

TRADE NAMES: BREAD

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Abstract

The category of trade names is vast, offering a broad spectrum of terms for research. Of them, we have selected the trade names of bread, highlighting various aspects of classification, typology, onomasiology in different contexts, also focusing on the social meanings of bread.

Key words: *trade name, generic name, name, category, meaning*

Résumé

La catégorie de noms commerciaux est vaste, en offrant à la recherche un spectre large de termes. Parmi eux, on s'est arrêté aux noms commerciaux du pain, en mettant en évidence divers aspects concernant la classification, la typologie, l'onomasiologie, dans différents contextes, en soulignant en même temps les significations sociales du pain.

Mots-clés: *nom commercial, nom générique, dénomination, catégorie, signification*

0. Trade names are characterized by diversity, the fruitful result of some lexico-semantic, grammatical and/or figurative creations. The manner of naming is fully motivated, in line with developments in the economy and trade. Among other categories of words, that of trade names contributes to the diversification of the Romanian vocabulary and provides a rich and diversified research basis.

Among the trade names circulating in the Romanian language¹, those of bakery products represent a category that has been little studied. Bread holds a special position. For this analysis, we have selected a corpus of about eighty simple units and phrases from the Romanian on-line press.

1. In general usage, the word *pâine*/ 'bread' is defined as "a staple human food, made from a dough of flour and other ingredients, raised by fermentation of yeast, kneaded with water and baked in the oven"².

Depending on the main features, there are several types of bread: depending on the content, there is *pâine cu cartofi*/ 'potato bread', *pâine de seară*/ 'rye bread', *pâine cu semințe*/ 'seed bread', *pâine cu nuci și hrișcă*/ 'bread with nuts and buckwheat', *pâine cu ciuperci*/ 'bread with mushrooms', *pâine cu bere*/ 'bread with beer', *pâine cu dovleac*/ 'pumpkin bread', *pâine cu ierburi*/ 'bread with herbs', *pâine cu legume*/ 'bread with vegetables', *pâine cu orez*/ 'bread with rice', *pâine cu schinduf*/ 'bread with fenugreek',

¹ We have consulted the study of Alina Burchescu, *The politics of Romanian brand names: then and now*, in Oliviu Felecan (ed.): *Numele și numirea. Actele conferinței internaționale de onomastică Interferențe multietnice în antroponomie*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2011, p. 535-544.

² DEX, p. 768; cf. DEX on-line, <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/p%C3%A2ine>.

pâine Indiană cu spanac/ 'Indian bread with spinach', pâine neagră cu tărâțe/ 'bran bread', pâine cu chimen/ 'caraway bread', pâine cu lapte/ 'milk bread', pâine cu porumb/ 'bread with corn', pâine cu fulgi de ovăz/ 'oatmeal bread', pâine fără drojdie cu hamei/ 'bread without yeast with hops', pâine cu prune/ 'bread with plums', pâine cu roșii/ 'tomato bread', turtițe din orez/ 'rice cakes', baghetă cu susan/ 'sesame baguette', chiflă cu mac/ 'poppy seed roll', chiflă cu susan/ 'sesame roll'; depending on the shape: pâine împletită/ 'braided bread', pâine rotundă/ 'round bread', pâine floare/ 'flower bread', pâine la tavă/ 'pan bread', pâine Floarea-soarelui/ 'sunflower bread', pâine Margarita/ 'Margarita bread', pâine Năsturel/ 'Năsturel (little button) bread', pâine buburuză/ 'ladybird bread'; depending on the preparation: pâine nedospită/ 'unleavened bread', pâine plămădită/ 'kneaded bread', pâine dulce/ 'sweet bread', pâine rapidă/ 'quick bread', pâine cu lapte/ 'milk bread', pâine Cuptoraș/ 'Cuptoraș (little oven) bread', pâine împletită cu varga/ 'bread braided with the rod'.

