

FOREIGN BRANDING IN POLAND: CHREMATONYMS AND ANTHROPONYMS

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Foreign branding in Poland: Chrematonyms and anthroponyms

Abstract: The paper analyzes the phenomenon called *foreign branding* – giving a product a foreign-sounding name – in the context of onomastics. A foreign/English name frequently gives the product a cachet of quality; also, some countries are traditionally linked with expertise in producing certain commodities (e.g. French perfumes, Italian shoes). A case is made for a broader perspective including both product/company names and personal names of performing artists and writers, who also need marketable names. Many Polish chrematonyms and anthroponyms are presented as examples. Finally, problems with defining foreign branding are discussed and further research questions proposed.

Keywords: onomastics, foreign branding, chrematonyms, anthroponyms.

The focus of the present article is foreign branding, “the technique of giving a product a ‘foreign’ name or brand in order to increase its desirability or ‘perceived value’” (Schiffman 2007), discussed from the point of view of onomastics. Nevertheless, some findings contained within the framework of marketing and advertising, where the very idea originated, will be referred to as well, since they seem useful to the present discussion. Then the relevance of the term for onomastics will be discussed, with exemplification from various cultures. In the further part of the paper, examples of Polish chrematonyms (in the sense of names of companies and their products) will be analyzed. Also some Polish anthroponyms that satisfy the formal criteria of foreign branding will be invoked and presented in more detail. These are generally the names of performing artists or of writers who assumed foreign-sounding stage or pen names, or even legally changed their names to foreign-sounding ones. Finally, the difference between two possible readings of the notion – one for English-speaking countries, the other for non-English-speaking ones – will be highlighted and some proposals for further research made.

Foreign branding in marketing

The phenomenon of *foreign branding* has been so far of interest mostly to the specialists in marketing, with the focus on its effectiveness in terms of sales. A great deal of

¹ Either taken from a particular language different from the native language(s) of the product users, or a pseudo-foreign name that cannot be identified as belonging to any existing language.

research has been done along these lines, including the much-cited article by Leclerc et al. (1994), who found that customers in their shopping choices were influenced more strongly by the name of the product than by its country of origin (COO). However, the congruence between a foreign name and a foreign COO did *not* appear to enhance hedonic perception of the product (although, on the other hand, incongruence between the two diminished product perception). Foreign names carry positive associations for consumers which are related to the stereotypes linked with particular countries (Germany – high quality standards, Italy – high-style fashion, France – refined taste, elegance, sophistication, etc.). Such positive connotations seem to amply compensate for the difficulty to remember or pronounce foreign names. Leclerc et al. divided products into *hedonic* products (judged by how much pleasure they provide: wine, perfume, nail polish), *utilitarian* products (judged according to their utility, e.g. foil wrap, gasoline) and *hybrids* (a mixture of both, e.g. shampoos, body lotions, toothpaste) and the foreign branding that they discussed in the article was in fact French branding. The researchers found French names to be more effective for hedonic products, and English (= native) – for utilitarian ones.

Another study to be mentioned here is the article by Mateo and Seisdedos (2010), who – albeit without referring explicitly to the notion of foreign branding – constructed a four-way matrix for analyzing brands according to their market scope (local vs. global) and to their reliance on the territory of origin (the companies that in constructing their image rely heavily on their COO vs. those that conceal their COO and evoke a different cultural image instead). The researchers proposed four types of brands: *Ambassadors* that operate globally and prominently display their COO (e.g. IKEA); *Aristocrats* who likewise proudly invoke their COO, but act on a local scale (e.g. a Spanish wine company Osborne²); *Emerging brands* like Zara, which are global but do not capitalize on their COO and tend to conceal it; finally, *Impostors* – local brands that actually go as far as defacing their COO. It is the last of the four categories that will be relevant to the present discussion. As Mateo and Seisdedos point out,

[the ‘impostors’] see the territory as a negative attribute to be associated to, or at least not a good enough one. In some instances the territorial values associated to their sector are so negative, that they consider to pass by being from somewhere else. In other cases, their imposture comes from an appropriation of the values of well established sectors: fashion, Milan, beauty care: Paris (2010: 9–10).

