence of its worldwide dissemination. As Schneider (2007: 316) puts it, “some degree of fragmentation of English, the emergence of local vernaculars utilized to encode subtle social messages, is going on at the same time” with the global spread of the language. While it is accurate to state that, in contemporary Romanian space, the use of English conveys a certain social status and belonging that differs depending on the community where it is practised, it would be far fetched to claim that it gives way to a new dialect of English, resulting from the mixture with Romanian. Thus, the localisation of English does not come about in the shape of “fusing with indigenous language input to yield new dialects suitable for the expression of local people’s hearts and minds” (Schneider 2011: 229), but by means of borrowings in specific fields or in colloquial and phatic discourse. Oftentimes, in the case of colloquial and phatic language, one is faced with a diglossic situation, in which the use of this highly anglicised variety is deplored as being unmotivated lexically and semantically: Romanian is seen as resourceful enough for any situation of communication.

The English influence on the Romanian language began, as for most European languages, after World War II. However, it was through French that the first English loans occurred in the Romanian lexicon as early as in the second half of the nineteenth century (Pârlog 1999: 94; Stoichițoiu Ichim 2006: 21, 2008: 82), as the process of Westernisation that our culture has been subject to starting with the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries was expressed through the strong influence of Latin, Italian and French. Before 1989, for political reasons, neologisms of English origin were not used so frequently, despite their increasing occurrence in Romanian. Moreover, their use was severely controlled and restricted to certain domains, such as science, technology, sports, cinema and music (Pârlog 1971: 57; Stoichițoiu Ichim 2006: 219). The fall of the communist regime opened the gates for the Western civilisation in all Eastern European countries, former members of the Communist Bloc. The English language was what mediated the process now known as *globalisation*, which was soon obvious in all the fields of human knowledge, language included.

According to Crystal (2010: 9), “A language has traditionally become an international language for one chief reason: the power of its people—especially their political and military power.” The culture that has behaved as an international authority from the twentieth century onwards, in matters of politics, economy, technology and military issues, claiming supremacy in all these fields and many more, is embodied by the United States of America. Being the language spoken by the American

superpower, English is associated by most Romanians with the new political and cultural models, the new outlook on life related to the Western world, all of which actually mean the American civilisation. Pârlog (1999: 94) draws our attention to the fact that this kind of craze can be identified in Romanian space even before the 1989 Revolution that brought about the end of the totalitarian regime:

Just like the 19th century younger generation of Romanians, who, inflamed by the ideas of the French Revolution and by French culture, favoured the enrichment of the Romanian vocabulary with French words, at the end of the 20th century, the younger generation brought up (at home) in awe of the British-American super-civilization, to which their parents had been denied access for decades, cannot resist the temptation to sprinkle their vocabulary with English words. By doing it, they feel closer to the western man (usually American), perceived as a competent, enterprising, prosperous, and reliable person.

English has become, during the past decades, the most widely taught foreign language, being seen as the language of progress (Crystal 2010: 83), the key to the American dream:

“It is in the economic and political interest of the United States to ensure that if the world is moving toward a common language, it be English; that if the world is moving toward common telecommunications, safety, and quality standards, they be American; and that if common values are being developed, they be values with which Americans are comfortable. These are not idle aspirations. English is linking the world.” (Rothkopf quoted in Phillipson 2007: 381).<sup>3</sup>

Ever since the 1990s, the Romanian vocabulary has been overwhelmed by the massive invasion of English words, which were either adapted and/or accepted in the standard language, or were considered superfluous and thus a threat to the stability and long-term evolution of the Romanian language. Linguists have talked about the “hybridisation” of the Romanian language during the 1990s (Slama-Cazacu 2000: 127), as well as about its hospitability (which could also be conveyed by means of Crystal’s aforementioned “vacuum cleaner” metaphor—see fn. 1 above, on p. 6), referring to its propensity for the assimilation of new words (Avram and

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<sup>3</sup> The original reference: Rothkopf, D. 1997. In Praise of Cultural Imperialism. *Foreign Policy* 107 (Summer 1997): 38–53. This article is also available online: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/protected/rothkopf.html> (accessed July 10, 2013).

Sala 2000: 146–147). Whatever the perspective, the English influence has received considerable attention, both in order to establish the normative framework of the linguistic contact, and to underline the impact of the English language on various terminologies in Romanian.