2. In current Romanian, the word *pâine/ 'bread'* inherited from Lat. *panis*, is part of several trade name expressions. The typology of names circulating in the Romanian language can be described from several perspectives:

a. The generic name *pâine + determiner*: *pâine împletită/ 'braided bread', pâine rotundă/ 'round bread', pâine floare/ 'flower bread', pâine la tavă/ 'pan bread', pâine țărănească/ 'peasant bread', pâinea casei/ 'bread of the house', pâine intermediară/ 'bread made from a mixture of white flour and bran', pâine integrală/ 'wholemeal bread', pâine cu cartofi/ 'potato bread', pâine de seacă/ 'rye bread', pâine cu semințe/ 'seed bread', pâinea pădurarului/ 'forester's bread', pâine cu nuci și hrișcă/ 'bread with nuts and buckwheat', pâinea episcopului/ 'bishop's bread', pâine grecească/ 'Greek bread', pâine nedospită/ 'unleavened bread', pâine plămădită/ 'kneaded bread', pâine Floarea-soarelui/ 'sunflower bread', pâine Margarita/ 'Margarita bread', pâine Năsturel/ 'Năsturel bread', pâine Anadama/ 'Anadama bread', Pâine Eseniana/ 'Essene bread', pâine cu ciuperci/ 'bread with mushrooms', pâine cu bere/ 'bread with beer', pâine cu dovleac/ 'pumpkin bread', pâine cu ierburi/ 'bread with herbs', pâine cu legume/ 'bread with vegetables', pâine cu orez/ 'bread with rice', pâine cu schinduf/ 'bread with fenugreek', pâine dulce/ 'sweet bread', pâine rapidă/ 'quick bread', pâine meșteșugărească/ 'craftsmanly bread', pâine indiană cu spanac/ 'Indian bread with spinach', pâine buburuză/ 'ladybird bread', pâine curcubeu/ 'rainbow bread', pâinea Sfântului Petroniu/ 'Saint Petronius' bread', pâine secuiană/ 'Secuiana bread', pâinea lui Manole/ 'Manole's bread', pâine neagră cu tărâțe/ 'bran bread', pâinea miresei/ 'bride's bread', pâine someșană/ 'bread from Someș', pâine Navajo/ 'Navajo bread', pâine cu chimen/ 'caraway bread', pâine cu lapte/ 'milk bread', pâine Nistru/ 'Nistru bread', pâine cu porumb/ 'bread with corn', pâine cu fulgi de ovăz/ 'oatmeal bread', pâine morărească/ 'miller's bread', pâine fără drojdie cu hamei/ 'bread without yeast with hops', pâine Cuptoraș/ 'Cuptoraș (little oven) bread', pâine Lan/ 'Lan (wheat field) bread', pâine Botanica/ 'Botanica bread', pâine moldovenească/ 'bread from Moldova', pâine Nucșor/ 'Nucșor bread', pâine Longevita/ 'Longevita bread', pâine Bunătate/ 'Bunătate (kindness) bread', pâine Borodinschi/ 'Borodinschi bread', pâine cu prune/ 'bread with plums', pâine Ciobănaș/ 'Ciobănaș (little shepherd) bread', pâine Graham/ 'Graham bread', pâine Cotumna/ 'Cotumna bread', pâine cu roșii/ 'tomato bread', pâine malteză/ 'Maltese bread', pâine cu nuci/ 'bread with nuts', pâine împletită cu varga/ 'bread braided with the rod'.*

Such trade names are frequent in usage. For instance:

„Știu, există atât de multe rețete de *pâine țărănească...*”/ ‘I know, there are so many *peasant bread* recipes...’ (<http://ebunatati.blogspot.ro/2011/03/paine-taraneasca.html>, 20.03.2011, *Bunătăți de la Oana*);

„De ce *pâine de secară*? Nu doar fiindcă e mai sănătoasă și mai hrănitoare, ci pur și simplu fiindcă ador gustul ei dulce acrișor...”/ ‘Why *rye bread*? Not just because it is healthier and has more nutrients, but because I love its sweet sour taste...’ (<http://www.caietulcurete.com/2015/02/paine-cu-faina-integrala-de-secara-si.html>, 19.02.2015, *Pâine de făină integrală cu secară și semințe*);

„Trecând zilele trecute prin Arad, am cumpărat o pâinică mai deosebită, *pâinea pădurarului*, care arată foarte bine și are un gust nemaipomenit.”/ ‘Passing through Arad the other day, I bought a special loaf of bread, *forester’s bread*, which looks great and tastes great.’ (<http://bunatatidinbucatarie.ro/2012/paine-umpluta>, 26.03.2012, *Pâine umplută*);