One of the most commonly invoked instances of foreign branding is the naming of an ice-cream brand – *Häagen Dazs*, developed in the 1970s in New York by Reuben and Rose Mattus, Jewish immigrants from Poland, who wanted to give their product a Danish flavor. Denmark was chosen since, in Reuben’s own words, it was “the only country which saved the Jews during World War II” (Nathan 2012). To enhance the intended connotations, an outline map of Denmark was featured on some packages, even though in Danish there are no letters with dieresis and the digraph *aa* in Danish was replaced with *å* in the 1948 spelling reform – long before the ice cream’s launch.

² It is noteworthy that the name *Osborne* is in fact English, not Spanish. This fact shows clearly the difference in attitude between some studies in marketing and sociolinguistics/onomastics, the former relying on the notion of COO, the latter – on the notion of name.

The *Häagen Dazs* example seems to have established the framework within which to discuss foreign branding. English has no diacritics, which enhances the effect of “foreignness” whenever a diacritic is used, as in the band name *Motörhead*, the kitchen furniture company *Möben* (cf. de Lisle 2006) or the American shoe manufacturer *Rykä*. However, for languages that routinely use the Latin script *with* diacritics, recognition of a foreign-branded name is not automatic³. This is one of the reasons why perhaps there should be more definitions of foreign branding, depending on the cultural context. The problem will be discussed further in this article.

Foreign branding as an onomastic phenomenon

Foreign branding is also an intriguing phenomenon for sociolinguistics. It can reveal a lot about how societal values are reflected in language. For example, the information about which foreign languages are chosen and for what products can shed light on how particular cultures are perceived. Granted, names of products do not emerge in a natural way – they are artificially created by professionals. However, no matter which method of inventing names and then of fine-tuning the naming choices is used, still the name of the product reflects the values held dear by the society, or at least by its section perceived as the target of the advertising campaign.

Of the few linguists who saw the potential of foreign branding for onomastic endeavors, Harold F. Schiffman decidedly deserves a mention here. He calls foreign branding “probably the most important product-naming strategy” and points out that in the USA “foreign-branding of an indiscriminate kind is *not found*” (Schiffman 2007) since particular types of ‘foreignness’ are typically linked with particular products: French – food, wine, certain alcoholic beverages, clothing, especially women’s clothing (style, couture, esp. high quality), perfume, sexuality, sexual desirability, sophistication; Italian – food, coffee, high-fashion men’s clothes and accessories, as well as fancy expensive cars; German – expensive powerful cars; Russian – some brands of vodka; Japanese and Chinese – certain products with the intended air of exoticism (clothing, jewelry, tattoos). Schiffman also discerns mixed-language branding, as well as exotic spellings, e.g. those involving the use of unusual letters or umlauts (cf. also Campbell n.d.). Many examples of brands from various countries can be invoked to support Schiffman’s claims: there is *Rene Lézard* in Germany (apparel), *Carlo Colucci* in Germany (apparel, accessories, fragrances), *Carlo Rossi* in the USA (wine), *Haier* in China (household appliances), *Kyoto* in Mexico (electronic equipment), *Rachmaninoff* in Germany (vodka).

Foreign branding can be found in many countries. For instance the Italian Trade Commission has compiled a list of fake Italian trademarks in China, which comprises both real Italian words and their (sometimes nonsensical) combinations (*Nino Ferletti*, *Giorgio Giovani*, *Pochini*, *L&D/Leonardo da Vinci*, *San Marco*, *Pescara*, *Gladiator*, *Codex*, *Valerio*, *Dolce Rosa*, *Stella Luna*) as well as words associated with Italy but in English or pseudo-English (*Milan*, *Bestibelli Milan*, *Milanair*, *Romeholiday*, *Toskany* [!]) or completely