A language contact situation can be highlighted, corresponding to Loveday's (1996: 13) "distant non-bilingual setting," in which the source community (of the donor language, i.e., English) and the recipient community (of the recipient language, i.e., Romanian) are within considerable geographical distance from each other. In this instance, the influence of the donor language is usually limited to "small scale lexical borrowing with varying degrees of change on phonological and semantic levels" (Loveday 1996: 18). The contact is established especially intermediately, via films, music, literature and mass media (oral, visual, written or new media), while it may also be initiated by unmediated interaction between representatives of the two communities (Loveday 1996: 17–18). The recipient community "does not socially require the acquisition" (Loveday 1996: 17) of the donor language by law. Nevertheless, the current configuration of the society associates English with prestige (and often with education, as noticed by Pârlog 1999: 97),<sup>4</sup> which along with the widespread availability and accessibility of the language, may lead to a person's being considered old-fashioned, retrograde or purist within certain groups for not speaking English. Therefore, socially, language acquisition is advisable; it is actually a prerequisite in several circumstances (various job applications, educational settings and the entertainment industry). This also relates to another language contact situation identified by Loveday (1996: 19), namely the "distant but institutional setting," an artificial, carefully built learning context in which "the institutionally taught 'foreign language' tends to be regarded as an end or product in itself rather than as a vehicle to achieve communicative goals."

It is crucial to highlight the fluctuating nature of the types of language contact previously described, which also seem to be unidirectional and hierarchical, as the donor language is envisaged as the dominant language in a given setting, albeit temporarily. In the case of the distant but institutional setting, the input of English need not be constant from one year of formal education to another, as it depends on a great number of variables concerning both the environment in which the act of learning takes place and the agents involved (teachers and students, in a simplified

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<sup>4</sup> With reference to: Avram, M. 1997. *Anglicismele în limba română actuală* [Anglicisms in contemporary Romanian]. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române.

equation) (see Loveday 1996: 19). As regards the distant non-bilingual framework, from the perspective of the recipient language, “Contact in this setting is usually limited to lexical borrowing, which may start, increase, decrease, or terminate during certain periods; indirect contact may also be evident in loan translations or even stylistic influences” (Loveday 1996: 17). According to Stoichițoiu Ichim (2006: 223–230), from the perspective of *reasonability*, there are two main types of recent English borrowings:

- (1) *Necessary* loans most often do not have a Romanian equivalent, because they designate recent developments in certain fields (see also Pârlog 1999: 95);
- (2) *Superfluous* loans (*luxury Anglicisms*), which although were initially meant to impress the addressee of one’s discourse (decorative purpose), ended up signalling an imitative and snobbish behaviour. Moreover, they are sometimes used to mock such trends (Pârlog 1971: 59; 1999: 96).

All in all, from a *stylistic* perspective, recent English borrowings fit into at least three major stylistic registers of contemporary Romanian:

- (1) *Technical borrowings* are taken straight from English and sometimes via French, marking not only the transfer of terminology from these languages, but also the transfer of knowledge (Pârlog 1971: 58; 1999: 95–96). Most of the concepts refer to new realities that, prior to the cultural contact established with the source cultures, had not been designated in Romanian. Even when there are Romanian equivalents, the English word is preferred for its conciseness and/or its conceptual accuracy: En. *e-learning* – Rom. *învățământ informatizat*, En. *summit* – Rom. *conferință la nivel înalt* (Pârlog 1999: 95), En. *best-seller* – Rom. *carte de succes*. *Technical borrowings* refer mainly to the following fields of activity: computer technology, advertising, mass media, communication and journalism, economy, finance and banking, education, politics, medicine and tourism. Most of these words have a primary *referential/informative function* (Stoichițoiu Ichim 2006: 226) and a neutral value (stylistically speaking), as “they are transferred from highly specialized registers to journalese without semantic changes or connotations” (Stoichițoiu Ichim 2006: 227). Some, however, are *cultural borrowings* that, even when they do have Romanian equivalents, are adopted for their suggestive power, as they are associated with the British and American civilisations, the local colour that a writer/speaker aims to evoke in his/her discourse: e.g., *barbecue*, *fast food*, *first lady*, *junk food*, *rancher*,

*success story*. Similarly, cultural loans may be used for their euphemistic value (e.g., *call girl* for Rom. *prostituată*, *gay* for Rom. *homosexual*), for their putative neutrality, in contrast to their Romanian counterparts (Pârlog 1999: 96, 97).