„*Pâine Nasturel*. Forma plăcută, prospețimea îndelungată și gustul deosebit fac din acest produs unul din cele mai populare preparate vândute de noi.”/ ‘*Năsturel bread*. The attractive shape, lasting freshness and great taste make this product one of the most popular products we sell.’ (<http://www.brutariamaxipan.ro/galerie/galerie-produse>, 15.07.2014, *Brutăria Maxipan*);

„*Pâine Eseniana* (100 g) este un produs netratat termic de la Petras, alcătuit numai din seminte germinate în condiții de temperatură și umiditate controlate, o ideală mâncare raw vegan.”/ ‘*Essene bread* (100g) is a product from Petras which is not thermally treated, consisting only of germinated seeds under controlled temperature and humidity, an ideal raw vegan food.’ (<https://www.nutritiv.ro/alimentare/produse-alimentare/paine-eseniana-cu-hrisca-in-migdale-si-seminte-de-chia-mancare-raw-vegan-100-g-petras.html>, 14.07.2016, *Pâine Eseniana cu hrișcă, mâncare raw vegan, descriere amănunțită a produsului*);

„De aproape doi ani de zile, pregătesc săptămânal această pâine... este o *pâine mesteșugărească*, adică nu necesită frământare și aluatul poate fi lăsat la dospit și câteva zile... iar pâinea este la fel de bună.”/ ‘For almost two years, I have prepared this bread ... it is *craftsmanly bread*, that is it needs no kneading and the dough can be left to rise for a few days... and the bread is equally good.’ (<http://sabina-madalina.blogspot.ro/2012/02/paine-cu-seminte.html>, 11.02.2012, *Pâine neagră cu semințe*);

„O locuitoare a capitalei a găsit într-o *pâine Nistru* de la Franzeluța bucăți de sârmă, după ce a tăiat-o în jumătate.”/ ‘A resident of the capital found in a *Nistru* loaf of bread from Franzeluța several pieces of wire after cutting it in half.’ (<http://www.stireata.md/2015/08/24>, 18.07.2016, *Pericol! Pâine Nistru de la Franzeluța, cu bucăți de sârmă în interior*);

„*Pâinea cu fulgi de ovăz* este deosebit de gustoasă și hrănitoare.”/ ‘*Oatmeal bread* is particularly tasty and nutritious.’ (<http://www.lalena.ro>, 31.01.2012, *Pâine cu fulgi de ovăz*);

„Dacă vrei să dai o fugă în paradis încearcă *pâinea cu roșii*.”/ ‘If you want to enjoy an escape to paradise try the *tomato bread*.’ (<http://www.dietetik.ro/paine-cu-rosii/5859.html>, 8.02.2011, *Pâine cu roșii*).

b. The generic name is substituted by other names within the same semantic sphere: long-shaped white loaf: *franzelă feliată*/ ‘sliced loaf’, *franzelă orășenească*/ ‘city loaf’; flatbread: *lipie arăbească*/ ‘Arabic flatbread’; baguette: *baghetă cu susan*/

‘sesame baguette’, *baghetă cu mac*/ ‘poppy seed baguette’; roll: *chiflă cu mac*/ ‘poppy seed roll’, *chiflă cu susan*/ ‘sesame roll’, *chiflă cu brânză*/ ‘cheese roll’, *chiflă trandafir*/ ‘rose roll’; cake: *turtă pe plită*/ ‘cake on the stove’, *turtă dospită*/ ‘yeast cake’, *turta miresei*/ ‘bride’s cake’, *turta de ursitori*/ ‘the cake for the three Fates’, *turte moldovenești*/ ‘cakes from Moldova’, *turtițe din orez*/ ‘rice cakes’, *turte cipriote*/ ‘cakes from Cyprus’, etc.