³ Interestingly, there are even cases of what might be termed *double foreign branding*: a word taken from a foreign language and ‘reinforced’ by adding diacritics non-existent in this language, as in the name of a Polish baby diaper brand *Háppy*.

arbitrarily created pseudo-European onyms: *Gafera*, *Ssimo*, *Cosda*, *Jajemon*, *Sabo*, *Ninoriva*, *Larento/Laorentou*, *Isaiah*, *Fortei*, *Bitto*, *Teentity*, *Vasto*. There are also two toponyms in the function of brand names on the list but their relation to Italy is non-existent: *Obosi* (a town in Nigeria) and *Bosnia* (*eChinacities.com*: 2012).

Also in India can foreign branding be found. *Da Milano* (high-end leather accessories), *Franco Leone*, *La Opala*, *Monte Carlo*, *Titan* (watches), *Fiama Di Wills* (personal care products) are all Indian companies with foreign names. The website of the Indian clothing company *Munich Polo* features photos of Munich with the slogan “Der Geist von Munchen” (without the dieresis, incidentally). There are also condominiums in India called Monte Carlo, Venezia, Hollywood, or Swiss Town (Singh 2012).

Altman (2009) wrote poignantly on foreign branding in Ecuador:

Company and product naming in this Andean nation of 13 million people follows a simple yet perplexing pattern. For a name here to be “cool,” the only requirement is that it be an English word. The perplexing part is that the English words seem to be picked at random and fused in ways that make no sense, either grammatically or with relation to the product or company being named.

Miani and Merola (2012: 37–41) identified patterns in the Italian branding of Vietnamese products: the use of Italian personal names, place names and appellatives; frequent spelling mistakes; often also incorrect matching of constituent elements in multi-word names. “In some circumstances”, the researchers note, “the linguistic connection remains indefinite: in a name such as *Aino Sofia*, Sofia seems to be Italian and the company, based in Vietnam, claims to bring together ‘the elements of European influenced fashion and perception of Italian brands in Vietnam Japanese influenced fashion into one store’”. Similar patterns can be identified for Polish foreign-branded products.

Interestingly, even though one should expect Italy to avoid making use of foreign branding in perfumes (after all it is largely Italian names that are used for perfumes in countries other than Italy), it is not exactly so. Of 228 Italian perfume brands⁴, most were indeed Italian-sounding. Nevertheless, 24 had English names, 8 – French, 5 – Greek, 2 – German [!]. There were also 16 names of uncertain origin, 6 hybrids, and a name from each of the following languages: Spanish, Dutch, Aramaic, Latin and Hebrew.

Foreign branding and Polish chrematonyms

As indicated above, foreign branding is presumably most easily identified in hedonic products. However, the choice of products (and their names) is vast and it is extremely difficult to ensure a representative selection. Therefore, while laying no claims to being complete or representative, the following three types of products have been selected for analysis: the names of companies that produce fashion/shoes/accessories; the names of companies producing perfumes; and, finally, the names of luxurious condominiums in big Polish cities.

In the sphere of fashion (clothing, shoes, accessories) it is best to analyze the names of companies, because their products seldom have their own names – an exception being whole

⁴ <http://www.fragrantica.com/country/Italy.html> (accessed May 6, 2013).