- (2) *Fashionable words and phrases* are loanwords referring to everyday notions and concepts. Their use is generally motivated by subjective factors (the Romanians' embracing various aspects of British and American lifestyles): *boom*, *challenge*, *CV*, *happy-end*, *killer*, *living (room)*, *love story*, *outsider*, *party*, *playboy*, *staff*, *week-end*, and others. In addition to these, one may also notice certain cliché phrases: *first class*, *last but not least*, *no comment*, *number one*, *top secret*, and others.
- (3) *Colloquial/familiar borrowings* are motivated by "the prestige of the English term and the intention to impress or to gain the sympathy of the addressee" (Stoichițoiu Ichim 2006: 225). Some of these have Romanian counterparts—*OK* (Rom. *perfect!*, *de acord!*), *hi!/hello!* (Rom. *salut!*), *feeling* (Rom. *sentiment*), *job* (Rom. *serviciu*)—and pertain to the slang of teenagers or young adults (adjectives used with a superlative meaning): *cool* (Rom. 'grozav'), *trendy* (Rom. 'la modă'), *sexy* (Rom., 'atrăgător'). Interjections (*wow!*, *oops!*) are borrowed especially via cartoons, which keep certain English words even when they are dubbed. This is why they "are part of every kid's vocabulary" (Pârlog 1999: 94). Also very frequent in everyday vocabulary are expletives (*fuck*, *shit*), which tend to have a euphemistic use, as they are not believed to be "ugly words which jar with constant repetition" (Holder 2008: viii), whereas their Romanian correspondents are.

According to Stoichițoiu Ichim (2006: 225), for the last decade the Romanian language has been experiencing a new sociolinguistic phenomenon developing in relation to recent English borrowings. The usage of such loans has a *manipulative* function (Stoichițoiu Ichim 2006: 228), as it aims at conveying a speaker's knowledgeability in a specific field. Thus, the language related to occupations, trades/economy, advertising, cinema, music, fashion, health and beauty has been witnessing the gradual substitution of Romanian words (often neologisms of French, Latin or German origin) with English ones, due to the supposed prestige of the English terms (see also Stoichițoiu Ichim 2006: 230): *account manager*, *art director*, *assistant manager*, *baby-sitter*, *bodyguard*, *hairstylist*, *hostess*, *house keeper*, *human resources consultant*, *IT sales manager*, *marketing manager*, *medical representative*, *nurse*,

*program(me) officer, public relations (PR), sales representative, soundtrack, spa, trainer, WEB developer*, and others. Whereas the replacement initially occurred in everyday use alone, as Stoichițoiu Ichim (2006: 230) noted, it has spread to more official registers (job descriptions, job interviews, academic language, and so on). Their adoption implies the explicit attachment to a new, foreign cultural model. Language-wise, this “Anglo-fashion” (Pârlog 1999: 93) is not likely to give way to any catastrophe, as it poses no greater threat than any similar foreign fashions (Slavic, Greek, Turkish, Italian and French) and it is not bound to produce any fundamental shifts in the Romance nature of the Romanian language (Avram 1997: 9).

The influence of English is strong in the field of onomastics, and even more so in the case of trade names, which are, if not of English origin, then at least English-like/-sounding. Thus, as sociocultural markers of the globalisation process, one can find names of companies or agencies (*Media Advertising, VIP Travel Services, Good Time SRL, Activ Travel SRL, Sunny Tours SRL, Vest Travel & Vacances SRL, Eagle Film Studio, Cool Dude Production SRL*), names of shops or stores (*Green Future in East, Electro Mobile, Select Center, USB Computers, Beauty Shop SRL*), names of restaurants, pubs, clubs and cinemas (*Music Pub, Route 66, Tom & Jerry, Scottish Pub, The Cube, Exit, Essential, Evolution, Cinema City*), as well as names of publications (*Star, Cool Girl*), radio/TV programmes and channels (*City FM, Kiss FM/TV, Pro Fashion, Hit Club, Real TV*), festivals and events (*Electric Castle Festival, Romanian Fashion Week, Sinaia Forever*) (*Electric Castle Festival; Lista firmelor din România; Pârlog 2002: 227–234; Stoichițoiu Ichim 2006: 233; Sinaia Forever*). Moreover, in the field of advertising, although imported advertisements are translated, the slogan that accompanies the product/brand is preserved in English, to underline the high quality associated with Western tradition and goods: “Nokia – Connecting People,” “Orange – The future’s bright. The future’s Orange,” “McDonald’s – I’m lovin’ it.” A name that *sounds English* looks good and creates impact, carries some sort of prestige, even if all it does is put forward an allegedly English spelling of certain Romanian words. As Loveday (2008: 145) claims about commercial discourse in Japanese space, the use of English “invokes the pleasures and satisfaction of Western capitalistic consumption; it conjures up images of a high standard of living and it carries within it the promise of a satisfying lifestyle.”