In usage, one can see the following contexts:

„Este vorba despre *franzela orășenească*, cu greutate de aproximativ 400 de grame, care putea fi cumpărată cu 4 lei.”/ ‘It’s about the *city loaf*, weighing about 400 grams, which could be purchased at the price of 4 lei.’ (<http://bani.md>, 13.07.2016, *Franzeluța nu mai produce un tip de pâine până la primăvară*);

„*Lipie arăbească umplută*”/ ‘Filled *Arabic flatbread*.’ (<http://www.gateste-cu-suflet.com/produse/patiserie>, 15.06.2016, *Lipie arăbească umplută cu legume*);

„Deja am fost rugată să mai fac *chifle cu mac*, însă în cantitate dublă, cel puțin!”/ ‘I have already been asked to bake *poppy seed rolls*, but twice as much, at least!’ (<http://gustolandia.ro/chifle-cu-mac>, 25.07.2013, *Chifle cu mac*);

„Pentru turte moldovenești se înmoaie drojdia cu zahărul, apoi se adaugă apa caldută și se toarnă peste făina împreună cu sarea.”/ ‘For cakes from Moldova, you mix yeast and sugar, then add lukewarm water and pour over the flour and salt.’ (<http://www.culinar.ro/retete/produse-de-panificatie-si-patiserie>, 17.07.2016, *Turte moldovenești*).

c. Bread is also represented by foreign names: *Panachida*, *Focaccia*, *Fougasse*, *Panini*, *pande Horno*, *Tortillas*, *Tsoureki* (Easter bread), *Piadina* (Arabic flatbread), *Bannock* (bread of Canadian natives), *Lacha Paratha* (layered bread), *Ciabatta*, *Rugbrod* (primordial bread), etc.

Such names occur in such contexts as:

„*Focaccia* este originară din Italia, fiind o pâine plată, care seamănă perfect cu blatul de pizza.”/ ‘*Focaccia* originates from Italy, it is a flat loaf of bread that looks exactly like pizza crust.’ (<http://retete.eva.ro/aperitive>, 17.07.2016, *Focaccia cu usturoi*);

„*Tortillas* sunt (cele la care mă refer aici) niște lipii simple, pe care mexicanii, în special, și sud americanii, în general, le fac din făină de porumb, de grâu ori alte soiuri de făină.”/ ‘*Tortillas* are (the ones I’m talking about here) simple flatbread, which the Mexicans in particular and the South Americans in general make from corn flour, wheat flour or other varieties of flour.’

(<http://www.adihadean.ro/2010/11/tortillas-cum-sa-le-faci-acasa>, 2.11.2010, *Tortillas – cum să le faci acasă*);

„Prânz indian: *Lacha Paratha* (pâine fără drojdie, tip lipie), Papad (niște bucățele delicioase care se umflă la prăjit, din făină de linte), Sambar (o mâncare zemoasă de linte) și un Subji de legume.”/ ‘Indian lunch: *Lacha Paratha* (unleavened bread of the flatbread type), Papad (delicious pieces made from lentil flour which swell after frying), Sambar (a juicy lentil dish) and vegetable Subji.’

(<https://www.facebook.com>, 12.05.2016, *Prânz indian: Lacha Paratha - Bucătărie indiană vegetariană*);

„*Ciabatta* este o pâine albă italiană cu un miez ușor umed și coaja crocantă.”/ ‘*Ciabatta* is Italian white bread with soft, moist crumb and crisp crust.’ (<http://www.lauraadamache.ro/2008/09/ciabatta.html>, 12.09.2008, *Ciabatta*).

d. Bread also has metaphorical names, for instance: *pâinea pădurarului*/

‘forester’s bread’, *Ciobănaș*/ ‘Little shepherd’, *pâinea miresei*/ ‘bride’s bread’, *pâinea lui Manole*/ ‘Manole’s bread’, *pâinea Sfântului Petroniu*/ ‘Saint Petronius’ bread’, *pâine Curcubeu*/ ‘Curcubeu (rainbow) bread’, *pâine Nucușor*/ ‘Nucușor bread’, *pâine Bunătate*/ ‘kindness bread’, *pâine Botanica*/ ‘Botanica bread’.

„*Pâinea lui Manole* a fost răsplătită cu mențiune la categoria *Painea anului* în cadrul celui mai mare târg de profil pe piața autohtonă și unul dintre cele mai importante din Europa Centrală și de Est.”/ ‘*Manole’s bread* was rewarded with distinction in the category *Bread of the year* at the largest trade fair on the domestic market and one of the largest trade fairs in Central and Eastern Europe.’ (<http://www.frontera-trading.ro/eveniment-gastro-pan.html>, 17.06.2014, *Gustul pâinii de altădată*);

„*Pâinică Curcubeu*, pâine bună de tot, cu aromă de ardei copti”/ ‘*Rainbow Little Bread*, good, good bread with a flavour of roasted bell peppers.’ (<http://pofitilamasa.com/copturi/62-painica-curcubeu>, 12.07.2016, *Pâinică Curcubeu*);

„*Pâinea Botanica*, care costă 4 lei 50 de bani, a dispărut de la mijlocul săptămânii trecute.”/ ‘*Botanica bread*, which costs 4 lei and 50 bani, disappeared in the middle of last week.’ (<http://protv.md/stiri>, 15.03.2016, *Unul dintre cele mai ieftine tipuri de pâine a dispărut din magazine*).