lines (collections) of clothing, which might be separately named. Of the 73 foreign-branded names of Polish companies or their lines (collections) of products, which are mentioned below, 31 are English words or their combinations: *Apart, Atlantex, Atlantic, Bess, Big Star, Blue Shadow, BrothersB, Carry, Clickfashion, Cropp, Diverse, Drywash, EveryNature, Future Club, Gossamer, Greenpoint, House, John Bradley, Lookat, Muzzy, Prestige, Pretty One, Reserved, Risk [sic!], Rush, Simple, Solar, Sunset Suits, Top Secret, Top Trendy, Troll, Yes*. Some names are French (*Lantier*⁵), Italian (*Gino Rossi, Gatta*), Spanish (*Americanos*), Portuguese (*Quiosque*) and even Latin (*De Facto, Verso*). Some names are probably (playfully?) misspelled English: *Confashion* (*fashion + confession?*), *Etno House, Evento, Mistique, Nife* (knife?), *Nipplex*⁶, *Tatum* (from the English feminine name *Tatum?*). The remaining 27 names look vaguely foreign and/or difficult to interpret: *AGGI, Arcado, Babell, Bialcon, Bibise, Caterina, Dan Hen, Dorian Eng* (English given name + German 'narrow?'), *Eldar, Endo, Esotiq & Hederson, Hexeline* (German 'witch' + English appellative?), *Ravel* (English verb or French surname?), *Kastor* (perhaps from Latin *castor* 'beaver'), *Knittex* (from English *to knit?*), *L'uni, Modesta, Mohito, Monnari* (faux Italian?), *Promostars, Szame, Tiffi, Violana, Vissavi* (misspelled French *vis-à-vis?*), *Wadima, Wibs, Wittchen*⁷. Considering the number of companies in Poland, it is not feasible within the limitations of the present article to attempt to assess the percentage of foreign-branded company names in relation to their overall number in Poland, especially that a complex methodology would perhaps be needed to attach weight to each particular company according to such factors as turnover, market share, size of exports, brand/market visibility etc.

Another promising source of foreign-branded names are the names of the Polish producers of perfumes. Many are English: *Blue Up, Christopher Dark, Gosh, Max Gordon, Paris Avenue, Synesis*. Some are French: *Chatier* (misspelled), *Côte d'Azur, Jean Marc, La Rive*, or Italian: *Carlo Bossi, Gino Tossi, Vittorio Bellucci, Franco Rosellini, Vollaré* (misspelled), *Verona*, German/Scandinavian: *Ingrid*, or (pseudo-)Japanese: *Miiko Nakaido*. Some names look foreign but do not belong to any particular language: *Currara, Revia, Ryana*. Italian and French names are relatively numerous in relation to the English ones, which is not surprising considering the iconic status of Italy and France in the perfume industry. Incidentally, most of these companies produce perfumes similar to famous brands. However, the names of those companies are visible on the packaging. The names of their products are similar to the names of original scents to guide potential customers who want "something similar to... but cheaper". For instance, the scents by various Polish producers similar to *Amor Amor* by Cacharel are named *Amore mio* (by Gino Tossi), *More Love* (by Christopher Dark), *Amoremio* (by Chatier), *Ti amo ti amo* (by Bi-Es Cosmetics) and *Sweet Rose*⁸ (by La Rive). An analysis of these names of knock-offs is beyond the scope of the present article since

⁵ The name of a village and municipality in Quebec, Canada.

⁶ This name of a bra-selling company is the antithesis of a randomly chosen name whose main objective is to *look* foreign: here the motivation behind the name – even if *risqué* – is clear to anyone who knows English.

⁷ A happy coincidence: this is a German-looking surname of the company's Polish founder and owner.

⁸ It is a reference not to the name, but to the picture of a rose on the original packaging of *Amor Amor*.

their form is heavily dependent on the original form of a brand name. The products attempt to enhance their prestige by appearing under foreign/international names, which give the customer the impression of dealing with an internationally renowned firm.