In addition to lexical borrowing, illustrated above, one can come across *grammatical borrowing* of the synthetical genitive (*'s*), for example, in names of pubs (*Edgar's Pub*). (*Orthographic borrowing* also occurs, such

as the re-anglicising of the spelling of older borrowings (replacing the adapted Romanian spelling with the original, etymological one: *cocktail* for Rom. *coctail*, *ferry-boat* for Rom. *feribot*, *leader* for Rom. *lider*; this variation was already pointed out by Pârlog 1971: 57) and the tendency to capitalise all the words in various types of titles in Romanian (*Gima Club Card – Un An Nou În Casă Nouă* ‘a new year in a new house’) (Stoichițoiu Ichim 2006: 233). The last instance of borrowing illustrated can be considered a particular result of the “economical environment effect,” in which “Our local nomenclature is becoming logofied” (Viljamaa-Laakso 2008: 413).

There are also fields in which the feeling of localism prevails, so that older brands continue to exist with their original Romanian name and new brands are mainly designated through similar, i.e., traditional, names. Such fields tend to preserve the stereotypical (almost mythical) tradition of genuine Romanian quality and aim to counterbalance the Americanophile note generally reflected in trade names (Felecan 2009: 155–156). Brands of flour (*Bâneasa*, *Dobrogea*, *Făina lui Enache*), mineral water (*Azuga*, *Biborțeni*, *Borsec*, *Bucovina*, *Buziaș*, *Carpatina*, *Dorna*, *Izvorul Alb*, *Izvorul Minunilor*, *Izvorul Moldovencei*, *Oaș*, *Poiana Negri*, *Roua*, *Tușnad*), sunflower oil (*Ardealul*, *Raza Soarelui*, *Spornic*, *Untdelemn de la Bunica*), dairy products (*Brădet*, *Calitatea*, *Dalia*, *Ibănești*, *Napolact*, *Penteleu*, *Rarăul*, *Rucăr*, *Stâna*), beer (*Azuga*, *Bucegi*, *Ciucăș*, *Noroc*, *Stejar*, *Timișoreana*) or wine (*Băbeasca Gri*, *Busuioaca de Bohotin*, *Fetească*, *Haiduc*, *Lacrima lui Ovidiu*, *Miorița*, *Pandur*, *Roșioara*, *Sânge de Taur*,<sup>5</sup> *Tămâioasa*) are likely to still be designated through Romanian names.<sup>6</sup> A belief shared by most Romanians is that products resulting from basic, traditional activities, such as agriculture and animal rearing, should bear Romanian names, as they refer to a series of occupations deemed archetypal by Romanians today and of days of yore, and the language structures that designate such products are able to trigger emotive associations of this kind. Even in this case, there is a considerable amount of borrowings from foreign languages, either as a result of the expansion of an international brand’s market in Romania, or as a negative reflex of the proneness to imitate Western models, especially starting with the 1990s. It is the development of English as a global language (and the

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<sup>5</sup> The name *Sânge de Taur* could be a calque formation after the Hungarian phrase *Bika vér*, the name of a very famous Hungarian wine.

<sup>6</sup> On analysing the English influence on the Italian language and culture in the areas of Pisa and Livorno, Mercatanti (2008: 653) mentions that it did not affect to the same extent what Italy is famous for: food, wine, restaurants, namely the field referred to by the term *agroturismi*.

mindset shifts it calls upon) that determines the organisation of the field of trade names and the very essence of the process of naming in this context.

The present study is an analysis of trade names (company names, shop names, names of eating and drinking establishments, and names of accommodation locations) in the contemporary public space of Maramureş county, in the north-western part of Romania. However, while the research deals with trade names irrespective of the language to which the words that form them belong, it can be effortlessly noticed that English or anglicised trade names are significantly represented throughout the class of commercial names, although there might be different language preferences within some of the subcategories (for instance, names of accommodation locations tend to be derived mainly from Romanian personal names or to comprise dialectal, regional expressions). It is worth noting that “the Anglo-fashion” (Pârlog 1999: 93) is characteristic of the entire contemporary Romanian public space and, therefore, does not only affect the field of onomastics, but also the Romanian language as a whole. Although this study does not deal with product or brand names in particular, the theoretical aspects take these varieties of trade names into consideration as well, in order to provide a complex picture of commercial onomastics. Moreover, some of the theories proposed for product and brand names also hold for company names (in the production or services sectors) or names of shops, eating/drinking houses and accommodation locations. Likewise, names of products and brands can be analysed with reference to the theoretical precepts established in relation to the other above-mentioned varieties of trade names.