3. Bread trade names are different in point of structure: simple units and phrases.

Simple units are designated by common nouns: *lipie*/ ‘flatbread’, *baghetă*/ ‘baguette’, *franzelă*/ ‘white loaf’, *graham*/ ‘graham’, *chiflă*/ ‘roll’, *turtă*/ ‘cake’, *crutoane*/ ‘croutons’ or by proper nouns: *Panachida*, *Focaccia*, *Fougasse*, *Panini*, *Tortilla*, *Tsoureki*, *Piadina*, *Bannock*, *Ciabatta*.

The structure of phrases is different:

a. generic name + adjective: *franzelă feliată*/ ‘sliced loaf’, *pâine împletită*/ ‘braided bread’, *pâine rotundă*/ ‘round bread’, *pâine țărănească*/ ‘peasant bread’ (literally, ‘peasantlike bread’), *pâine intermediară*/ ‘bread made from a mixture of white flour and bran’ (literally, ‘intermediate bread’), *pâine integrală*/ ‘wholemeal bread’ (literally, ‘whole bread’), *pâine prăjită*/ ‘toast’ (literally, ‘fried bread’), *pâine tradițională*/ ‘traditional bread’, *turte dospite*/ ‘leavened cakes’, *lipie arăbească*/ ‘Arabic flatbread’, *pâine grecească*/ ‘Greek bread’, *pâine nedospită*/ ‘unleavened bread’, *pâine plămădită*/ ‘kneaded bread’, *pâine dulce*/ ‘sweet bread’, *pâine rapidă*/ ‘quick bread’, *pâine meșteșugărească*/ ‘craftsmanly bread’, *pâine secuiană*/ ‘Secuiana bread’, *pâine someșană*/ ‘bread from Someș’;

b. generic name + proper noun in the nominative: *pâine Anadama*/ ‘Anadama bread’, *pâine Nistru*/ ‘Nistru bread’, *pâine de Riga*/ ‘Riga bread’, *pâine Longevita*/ ‘Longevita bread’, *pâine Nucușor*/ ‘Nucușor bread’, *pâine Botanica*/ ‘Botanica bread’, *pâine Năsturel*/ ‘Năsturel bread’, *pâine Ciobanaș*/ ‘Ciobanaș bread’, *pâine Cuptoraș*/ ‘Cuptoraș bread’;

c. generic name + common or proper noun in the genitive: *pâinea pădurarului*/ ‘forester’s bread’, *pâinea episcopului*/ ‘bishop’s bread’, *pâinea miresei*/ ‘bride’s bread’, *turta miresei*/ ‘bride’s cake’; *pâinea Sfântului Petroniu*/ ‘Saint Petronius’ bread’, *pâinea lui Manole*/ ‘Manole’s bread’;

d. generic name + preposition + noun in the accusative: *pâine la tavă*/ ‘pan bread’ (literally, ‘bread to pan’), *pâine cu cartofi*/ ‘bread with potatoes’, *pâine de seară*/ ‘rye bread’ (literally, ‘bread of rye’), *pâine cu semințe*/ ‘bread with seeds’,

turte pe plită/ ‘cakes on the hob’, *pâine cu ciuperci*/ ‘bread with mushrooms’, *pâine cu bere*/ ‘bread with beer’, *pâine cu dovleac*/ ‘bread with pumpkin’, *pâine cu ierburi*/ ‘bread with herbs’, *pâine cu legume*/ ‘bread with vegetables’, *pâine cu orez*/ ‘bread with rice’, *pâine cu schinduf*/ ‘bread with fenugreek’, *pâine cu chimen*/ ‘bread with caraway’;

e. generic name + two coordinated nouns, in the accusative: *pâine cu nuci și hriscă*/ ‘bread with nuts and buckwheat’;

f. generic name + adjective + preposition + noun in the accusative: *pâine neagră cu tărâțe*/ ‘bran bread’ (literally, ‘dark bread with bran’).