Despite some appearances to the contrary, luxurious condominiums are also a good example of hedonistic products. Their existence is a relatively recent phenomenon in Poland. Targeted at the richest strata of society, they are bigger and have a higher standard of furnishings than the average flat, there is typically video surveillance, security, sometimes also their own swimming pool; naturally, they are also priced accordingly. It stands to reason that their names have to ooze the air of affluence, luxury and sophistication. Naruszewicz-Duchlińska (2010), who discussed in her article the names of over 60 such buildings, wrote that “just as in the case of shops, English names [for condominiums] are considered more dignifying [...] In the excerpted material not once did I find the [Polish] word *dom* [‘house’] to refer to a condominium, whereas the [English] word *house* in various contexts was relatively frequent” (2010: 307). For the present study, 112 names of condominiums from Poland’s biggest cities (Warsaw, Cracow, Wrocław, Gdańsk, Łódź, Poznań, Katowice and several others) have been analyzed. It has been found that 32 names showed features of foreign branding. Among these, there were 26 English names (e.g. *Thespian*, *City Park*, *Mondrian House*, *Sky Tower*, *Angel Wings*, *Capital Art Apartments*, *ConceptHouse*, *Baltic Park*, *Manhattan Higher*, *Sea Forest Residence* and others), 3 Italian (*Villa Marea*, *Villa Rosetta*, *Corte Verona*), 1 French (*Mont Blanc*), 1 Latin and 1 of indeterminate origin. Apart from these, there were also 18 hybrids. The majority of the hybrids (10) consisted of a Polish toponym – most often the name of a street – combined with a foreign generic name (such as *Residence*, *Park*, *Towers*, *Point*, *Villa*); there were also 4 names that consisted of a Polish generic name combined with a foreign or pseudo-foreign name (*Trio*, *Como*, *Galileo*, *Multico*), and 4 other hybrids (e.g. *Quattro Towers*, *Angel Wawel*). All in all, purely foreign-branded names, together with hybrids whose at least one element was foreign, accounted for about 45% of the total number of names, which clearly shows how foreign names for houses and housing estates are linked with prestige and luxury.

Foreign branding and Polish anthroponyms

One of the first examples of foreign branding in the names of performing artists in Poland is connected with the name of *Apolonia Chalupiec* (1897–1987), a Polish-born silent movie actress of half-Polish, half-Slovak descent, who achieved international fame in Berlin (1917–1922) and later in Hollywood under the name of *Pola Negri*. It is noteworthy that while it has long been usual for Hollywood actors and actresses to assume new stage names *in lieu* of their presumably not-as-marketable real names, this process typically did not use to entail foreign branding. If anything, the reverse was the case: new names sounded *more* English than their former, frequently immigrant versions⁹. The surname

⁹ Kaplan and Bernays (1999: 90–102) offer a selection of examples: Gladys Smith became Mary Pickford, Theodosia Goodman – Theda Bara, Greta Louisa Gustafsson – Greta Garbo, Lucille Vasconcellos Langhanke – Mary Astor, Dawn Paris – Anne Shirley, Norma Jean(e) Dougherty née Mortenson/Baker – Marilyn Monroe, Marion Michael Morrison – John Wayne. “Renaming”, Kaplan and Bernays noted, “was as important a leg on the trip from obscurity to stardom as the screen test

Negri being unquestionably Italian¹⁰, this is therefore clearly an instance of foreign branding – in Poland, Germany or the USA alike. Another Hollywood actress of Polish descent, *Marianna Michalska* (1901–1959), came to be known in the USA as *Gilda Gray*. It is worth noting, however, that not all those seeking fame and fortune in America actually anglicized their names: Gilda's first husband Gorecki, who emigrated to the USA at the age of eighteen, kept his Polish surname. Another famous Polish-American actress, Helena Modrzejewska (1840–1909), merely simplified the spelling of her surname to *Modjeska* to make its pronunciation easier for English-speaking audiences.

Before World War II the phenomenon must have been quite widespread in Poland since in 1936 a magazine columnist noted with irritation: “Those Ritas Klyx, Ninas Karioli, Inezes van Bych are in fact [...] our good old Basias, Niusias, Władzias, Helenkas from Grodzisk, Sochaczew, or Piotrków.” This pseudonym craze, the journalist contended, was a product of snobbery and of false shame at having a native form of a surname; it also showed bad taste (*Świerczyńska* 1983: 19).