4. The foreign influence can also be seen in the category of bread trade names. The common or proper nouns denoting bread are borrowings from Italian: *focaccia*, *panini*, *ciabatta*; from Spanish: *tortilla*, *Pan de Horno*; from French: *fougasse*; from Greek: *Tsoureki*. Some names of Indian origin also entered the Romanian language through international circuit: *Navajo*, *Lacha Paratha*. Common names such as *focaccia*, *panini*, *ciabatta* became elements of a specialised vocabulary³ in baking terminology.

5. The vocabulary of the Romanian language contains words, expressions and phrases with deep significances. The phraseology created around the word *pâine* is rich: *a mânca pâine și sare (pe un or dintr-un taler) cu cineva* = to live together with someone, for better and for worse; *a ieși înaintea cuiva* or *a întâmpina (pe cineva) cu pâine și sare* = to welcome someone with honour; *a avea (or a ține, a fi cu) pâinea și cuțitul în mână* or *a pune mâna pe pâine și pe cuțit* = to have all the power, all means; *(a fi) bun ca pâinea (cea) caldă (or bună)* = (to be) really good, to be as good as gold; *a mânca o pâine albă* = to be wealthy, to live a good life; *se caută (or se vinde) ca pâinea (cea) caldă* this is said about merchandise which is highly sought after and sells easily; *a mânca pâinea degeaba* = to be useless; *o bucată de pâine* or *pâinea zilnică*, *pâinea cea de toate zilele* = sustenance means; *a lua (cuiva) pâinea de la gură* = leave someone destitute, deprive (someone) of all possibilities of existence; *a pune (or a băga) în pâine (pe cineva)* = to get a job for someone; *a fi în pâine (or a mânca o pâine)* = to have a job; *a scoate (or a da afară) din pâine* = to fire someone⁴.

6. Socially, bread has acquired multiple connotations over time. The bookish term *companion*, an old Frenchism, is semantically related to the word *pâine*. In Romanian, it is borrowed from Fr. *compagnon*, originally Lat. *com-* + *panis* (“with bread”, subsequently “the one with whom one shares the bread”, “fellow”⁵). The expression *pâine și circ*/ ‘bread and circus’ was used ironically by the Latin poet Juvenal, as a symbol of the excessive interest of politicians and the people in unimportant things. During the Revolution of October 1917, Lenin promised the people *Peace, Land and Bread*, symbols on the basis of which the infamous social order was built.

In the Christian-Orthodox tradition, bread is the bearer of the symbol of life, which man offers God. These sacred values have also been passed down through the

³ We have taken into account the references of specialised vocabulary, as opposed to common vocabulary. See Angela Bidu-Vrănceanu (coord.), *Lexic comun, lexic specializat*, București, Editura Universității din București, 2000.

⁴ The expressions and phrases are recorded in DEX on-line.

⁵ DEX records it as a Frenchism with the meaning “fellow, buddy”, p. 202; cf. DEX on-line, a bookish term, with the same meaning.

popular tradition, bread suggesting the idea of life. In the popular mindset, the bread and the coil have acquired an entirely beneficial symbolism: joy, fruitfulness, abundance, fertility, purity. Taking different forms, bread accompanies man throughout life, in moments of joy and sadness. And this is visible even today in traditional communities at various times throughout the year. Bread plays the role of a magical being, endowed with mysterious powers.

7. Trade names enable us to perform an analysis on several sectors of language. *Pâine*/ 'bread' is a representative word in terms of frequency, age in Romanian and it has generated many expressions over time. In the typology of this trade name, one can distinguish a generic term and one or several determiners, common or proper names, Romanian or foreign names, adjectives. The semantic sphere of the word includes a number of elements which, in turn, may have determiners. The typical structures of trade names designating bread consist of simple units and phrases. In general, the meaning is not figurative, but some names may be metaphorical, given the variety of trade names and their wide circulation. In determining the name, there is a slight association of the generic name with other Romanian or foreign names. The Italian, Spanish, French, etc. influence is manifest at the level of both proper names and common names.

Bread is a word with social and cultural meanings, a well-known symbol in Christianity.

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