In 1950s the singer Czesława Cieślak (1938–2011) chose for herself the stage name *Violetta Villas*. This name change is interesting for its foreign (re-)branding features: a letter alien to the Polish alphabet (*V*); the disappearance of the typically Polish letters *ł* and *ś*, as well as of the digraph *cz*; the semantic opacity of the surname (in contrast with her real surname, which bears a clear etymological relationship to the appellative *cieśla* (‘carpenter, joiner’); the geminates which are rare in Polish; finally, the given name *Violetta*, seldom bestowed on children in Poland at the time. It is in fact difficult to assess which foreign language was the source for the name change – *Violetta Villas* had concerts in the USA, Germany and France – but the name looks vaguely ‘Western’ and, at any rate, decidedly un-Polish.

Today the actors, singers and dancers who, being Polish, assume foreign names, do not necessarily make it at the international arena – nor do they intend to. A foreign name simply lends more prestige to their stage image in Poland. The singer known under the name of *Sara May* was born *Katarzyna Szczępek*, *Franz Dreadhunter's* real name is *Piotr Adamczyk*, the mononym *Kayah* conceals the identity of *Katarzyna Szczot*, and *Stachursky* – of *Jacek Łaszczok*. *Joanna Jagła* renamed herself *Joanna Dark* – probably both to evoke associations with the *Maid of Orléans* and to enable a pun in the title of one of her CDs: *Dark Night*. *Maciej Wojciech Kowalski* chose the stage name *Matt Kowalsky* and *Beata Dąbrowska* became *Ewa Sonnet*. Also acting careers seem to be boosted by foreign-branded names, as shown by the examples of *Peter J. Lucas* (*Piotr Andrzejewski*), *Monika Bolly* (*Monika Bolibrzuch*), *Kate Rozz* (*Katarzyna Gwizdała*), *Izabella Miko* (*Izabella Mikołajczak*), or *Paweł Deląg*, whose entry in the French Wikipedia is marked with the footnote “Parfois crédité avec l’orthographe *Pawel Delong*”.

One can also occasionally encounter instances of foreign branding in the literary world. The writers *Janusz Majewski*, *Maciej Słomczyński*, *Andrzej Szczypiorski* and *Tadeusz Kwiatkowski* published detective stories under the pen names of *Patrick G. Clark*, *Joe Alex*, *Maurice S. Andrews* and *Noël Randon* respectively, whereas their less light-hearted literary

and casting couch.” Cf. also *Liebersohn* (2000: 6–7).

¹⁰ There are almost 6000 people in Italy who bear this surname (<http://www.cognomix.it/mappe-dei-cognomi-italiani/NEGRI>, accessed May 17, 2013). *Chalupiec* is reported to have chosen the surname after the Italian poet *Ada Negri*.

output was signed with their real names. A special case is the playwright Jarosław Świerszcz ('cricket'), whose plays are inspired by Scandinavian literature and culture (especially H. Ibsen, I. Bergman) and who for this reason writes under the *nom de plume* of *Ingmar Villqist*. The screenwriter and novelist Witold Łagowski uses the pen name *Witold Horwath*.

For such names it seems fruitful to make use of the categorization proposed by the Slovak linguist Jan V. Ormis (cf. Świerczyńska 1983: 40–41), who identified three types of literary pseudonyms: *patronyms* – pseudonyms which are linguistically in agreement with the owner's nationality; *exteronyms* – foreign pseudonyms used in native-language literary output; finally *peregrynonyms* – foreign pseudonyms of a writer used in works written in a language foreign to the writer. Thus one might classify *Joseph Conrad*, the pen name of Józef Korzeniowski, as a peregrynonym, while *Ingmar Villqist*, *Patrick G. Clark*, *Joe Alex*, *Maurice S. Andrews* and *Noël Randon* are all exteronyms. On the basis of the structure and semantic content of pseudonyms, Ormis distinguished three types: *fictionyms* (which look like real given names and surnames), *cryptonyms* (which have no such structure) and *graphonyms* (which make use of symbols other than letters). On the basis of these criteria it might be said that almost all of the above mentioned foreign-branded anthroponyms – not only from the realm of literature – belong to the category of *fictionyms*. The only exceptions are *mononyms*, which describe a phenomenon known also in other countries (*Sting*, *Madonna*, *Björk*, *Prince*) and which will be classified as *cryptonyms*.

Conclusions

The attempt at defining foreign branding raises a number of pertinent questions. The problem of English as a diacritic-free language vs. languages that use the Latin script with diacritics has already been mentioned in passing. However, there is another issue: in many cases of foreign branding, English (unlike Italian or French) does not seem to be a carrier of cultural (British/American/Australian etc.) values and connotations, but merely a prestige enhancer and a symbol of the international aspirations of the manufacturer. Consequently, maybe a distinction should be made in that respect between English-speaking and other countries. Also, it would seem that the case of a Polish perfume with a French or pseudo-French name differs from the situation where a French name in Poland is the *natural* choice – such as a restaurant that offers French cuisine, a hotel with a clear French theme, or a shop specializing in French wines; one might call these *natural branding*. For these reasons the following division might be proposed:

(1) *Natural branding* – it entails any foreign language (including English when used as a symbol of the quality of being British/American etc.); it is often accompanied by extra visual clues: flags, cultural symbols, maps, etc. Examples from Poland include the following names of Warsaw restaurants: *Chianti* (Italian cuisine), *El Popo* (Mexican), *Mirador* (Spanish).

(2) *Prestige branding* – it uses English (or pseudo-English) as an international language without making claims to being foreign – e.g. the names of condominiums in Warsaw: *Miłosna Park*, *Skierniewicka City*, *Praga Square*; cf. also the following names of soccer teams in Poland: *Ajax Leśniew*, *Inter Krostoszwice*, *Celtic Reda*.¹¹

¹¹ The Polish elements of these names are the names of streets, districts, small towns or villages.

(3) *Impostor branding* – two types:

- specific foreign language (often with extra visual clues which refer the recipient to the target culture);
- indeterminate language (the spelling may include letters alien to the native language, but in countries other than the English-speaking ones, alien diacritics do not seem to be as frequently used as in English-speaking countries since they are not such a good sign of ‘foreignness’).

(4) *Imitative branding* – any specific language (or indeterminate language) – often (albeit not always) the same that appeared in the original name: *Avivas, Nice, Bucksstar Coffee, Garden Tea* as imitation of *Adidas, Nike, Starbucks Coffee, Green Tea* (perfume) respectively.

The use of the concept of foreign branding opens a new and interesting research perspective for onomastics, in line with the sociolinguistic nature of this discipline, and leads to further questions. How widespread is foreign branding? Is it more common in certain countries than in others? What unites those languages/cultures where it is most widespread? What is the proportion of foreign-branded names to all product names? Which foreign languages are used? To what extent are they related to the type of product (including the names of artists who are *marketed like a product*)? Which languages stand for what values? Also the dubious status of English is to be taken into account. Maybe in (some) countries where English is a foreign language, there is no foreign branding in the original sense (which was coined by native speakers of English), but only English and pseudo-English branding?

On the plane of name morphology and semantics, one might inquire if foreign names are semantically meaningful or just incoherent strings of randomly chosen words. If there is meaning, is it related to the product? What is the percentage of artificial pseudo-foreign and hybrid names? What means are used to create the impression of ‘foreignness’: suffixes? foreign language-specific letters and diacritics? How are the names of knock-offs built?

Finally, questions abound in relation to *language ideology*. Do recipients (i.e. customers) take foreign names of products for granted? Does it bother them if they cannot understand or pronounce these names? Are they in doubt about the identity of artists with foreign names? Do they expect better quality of products with foreign names? (There seems to exist ample evidence that in many cases they do.) Lastly, how does the existence of such names influence the language system? In many countries within the so-called Western cultural circle given names are generally not expected to carry semantic meaning and most are in fact semantically opaque to their users; is a plethora of foreign product names likely to exert a similar influence on the whole system of chrematonyms in those countries where there are a lot of such foreign names?

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